The Life of St. Patrick,

APOSTLE OF IRELAND.

The Angel Victor appearing to St. Patrick.

THE LIFE

of

Saint Patrick,

Apostle of Ireland.

By

M. F. Cusack.

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Preface.

THE present LIFE OF ST. PATRICK, whatever may be its defects, can at least claim the credit of being the first Life of the great Apostle of Ireland which has given full details of his acts and missionary labours—the first Life in which all the existing material has been used. The constant and wearying labours of the Catholic clergy of Ireland, and their evangelical poverty, have hitherto hindered the production of any Life of the Saint. A few little pamphlets, tracing his career in outline, have been published from time to time; but, beyond this, nothing has as yet been done. The labours of some Irish priests—but, above and beyond all, of the Very Rev. Monsignor Moran—have thrown a flood of light on disputed questions of dates and opinions, which only need to be utilized in order to remove misapprehensions, which have been caused by the, no doubt, unintentional misstatements of Protestant writers.

But, although there has been as yet no complete Catholic Life of St. Patrick, two volumes have been written by Protestants, purporting to be Lives or Memoirs of the Saint. The large volume of the late Dr. Todd is strangely misnamed. It is called, indeed, on the title page, "*St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland—a Memoir of his Life and Mission;*" but even the author has felt obliged to apologise for filling up one half of the volume with an introduction, the object of which is to prove that the Protestant Church is the real representative of the Church of St. Patrick, and that the Catholic Church was introduced from a "foreign source" at the time of the Reformation. How a man of intellect and of common sense could make such a statement is almost incomprehensible, yet this very writer expects his readers to take his *ipse dixit* for proof on every subject connected with the life of St. Patrick in which he finds any statements in ancient records contrary to his pre-conceived opinion.

As it will be necessary to refer to Dr. Todd's Memoir frequently, not only in the Preface, but also in the body of this Work, I feel bound, in justice to his memory, to express my admiration for his avoidance of any kind of vulgar bigotry in his remarks on Catholic customs; and my high respect for his rare talents, and the invaluable services which he has rendered to Irish archæology. But a love of truth and of the faith, combine to make it incumbent on a Catholic writer, boldly and freely, to show the fallacies into which a learned and honourable man was led by early prejudice.

The very fact of a writer making a statement so entirely opposed to history, as admitted without question by Protestant historians of ability, is in itself sufficient evidence of his disqualification for the task he has undertaken. And, indeed, as might be expected, we find that the so-called "Memoir" of St. Patrick's Life and Mission is simply a continuous criticism on, and rejection of, every circumstance which would tend to prove that St. Patrick was a Catholic. Yet the writer is obliged to admit, again and again, the authenticity of the documents from which he quotes. Thus we find him admitting, as indeed he cannot well help doing, the authenticity of St. Patrick's Confession, in which the Saint himself states that he invoked Elias. But Dr. Todd cannot admit that St. Patrick invoked the Saints, though it was the practice of the universal Church from the earliest ages. He is, therefore, obliged to accept the help of another Protestant writer, who also found it necessary to try and explain away a plain statement, or to substitute a pure conjecture of his own. This writer says St. Patrick did not invoke Elias the prophet, but that he invoked *Helios*, the sun. Dr. Todd, with amusing candour, admits that this seems a still greater difficulty, for he believes St. Patrick was a "true Christian," and does not see, as such, how he could have invoked the sun. Why must these writers twist and torture language, and make the wildest conjectures to explain away plain facts? and why do they prefer making it appear that St. Patrick was an idolater rather than a Catholic? Dr. Todd's own explanation is, that the transcribers of St. Patrick's manuscript made a mistake. But once more, why this extreme anxiety to explain away a word? Why must St. Patrick be made a pagan, who invokes the sun? or why must his transcribers, in this one special instance, be supposed to make a mistake?

Then St. Patrick himself, in this same document, gives an account of the vision in which the angel Victor appeared to him in the night, and gave him the letters upon which were written the words, "The voice of the Irish."

But Dr. Todd is again in a difficulty. As the details of this vision are given in full by St. Patrick himself, he cannot say, as in the case of Elias, that the transcriber made a mistake. There are too many words, too many sentences, and the details are altogether too plain to admit of contradiction. He solves the difficulty thus:—He says St. Patrick "believed, no doubt, that he had seen visions, and dreamed dreams." Dr. Todd does not stop to explain or consider how it was possible for St. Patrick, as a Protestant, to have such very Catholic opinions. Surely no good Protestant would ever make such suppositions, and surely it was quite as "Popish" to believe in apparitions of angels, in ecstacies, in divine revelations, as to invoke Elias. The inconsistency of such a course never seems to have occurred to the acute intellect of the Protestant divine. He continues his explanation thus:—"Other well-meaning and excellent men, in all ages of the Church, have in like manner imagined themselves to have had visions of this kind—to have been recipients of immediate revelations."

Thus, when St. Patrick's Catholicity cannot be credited to the mistake of a transcriber, it is credited to his "imagination." But what right, moral or divine, had Dr. Todd, or any other individual, to accuse St. Patrick of having "imagined" he had a vision, when he distinctly states, in a solemn manner, and in a carefully compiled document, that he had not merely one, but several visions? What right has any man, or any number of men, however learned in earthly science, to disbelieve the solemn testimony, not of one, but of thousands?

From the hour in which the advent of the Christian Dispensation was announced, by a vision of angels, to the poor shepherds who watched upon the mountains at Bethlehem, visions, and revelations, and angel visits have never ceased in the Holy Catholic Church. As I have given ample evidence on this subject in the introductory chapter, no more need be said at present. It is shown there fully that such "signs" were promised by Christ, were expected by his disciples, were believed by St. Augustine, St. Ignatius the Martyr, St. Jerome, St. Anthony the Hermit, and countless other saints. Is any one bold enough to say that St. Augustine, St. Anthony, and St. Ignatius "imagined" the wonders which they have recorded? If all the supernatural occurrences which have been related were pure fictions, which existed only in the "imaginations" of the relaters, what do such persons say to miracles? Are they pure "imaginations?" Can a man who has been blind suddenly "imagine" that he sees? Can a man who has been a cripple suddenly imagine that he walks? Are all the witnesses of the man's recovery of sight, or of the power of motion, victims to their "imagination" also? No doubt, imagination is a very powerful and very wonderful faculty of the human mind; but might it not be just possible that those persons who have declared themselves witnesses of such occurrences, really did see them, and that those who disbelieve them may "imagine" they are right in rejecting all visions and miracles, and yet may be wrong? Those who have seen visions, or witnessed the performance of miracles, have, at least, as good a logical right to consider such persons victims to their imagination as they have to consider them victims to theirs.

But it is unnecessary to pursue this subject further. A man who will not believe the sworn testimony of thousands is past argument. Ample testimony, with full reference to the authorities quoted, is given in the ensuing pages of the constant recurrence of miracles, visions, and revelations, from the earliest ages to the present day. Those who reject such an accumulation of evidence are either unwilling or incapable of conviction. In either case, they are subjects for the prayers of Catholics, and certainly not for their contempt.

When commencing his brief account of St. Patrick's Life and Labours, Dr. Todd expressly says that he confines himself "to the leading facts of his history, *selecting those which seem most likely to be true.*" We have already seen that Dr. Todd does not believe St. Patrick himself; how, then, could he be expected to believe St. Patrick's biographers? But even with this careful selection, made on the arbitrary principle of rejecting everything which Dr. Todd did not believe himself, the facts which are left after this elimination are all so Catholic that he is continually obliged to explain or excuse them.

The only other work of any pretension, purporting to be a "Life of St. Patrick," has been written by Mr. Steele

Nicholson, and the object is plainly and candidly stated on the title-page, part of which runs thus:—"The Story of his [St. Patrick's] Mission, by Pope Celestine, in A.D. 431, and his connection with the Church of Rome, proved to be a mere fiction." This sufficiently describes the work, and makes criticism unnecessary. When a writer commences with stating his disbelief in some of the best attested facts of history, his work may be interesting to those who agree with him, but is simply valueless to others.

In the body of the present Work criticism has been confined entirely to the notes. For general reading it would be both unnecessary and uninteresting to break the narrative continually with statements of conflicting theories and refutations of misstatements, which have been offered again and again without any appreciable result. The Work also is written principally for Catholics; the teaching of the Bible and of the Church alike agree in inculcating reverence for the Lives of the Saints, and in giving their histories as a subject to be read with reverence for personal edification, as members of the "great cloud of witnesses" who surround us, and watch our actions. Hence also criticism in the life itself would be quite out of place.

Still it must not be supposed for a moment that Catholics accept every detail of the Lives of Saints as literally true, or that they do not consider such works open to fair criticism. There are some few subjects connected with St. Patrick's life and acts which demanded careful consideration, and which have received critical examination. All such matters are fully referred to in the notes appended to each page. The authorities for the Life and Acts of St. Patrick are given in the introductory chapters, and these are admitted to be genuine and of great antiquity, even by Protestant historians,

One of the ancient Lives of St. Patrick, if not the most ancient, is given in full, and has been translated expressly for this work from the original Irish by the well-known and eminent Celtic scholar, William Hennessy, Esq., M.R.I.A. The antiquity and value of the original will be explained in the proper place. For the kindness of Mr. Hennessy in undertaking such a work, the writer can never be sufficiently grateful. The readers of this volume are under deep obligations to him also. There are not, perhaps, more than three or four other philologists in this country capable of such a task; for the language in which the original is written differs so completely from the Irish spoken at present as to be unintelligible to those who have not made Celtic philology their special study. I have also to thank the Rev. J. O'Laverty, P.P., M.R.I.A., for valuable assistance, which he could only have given by depriving himself of rest, much needed after his day's labour in a populous parish. Such self-sacrifice, though rare, is not unfrequent among the Irish clergy. I must also thank Mr. Hanna, of Belfast, for careful and scholarly identifications of sites and facts, which have saved me considerable trouble.

But above all I must express my obligations to the Very Rev. Monsignor Moran, who has undertaken the anxious labour of reading the proofs, and affording me the literary, and what, to a Catholic, is still more important, theological assistance which was needed. The lamp of science is but an *ignis fatuus*, which may lead those who follow it into the quick-sands of error, instead of the narrow road of true philosophy, if it is not aided by the lamp of Faith. If it be admitted, and he would be a bold man who made the denial, that God is the source of all knowledge, He must also be the source of all true science. Our very word science means literally (*scio*) to know, and who can know as God knows? What are the most wonderful discoveries in science but guesses at, or approximations to, those truths which He alone knows perfectly?

And is not He the source of truth—the unfailing fountain of truth? Let us not deceive ourselves. We pride ourselves on our increased knowledge, yet what do we really know? We pride ourselves on discovering some of the laws by which the Eternal One controls the universe, yet what do all our discoveries amount to? The little babe who was baptized, and died within the last half hour in its mother's arms, knows incomparably more than the wisest man on earth. And why? Because it has seen God, the source and fountain of knowledge.

There is no science of the truth of which we may be so sure as the science of theology, and yet there is no science about which mankind are so indifferent. The pride of fallen man leads him to prefer his own guesses at truth to the truth revealed to him by God. For the one he can take credit to himself, for the other he is indebted to his Creator. What matters it to him if his conjectures prove utterly false, and if the revelation of God is true? What matters it to him, I have said! Alas, and a thousand times alas! it *may* matter a whole eternity of weal or woe.

If God has revealed to His Church what it shall believe and teach, then the science of theology must take precedence of physical science, the laws of which he has not revealed; and physical science must submit to be corrected by theological. If God has not made a revelation of the laws of theology which would enable the human race to know how He shall be worshipped and served, then are we left in a wild chaos of error, in which a malignant spirit might rejoice to ensnare his unfortunate victim. Who can think of God as a God of love, and suppose for one moment that He has left us in doubt as to how we should serve Him in this world, and attain to the highest state of happiness in the next. The Catholic Church, and the Catholic Church alone, has ever maintained the honour of God in this matter; and from the time in which the truths of revelation, as delivered to the apostles, were proved by "signs," and the "shadow" of St. Peter worked miracles, even to the present day, when a curè of Ars, and many saints, known and unknown, have worked like miracles, testimony to the truth of revelation and the authority of the Church has never been wanting. Yet it must be added, also, that since the time when the apostles were "laid hands on," and "put in hold" for performing a miracle before all the people, which their persecutors admitted they "could not deny," to the present day, men have been found fain to admit the existence of an infallible Church, and yet unwilling to make any sacrifice in order to become members of it.

We may, perhaps, be allowed to call the reader's attention to the style in which this Work has been got out, and the pains which have been taken both by the artist who designed and engraved the illustrations, and by the printer. We believe that no Irish publisher has ever attempted to produce such a work. Now that penal laws and confiscations are happily things of the past, it is time that the Catholics of Great Britain, America, and Australia should show that they are not so indifferent to the highest style of art and culture as their calumniators suppose. For the sake both of our religion and our nationality we should not allow those who differ from us on the former subject to issue all our best works. We should not forget that it remained for a Protestant publisher, with a public spirit for which he deserves national thanks, to produce the "Annals of the Four Masters."

It is certainly most painful to read the remarks on this subject constantly made by English writers, and still more painful to know that they are not without some foundation.

Irish people seem to forget that Ireland was the *insula doctorum* when she was the *insula sanctorum*. The majority of our Irish youth of the upper classes are at present educated in English schools and colleges; there was a time when the young men of England and of continental Europe came to be taught in Ireland. Make the largest margin of allowance for penal laws, disabilities, and disadvantages, and grant that it was natural our youth should prefer English education until a recent period, why should this still continue? Why should there not be an Irish Catholic University from which the English Catholic youth might consider it an honour to receive a diploma? Such an university there never will be until Irishmen themselves show more respect to their national literature. Irishmen have nothing to be ashamed of either in their history or their religion, and yet in what qualified and deprecating terms some Irishmen in England will speak of both.

The regeneration of Ireland is in the hands of the Irish clergy. If they ever take up the subject of Irish literature as a body, there can be no doubt that a new era will dawn upon our land. Knowledge is power in the widest acceptation of the term. A powerful nation can never be a downtrodden nation. There is a moral power which is often far more mighty in its effects than mere physical force, and such a power can only be wielded by a people of high literary culture.

The high appreciation of intellect evinced by the clergy in the time of St. Patrick, and his own efforts to promote national education, is an example which should never be forgotten. Let it be again observed, that when Ireland was the *insula sanctorum* she was also the *insula doctorum;* when she commanded the respect of foreign nations, which brought their youth by hundreds to her shores to sit at the feet of her scholars, she had herself manifested respect for those scholars by practical appreciation of their work.

It is painful to see our best Catholic Irish writers obliged to offer their works to English Protestant publishers, and to depend on English Protestant readers for their success. Some of the ablest Irish writers of the present day are writing for English Protestant publications exclusively. There can be no doubt that a great deal of good is done in this way; but it is scarcely a national credit. At this moment two instances are known to the present writer of gentlemen who were willing themselves to take the expense of publishing their own works and the risk of failure, and yet could not find an Irish Catholic publisher who would issue them. In consequence of this, these gentlemen applied to an English Protestant publisher, who willingly undertook them. Thus, even if no greater evil accrued, a considerable sum of money was spent in England which would otherwise have been spent in Ireland.

Some of our best authors are also turning to America, and preparing to have their publications issued there. A writer in the *Carlow College Magazine* accounts for the publication of Mr. De Vere's work in that country by saying, that "American taste in poetry is undeniably superior to our own;" and adds, that "his versification is too chaste and his poems too polished for the ordinary run of readers in this country." We neither deny nor acknowledge the criticism; but, if it be a correct one, why should American taste be more cultivated than Irish taste? Why do not the educators of youth in Ireland take pains to cultivate the taste of those committed to their charge, and to make that taste *national* in the highest and holiest sense of the word?

Irishmen may or may not be able to appreciate a high class of literature—that they do not practically appreciate it is at least certain; for, if they did, poems like Mr. De Vere's would not be published in America and imported back to *England* by English Protestant booksellers. If they did, Denis Florence Mac-Carthy would not be occupied in editing a sixpenny book of ballads, when he should and could give our national literature an additional glory in an original work; and a Protestant writer would not say, "the indifference of the middle class on this subject (Irish history) is so great that no author, with a reasonable prospect of success, attempts to publish an Irish History." If the author of this statement had said the upper, instead of the middle classes, it would have been more correct. We can ourselves vouch for the "middle classes," who have been the most generous supporters of our literary efforts. We regret, however, to be obliged to add, that the upper classes in England, and especially the upper class of liberal English Protestants, are more generally interested in Irish history than our own people. It should not be so. It depends solely upon those to whom the education of our youth is confided, whether it shall continue to be so. Our national Apostle in this, as in all else, should be our great example; and, as he diligently distributed alphabets throughout Ireland, to assist the mental cultivation of our people, so let us now distribute books which may help to promote the same end.

The rapid and immense sale of "Essays and Reviews" is at least a proof how largely semi-infidel opinions are held by the educated classes. And the perusal of these works has been by no means confined to such persons. In several large towns in England, before the cheap edition of that work was published, the large and expensive edition was carefully and widely circulated, free of expense. In some places the binding was taken off, and the work divided into small portions, so that it could be passed more quickly from one reader to another. When shall we find Catholics as zealous in promoting the circulation of Catholic books—something above pamphlets and tracts? The latter may satisfy women and children, but working men in the present day are capable of appreciating—and do appreciate—works which require some intellectual effort.

The Life of Saint Patrick.

Chapter I.

Miracles of St. Patrick and the Miracles of Scripture.

A LIFE of a saint differs from an ordinary biography, and the life of a saint who has been called to convert a nation, differs from the life of an ordinary saint. These differences should be remembered both by the historian and the reader, and it should be remembered also that such lives require more than ordinary care in their compilation, and more than ordinary attention in their perusal.

When our Divine Lord sent forth His disciples with the command to go and "teach all nations," He instructed them in the truths which they were to impart to others. Even common reverence should shrink from the idea of disciples being sent forth by a divine master to teach, who were left in ignorance of what they were to believe, or what they were to teach others to believe. That such was not the case with the twelve apostles chosen by Christ to establish His Church we have ample evidence. We find them at all times and in all places teaching the same doctrine. We find in Holy Scripture an express statement that there is only one faith, as well as one Lord and one baptism. Indeed, unity of faith would be a logical inference from unity of godhead. We can no more suppose that there could be three or four different faiths or forms of belief on matters affecting the salvation of the human race, than we could suppose that there could be three or four equally powerful and independent deities. Neither could we suppose it possible that the God who suffered and died for man upon the cross, left man to find out for himself how this atonement should be used for his salvation—how he was best to worship the all-loving one who had offered this atonement.

It might be supposed that there could not have been any disputes or controversies about articles of faith in the time of the apostles. It might be supposed that all their converts would have bowed humbly to their instructions. It might be supposed that the miracles which they worked would be considered sufficient evidence of the doctrine which they taught; yet such was not the case. There were heretics even in apostolic times; there were men who resisted the apostles, and yet professed to believe the Christian Faith. There were "heretics"[1] whom the apostles commanded their disciples to avoid; there were some "who erred from the faith,"[2] against whom even St. Timothy was cautioned. It was prophesied that in the latter days "some should depart from the faith;"[3] and in the last of the Epistles, St. Jude, in burning and sorrowful words, predicts the future divisions of Christendom, and the ravages of heresy, and exhorts the faithful to "contend earnestly for the faith."[4]

The apostles, then, both by word and by writing, had confided to their disciples the knowledge of a definite faith, which it was heresy to question, and dangerous to depart from—a faith which was of so much importance that their disciples were commanded to "contend earnestly" for its preservation, and were equally commanded to "avoid" those who departed from it. It was no mere matter of opinion, no mere form of pious belief, which might or might not be true; it was THE FAITH taught by Jesus Christ to His apostles, with a command that they should teach it to the world, and with a prediction that many would refuse to believe the heavenly message.

And thus the apostles went forth, placing this deposit of faith in the minds of men—fully prepared for seeing it rejected by many, mutilated by many, and denied by many. This gift of faith was offered to a fallen race, to a race already under the influence of the evil spirit, who was prepared to raise clouds of unbelief between the souls of his victims and the light of faith.

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[1] *Heretics.*—Titus, iii. 10.

[2] *Faith.*—1 Timothy, vi. 21.

[3] *Faith.*—1st Timothy, iv. 3, &c.

[4] *Faith.*—Jude, i. 3.

Heresies existed in the times of the apostles, and in the ages which immediately followed; still there was a vast number of the faithful doing missionary work, extending the knowledge of the Divine revelation, or testifying their belief in it by holy lives, or painful deaths; missionaries went forth, even as the apostles had gone forth, in tears it might be, and without purse or staff, but He who sent them, and in whose name they taught, blessed their efforts, and new nations were added continually to the Church.

Pagan Rome adopted a cosmopolitan policy towards its dependencies, which at once advanced imperial interests, and secured the adhesion, if not the attachment, of its colonies; hence, when pagan Rome became Christian, there were ample opportunities for missionary zeal. To this we owe in part, under Providence, the evangelization of Ireland by our great St. Patrick.

But there is another and most important consideration in connection with the lives of what may be termed missionary saints. When our Divine Lord authorized His disciples to teach, and taught them that faith in which they were to instruct others, He also assured them that their preaching should be confirmed and assisted by miracles. This is a subject full of grave importance and of deep interest. The miracles which are related to have been performed by St. Patrick are of a very striking character; and as they have been recorded in their naked simplicity, and often in uncouth and ill-chosen language, by his early biographers, they have scarcely been received with the credit they deserve, even by Catholic writers.

There are several reasons, besides the reason first mentioned, for this reticence. In this nineteenth century, when the superhuman, as exhibited in the wonders performed by so-called spiritualists, is readily credited, it may be expected that the supernatural in the lives of the saints will be, as it has been, more than ever questioned. The lying wonders of demonology are in direct antagonism to the facts of hagiography. They are the devil's protest against God's miracles. The prince of the power of the air commenced, even in apostolic times, to counterfeit apostolic manifestations. Even in the time of Moses the magicians were able to imitate many of the signs which the old-world prophet performed. Up to a certain point they succeeded, as such persons do at the present day—beyond a certain point they were simply powerless.

The wonders effected by the invocation of evil spirits tend to produce scepticism and contempt for true miracles, which, undoubtedly, is one of the objects of satanic malice in their exhibition. Despite the most ample testimony[1] to the contrary, the majority, who, like the Sadducees, neither believe in angel or demon, attribute all such occurrences to mere trickery, just as the majority utterly disbelieve the possibility of a miracle, however irrefragable the evidence on which it is affirmed. To be consistent, such persons should refuse to believe in the existence of another world, and of a Divine power which both regulates and governs the laws of nature as He wills. Why should not the devil have power now to cause certain wonders to appear to be performed, when we find in Holy Writ that the devil had this power, and exercised it even in apostolic times?

But modern scepticism is placed in this difficulty—if it admits that these manifestations may, in some instances, be the result of superhuman agency, though in the majority of cases they are effected by simple trickery, or sleight of hand, it is obliged to admit that the laws of nature, as far as we know them, may be altered or suspended; and, if they may thus be altered or suspended, they cannot in common fairness deny the possibility of the miracles which are recorded as having been performed by Catholic saints. When the miracles of the Catholic Church are denied, it becomes easy and almost necessary to deny the miracles of Scripture. The Protestant Church, since the

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[1] *Testimony.*—Extraordinary accounts of the wonders performed by so-called spiritualists are at present before the public. The Committee of the London Dialectical Society have been taking evidence on the subject; and men who would not take the slightest trouble to inquire into the truth of a Catholic miracle, are unwearied in their efforts in these investigations.

Reformation until the present century, has accepted the miracles of Scripture, while denying the miracles of the Catholic Church. To deny these miracles was a necessity at the time of the Reformation, or how could the reformers consistently separate themselves from a Church which had received its faith from Christ Himself, and by the power of Christ continued, even to that very day, to give power to its teaching by the constant recurrence of miracles?

Even at the very time when Protestantism was rejecting the faith once delivered to the saints, saints were teaching that faith to thousands in heathen lands, and confirming their teaching, as their Master had promised, by the performance of miracles. Luther began his miserable career of crime and apostacy early in the sixteenth century, and in the very same century, and at the very same period, St. Francis Xavier was converting thousands in Japan, and living a life of heroic virtue and self-sacrifice, which has won for him even the admiration of Protestants. This was also the age of St. Ignatius Loyola, of St. Teresa, of St. Charles Borromeo, and of many other saints, all remarkable for holiness of life, and for the wonderful miracles which they performed.

But Protestantism, as originated by Luther and Calvin, and established in England by Henry VIII., began by denying the miracles of the saints and the efficacy of their prayers, and ended in our own day by denying the miracles of Scripture; and though many pious members of the Protestant Church express themselves shocked at this denial, it is, nevertheless, tolerated by that Church, since it either will not, or cannot, prevent such teaching being given by members of its body.

It matters little whether the Protestant Church cannot or will not prevent this teaching. If it will not, it thereby consents deliberately to it; if it cannot, it consents passively. In either case it is manifest, that if such teaching is false, and if it is tolerated, from whatever cause, the Protestant Church either has not the will or the power to prevent heretical teaching, and consequently cannot be a safe guide. If it be not infallible, obviously every member of it has a right to his own opinion, and one bishop may declaim against Catholic miracles as pure inventions, or clever tricks of priestcraft, while another bishop, with equal consistency, declaims against the miracles of our Divine Lord; yet the very same Bible which the former accepts, believes, and reverences, and on the testimony of which alone he believes that our Lord Jesus Christ healed the sick, gave sight to the blind, and raised the dead to life, is equally explicit in stating that our Lord gave his apostles and successors power to perform similar miracles, and that they did perform them.

The promise of Christ is plain, and is not limited to apostolic times. "And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name they shall cast out devils: they shall speak with new tongues: they shall take up serpents, and if they shall drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them: they shall lay their hands upon the sick, and they shall recover." Hence, in the Catholic Church, we find these "signs" at all times, in all ages, and in various states and conditions of life. But the promise of being able to show such signs was especially intended as a proof of the Divine origin of the Catholic faith—therefore, these gifts are bestowed most abundantly on those who were called to teach this faith to heathen nations. After our Lord's ascension, the apostles "preached everywhere," and we are expressly told that their words were confirmed with signs that followed.

The "sign" of being able to speak in unknown tongues was given, immediately after our Lord's ascension, to all the apostles in common. The sign of being able to heal the sick was manifested by Peter and John, at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, when the lame man leaped and walked. Then handkerchiefs and aprons which had touched St. Paul's body were brought to the sick, who were instantly healed, and the inspired writer of the Acts of the Apostles declared that "more than common miracles were wrought by the hand of Paul."[1] Perhaps no Catholic practice has been so bitterly scorned as the custom of preserving relics of the garments which the saints have worn, or any object which they have touched, yet here we find this very thing done in the earliest ages of the Church, from whence it has been continued down to the present day. Then, as now, God has been pleased to honour the relics of His saints, the "handkerchiefs and aprons," the poor rags they have worn while waiting for the wedding garment; and then, as now, the miracles have been wrought by the mighty power of God, without whose aid the saint would be as powerless to heal as the sinner.

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[1] *Paul.*—Acts, xix 12.

Furthermore, we find that the very "shadow of Peter"[1] cured those on whom it fell, and that many were placed on their couches in the street, so that this healing shadow might reach them. An angel opened the prison gates and released St. Peter from prison, even as an angel called St. Patrick to leave the place of his captivity, that he might prepare for his mission in Ireland. The magician, Simon Magus, was converted by the miracles of St. Philip, and was "astonished and wondered" to see the sights and exceeding great miracles which he did. Yet, although he remained with Philip and received holy baptism, he relapsed again into his old paganism, and was declared by the apostle to be "in the gall of bitterness, and the bonds of iniquity." Even thus did some of St. Patrick's early converts return to their former superstitions, casting discredit on his preaching to those who were so ignorant or so prejudiced as to attribute to his teaching what they should have attributed to the frailty of his disciples.

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[1] *Peter.*—Acts, v. 15.

Many and wonderful as are the miracles recorded in the "Lives of the Saints," there is not one for which we may not find a parallel in the Acts of the Apostles. How, then, can the Protestant who professes to believe the Bible hold them up as subjects of ridicule? St. Peter raised the dead, and soon after was rapt in ecstacy; and if a similar account had been recorded in the life of a saint, it would undoubtedly be scoffed at for its simplicity. An angel appears to a devout soldier and desires him to send for St. Peter, and St. Peter is told by the spirit to go and meet the messenger. Cornelius relates his vision to St. Peter, and tells, in simple words, of the "man in white raiment," who appeared to him, and St. Peter asks no curious questions as an unbeliever would have done. A prophet named Agabus announces a famine, and his prediction is fulfilled. Elymas, the sorcerer, is struck blind instantaneously by St. Paul, for trying to turn away the pro-consul from the faith, even as the magician, Lochru, was miraculously dashed to the ground and killed, at the prayer of St. Patrick, for blaspheming the Catholic faith.

As Paul and Silas prayed at midnight, a miraculous light filled their prison, and there was a great earthquake, which shook the building to its very foundation, opened all the doors, and unloosed the chains with which the prisoners were bound. The books of the Ephesian sorcerers are brought to St. Paul, who burns them all in public, as St. Patrick burned the books of the Irish Druids. St. Paul is shipwrecked, and saves all the souls on board, who escape on planks safe to land. When landed, another miracle occurs, and the saint is seized by a viper, whose bite to others would have been fatal, but he escapes unharmed. An angel directs St. Philip where and when he should journey, even as the angel Victor was continually directing St. Patrick. Then, when St. Philip's special business is accomplished, the spirit of the Lord catches him up into the air, and he disappears from the wondering gaze of the eunuch whom he has just baptized, and is carried to Azotus.

While such "signs" are recorded in the holy gospels, how can anyone bearing the name of Christian presume to scorn or despise the miracles recorded in the "Lives of the Saints?" If we are Christians at all we must believe that all the marvellous records of healing, raising from the dead, punishment by sudden death, ecstacy, whether by being rapt into heaven, by suspension of the ordinary faculties while in prayer, or by mystic journeys through space, are all literally and verbally true. To Protestants, who unhappily talk so much about the Bible, and yet criticise and question its every detail, there is perhaps some excuse for doubt, though on their own principles they are self-condemned. But with Catholics the case is entirely different; and yet it must be feared that Catholics are by no means as firm in their faith on such subjects as they should be.

It must not be thought, however, that Catholics are obliged to believe blindly all miraculous occurrences; but theologians generally teach, that where miracles have been formally sanctioned in the process of canonization, and are accepted by the Church for that purpose, they ought to be believed by the faithful. Indeed, it would seem more rash to deny such miracles than to believe them, for they are proved with a care far beyond what is given to criminal causes in ordinary courts of justice. A good Catholic will not doubt rashly or easily question the miracles which the Church has accepted as proved, neither will he believe rashly every account of a miracle until it has been thoroughly investigated. It should be remembered that even the miracles of Christ were disbelieved by some of those who actually witnessed them. How, then, can the disciple expect more consideration than the Master? The Master has himself told the disciple, "The servant is not greater than his master; if they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you; if they have kept my word, they will also keep yours."

Two important facts seem to have been entirely overlooked by those who refuse to believe the miracles recorded in the "Lives of the Saints." First, they forget that the mere fact of witnessing a miracle does not necessitate belief in it as a supernatural occurrence; and secondly, they forget that the very same kind of objections were made to our Divine Lord's miracles which they make to the miracles of his disciples. Our Divine Lord's miracles were witnessed by hundreds, who were perfectly cognizant of all the facts, and perfectly capable of detecting any imposture. In some cases—as in the miracle of restoring the withered hand—they accused Jesus of committing a sin in the very act of healing. On another occasion, when the lame and blind were healed, the Scribes and Pharisees were moved with indignation. When the unclean spirits were driven out of the man, and permitted to enter into the swine, the people implored Jesus to depart out of their coasts, preferring their goods to their God. The Pharisees were continually asking "a sign from heaven," and when the sign was given refusing to believe it. And thus do men say now, they would believe if they saw a real miracle, and yet they refuse to believe when they do see one. In many instances they admitted that miracles had been worked, yet it only seemed to increase their anger and hatred towards Jesus. The history of the blind man, whose cure is related in detail in the ninth chapter of St. John's Gospel, is one of singular instruction and interest. No modern sceptic could have questioned more closely and more rudely than the Pharisees.

First the "neighbours" began to talk about the miracle, and disputed with each other whether the man cured was really the well-known blind beggar. He himself said that he was; but, in such a case, it was not only pardonable but justifiable to make sure of his identity. But when this identity was established on competent testimony, it was neither pardonable nor justifiable to deny it, and yet many of the inquirers would only admit that he was "like him." The next step, after disputing the man's identity, was to dispute the miracle point by point. They overwhelm the man with inquiries, they wish to know every detail. Here, again, there was both a justifiable and an unjustifiable curiosity. The Church examines and tests every alleged miracle with a scrupulous exactness, and does not admit many, even when proved by evidence, which would be accepted without hesitation by any court of law. But there was something more here than a wish to ascertain truth. First, the Pharisees accused the Divine healer of sin, because the miracle had been performed on the Sabbath, even as the saints had been accused again and again of committing some sin in performing their miracles. Then the climax of indignation was reached when the miracle was proved beyond question. No doubt, had there been a possibility of accusing the man of "imagining" himself cured, when he really was not, this convenient charge would have been brought forward, but the facts were patent to all—the man had been blind from his birth; he now saw.

Again, he was cross-questioned rudely, and almost the very words in which Protestantism rejects Catholic miracles are used, "Give glory to God. We know that this man is a sinner." Oh, wisdom of the wise! Oh, penetration of the learned! Oh, profoundness of philosophers! Miracles could not be true; and if by chance an undeniable supernatural occurrence comes across their path, they suddenly become pious, they suddenly profess a wonderful veneration for the Almighty, while denying His power to do almighty works; and they discover that the sinless one is a sinner, that He who has come to deliver them from sin is himself guilty of it.

And thus the wise ones of the world have ever reviled the friends of God. This man is a sinner. This mighty worker of miracles, of whom we hear so much, is but a a poor creature like themselves, probably, in their opinion, far inferior to themselves. Give God the glory! This man of himself can do nothing. He has not the Divine power of Jesus, who worked miracles by inherent omnipotence; but what if this man should be a friend of the Great Master's, and one of those to whom He gave the power to work miracles in His name. Thus, when men dare to compliment God at the expense of His saints, they profess to give Him glory by denying His power and His word. Thus did the Pharisees deny the power and the miracles of Jesus.

But these philosophers had another arrow to launch—once more they wearied the man with inquiries, the answers to which they were beforehand determined not to believe. He had lost patience, as well he might; and asked if they, too, wished to become disciples of Jesus. Alas! this was not their object—they wished to dispute, not to believe. They inquired, not that they might get information, and by getting information know the truth, but that they might scoff at truth. And then, when argument failed, they took to the last resource of a bad cause, "they reviled him."

The man bore their personalities in silence; but, when they reviled Jesus, he could no longer restrain himself. Well, indeed, might he say it was a "wonderful thing" that they should not know whence Jesus came from, when He had performed so great a miracle. Who could perform such a wonder as to give sight to one born blind save only He who had given man his power of vision? But again reviling took the place of argument, and violence was substituted for inquiry. They cast him out.

The man went and told Jesus; and for his reward obtained the gift of faith, the faith which enabled him to believe in the Son of God. The Pharisees appeared to have heard all that passed, and they are not content now without reviling Jesus. His answer is calm and sorrowful. If they had declared themselves blind, if they had been willing to admit it possible that they might be wrong, there would have been some excuse for them. But they were hardened in unbelief, they were satisfied that they "saw," and that all who differed from them were blind. Hence their condemnation.

There are three classes of persons who refuse to believe the miracles which are recorded in the "Lives of the Saints," and who would, therefore, object to almost every event in the life of the great Apostle of Ireland. These classes are, first, Protestants who believe, as they say, in the miracles in the Bible, but in no others. Yet, if they believe in the Bible at all as an inspired book, they cannot deny that our Divine Lord declared that his disciples should be able to perform the very miracles which they refuse to believe. To doubt, therefore, that miracles are performed, is simply to disbelieve the solemn assertions of our Lord.

The second class are Protestants who deny even the miracles of the Bible. This class of unbelievers is, unhappily, rapidly on the increase, both at home and in the colonies. The present writer was assured not long since, by a Protestant gentleman of more than ordinary intellect, who had spent a considerable time in the colonies, that all the educated men there held the opinions of Dr. Colenzo, and the writers in "Essays and Reviews."

A devout Protestant, and there are many such, shrinks back with horror from open denials of the inspiration of Scripture, and of the miracles recorded therein. Yet, almost all the modern disputations about the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures have been grounded upon objections to miracles. Dr. Colenzo, and the writers in "Essays and Reviews," who unhappily have thousands of followers, many of whom are members of the Church of England, have argued strictly on this principle.

Dr. Colenzo states, in the Preface to the first volume of his work on the Pentateuch, that his doubts, which always existed, were brought to a stand-point of infidelity by the question of a native, who asked if he believed in the Mosaic account of the Flood. With an odd mixture of profanity and apparent truthfulness, which would be amusing were not the question so serious, he quotes the Prophet Zacharias to show that, according to Scripture, he could not tell the man a lie, while he calmly assures his readers, that though he "knew" the Bible account was untrue, he "satisfied" the man, without throwing discredit upon the "general veracity" of Scripture.

The present Work is no place for the discussion of Dr. Colenzo's theories; but, with the exception of a few critical points that have been discussed and answered again and again, the whole force of his argument turns on the one point—a miracle cannot happen—therefore, a miracle did not happen; or, in other words, certain events are recorded in the Bible which could not have happened in the ordinary course of nature, but no event ever happens out of the ordinary course of nature; therefore, such events, though they are recorded in the Bible, are not true.

God help the unfortunate natives who are taught religion in this fashion. Well may they ask, Why do you come to teach us at all if you do not believe your own religion? Why come to tell us of a God who, according to your theory, cannot interfere with the world which he has created? Is He, then, any more powerful or any greater than our gods? Who sent you to teach? If He sent you, why did He not tell you what you were to teach? Are we to believe on your word, and on your word only, that some parts of the book in which He revealed His will, and in which His life is written, are false, and some parts true? Why is not our word and our opinion as good as yours? If there is so much doubt about the truths of your religion, why do you come and offer it to us in preference to our own?

If Dr. Colenzo may be credited, his opinions are held by many of the clergy of the Church of England, although they are afraid to express themselves openly. In the Preface to the second part of his work he says: "I assert, without fear of contradiction, that there are multitudes now of the more intelligent clergy who do not believe in the reality of the Noachian Deluge, as described in the Book of Genesis." And in another place he says he has promised "to help those similarly circumstanced as best he can."

The writer on the Study of Evidences, in "Essays and Reviews," goes on precisely the same ground as Bishop Colenzo. Miracles cannot happen—therefore, they do not happen—is, in plain words, the argument of both. I should be, indeed, sorry to compare an acute and excellent clergyman like the late Dr. Todd to such writers; but I must be pardoned for saying that he argues precisely in the same way with regard to the miracles attributed to St. Patrick.

All these writers, whether they deny the miracles in Scripture, or accept them, and deny the miracles recorded in the "Lives of the Saints," argue in the same way. Once admit that our Lord and his Apostles performed miracles, and you must admit that what was done by the power of God once can be done by the power of God again. Once deny the miracles recorded in Scripture, or refer them to any natural cause, or to any unknown "law," apart from the divine will, and you destroy the whole credibility of the Christian Faith.

There are several points of consideration in regard to miracles which do not appear to have entered into the calculations of these objectors. In the first place, and most important of all, it does not follow, because a man witnesses the performance of a miracle, that he should be thereby converted to a belief in revelation. This was abundantly proved in the life of Christ, and in the lives of the Apostles. The result of our Divine Lord's miracles, on many occasions, was simply to exasperate the people. What could have been more wonderful than the raising of Lazarus from the dead? Here, unquestionably, there could have been no room for the exercise of that "imagination" to which Dr. Todd attributed the visions of St. Patrick; yet the only effect it had upon the Pharisees, the learned men of that day, was to make them plot more eagerly than ever to kill Jesus, and to kill Lazarus also. It would not have answered their purpose to kill Jesus only, they wished also to get rid of Lazarus, for while he lived he was a continual proof of the reality of the miracle.

Why was not such a miracle believed? Our Divine Lord Himself has told us. Many of the witnesses of his miracles had not FAITH, and of some it is said that they *would not* believe. The mere fact of seeing a miracle in itself has no power whatsoever. In the Gospel of St. John, xii. 37, we read: "And whereas he had done so many miracles before them they believed not in him." And then the disciple whom Jesus loved tells us why they did not believe. It was because God himself had "blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts," as a judgment for their sins. Again and again our Divine Lord insisted on the necessity of FAITH in His preaching; and, when about to perform the miracle for the centurion, He said, "Go, and as thou hast believed, be it done unto thee."—St. Matt. viii. 13.

When asked to give sight to the two blind men He inquired, before performing the miracle, "Do you believe that I can do this unto you?"—Matt. ix. 28. And as He touched their eyes, He said, "According to your faith, be it done unto you." When his disciples asked why they could not cast out the devil from the possessed child, Jesus replied, "Because of your unbelief."—Matt. xvii. 19. When his disciples were amazed at the withering of the fig-tree, He told them, if they had FAITH they could perform, not only similar miracles, but even greater ones.

It would be useless to multiply instances—they may be found almost in every page of Holy Writ; and they prove that without FAITH we cannot please God, but that we may reject that gift and refuse to believe if we choose to do so. Faith is the gift of God—a gift to be prayed for humbly and earnestly; and it is a gift which may be lost at any time by our own fault. It is, therefore, no matter of surprise that the miracles of the saints are not credited, when the miracles of Jesus were disbelieved. When the men of Israel wondered at the miracle performed by St. Peter in healing the lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, he explained to them that there was no occasion for their surprise. It was not *he* who had performed this miracle, it was FAITH in the name of Jesus. "The faith which is by him hath given this perfect soundness in the sight of you all."—Acts, iii. 16.

And it is in this name, and by this heaven-sent faith, that all the saints have worked miracles, from the time in which the apostles were endowed with power from on high to the present hour. It is not a little strange that Protestants, who are so continually boasting that the Bible and faith are their guides, should really be the only doubters of the inspiration of the Bible, and the only persons who deny the power of faith. Who ever heard of a Catholic priest writing essays or preaching sermons to prove that any part of the Bible was not true, or that the miracles recorded therein were false? Yet Protestants of all denominations are doing this at the present day.

One of the many objections made by modern sceptics to miracles is, that they are an interference with the laws of nature. But this is precisely what they are intended to be. For a Christian, or, at least, for a Catholic—for all these sceptics profess to be Christians—it is sufficient that the Bible, which is given to them by the Church as God's Word, declares that miracles are an evidence of revelation, and records them as such.

When St. John the Baptist sent his disciples to our Divine Lord, to ask if he was indeed the Christ, He *at once* appealed to His miracles as an evidence that His mission was divine: "Go and relate to John what you have heard and seen; the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead rise again, the poor have the gospel preached to them." And then he adds sorrowful and suggestive words: "Blessed is he that shall not be scandalized in me."—St. John, ix. 5, 6. Oh, words of grief and fear! Is it, then, possible to be scandalized at Jesus—scandalized at His miracles—scandalized at His life? Alas! it is not only possible, but true. The Pharisees were scandalized, because the Creator of all things was pleased to suspend or alter the operations of the laws which He Himself had made: "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" What, then, was not this man the Creator of flesh? and has not the Creator power to do what He will with what he has created? "Thy disciples do that which is not lawful on the Sabbath?" What, then, has not He who made the law of the Sabbath, power to suspend or alter that law? Is not the Son of Man Lord of the world and of the Sabbath? Is He not the Maker of all laws of nature and of grace?

And thus, from the very time of Christ to the present hour, the world has been scandalized at miracles. It will not allow that the Creator of all things has any power to interfere with what he has created—for this is, in simple words, the sole sum and substance of all objections to miracles, whether couched in the wild language of blasphemy and open unbelief, or in the crafty insinuation of the so-called philosopher.

To repeat instances of our Lord's appeals to his miracles as evidence of his mission would occupy needless space, but one more example may be given. "Then began he to upbraid the cities wherein were done most of his miracles, for that they had not done penance." Mat. xi. 20. Thank God, the faithful Irish can never be upbraided with rejecting the miracles which God has wrought for them through his servant Patrick. Thank God, centuries of persecution have failed to shake their faith. Who can tell how glorious will be their reward? Who can tell how magnificent the palaces prepared for them in their Father's house? Who can tell, as one by one they ascended to heaven with martyrs' crowns upon their heads, how they were received by their father Patrick, in the city where pain never cometh? Martyred by the sword, martyred by famine, martyred by the loss of all things—who may tell, who can conjecture, how many amongst the white-robed army, whose praises the Church sings daily in the *Te Deum*, will belong to the Irish race?

And even now their heavenly triumph is in some sort foreshadowed by a temporal victory. The majority of the English nation have proclaimed it unmistakeably. They have acknowledged that sword, and famine, and bitter persecution of cruel laws, have alike failed to induce the Irish to renounce their faith. A relentless persecution, more or less severe, and, at times, a persecution to blood, lasting for several hundred years, has ended, let us hope for ever, with this acknowledgement. A more glorious moral triumph never was gained. On the one side we find helplessness, suffering, and victory; on the other side we find power, wealth, and *defeat.* And those who now revile or question the miracles of our most glorious saint will know at the last great day, to their shame and grief, that not the least of his miracles was the favour which he obtained from God when the Irish nation were given to his keeping in this world and in the next.

There is one other subject connected with miracles which must be briefly noticed, as it is specially connected with the miracles of St. Patrick. The grand modern objection to miracles is, that they are "violations of the laws of matter."[1] Now, what is matter? According to the common dictionary meaning of the word, matter is the substance of which all bodies are constituted. But who created matter? If it created itself—and this is precisely the point to which all modern scepticism is tending—then, no doubt, it has power in itself, and cannot be interfered with from without. If the sun, moon, stars, light, and the elements in general, created themselves, and arranged themselves into harmonious order according to certain laws, then, no doubt, they cannot be interfered with. But the intellect of an educated child could laugh such folly to scorn. Has not He who ordained the laws by which *He* is pleased to govern nature, power to suspend or alter these laws, and this without causing an interruption which should be hurtful to their continued regularity?

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[1] *Matter.*—"Essays and Reviews," p. 159. Cheap edition.

It really is difficult to understand how any man, whose faith is sufficient to enable him to say truly, "I believe in God the Father Almighty, creator of heaven and earth," can have any doubt on the subject of miracles. We must remember that a miracle is not a miracle to God. It is a simple exercise of His power. It only appears a miracle *to us*, because it is an exercise of His power which differs from what we usually see. For example. In accordance with the law of specific gravity, wood floats on water, but iron does not. God is the author of that law, and, therefore, He has power to suspend its operation at any moment. Hence, we find that when the sons of the prophets were cutting down wood, for the purpose of erecting a building where they might dwell together, one of them let the head of his axe fall into the water; yet the man of God made it swim—a clear suspension of the law of specific gravity. Such miracles are not unfrequent in the "Lives of the Saints;" and yet, is it not as easy for God to make iron swim as to make wood swim? The most learned men cannot tell why certain laws have certain effects; they can only tell you what these effects are. How, then, dare they presume to limit the power of the Author of these laws? If miracles never occurred, if the laws of nature were never on any occasion suspended or altered, there might be some excuse for supposing that man was nothing more than a complicated process of electro-chemistry, and that the universe evolved itself out of a speck of nebula.

There is one consideration, however, connected with the subject of miracles, of the first importance. The Bible narrative, from begining to end, is a continuous record of miracles. There were miracles under the old dispensation as well as under the new, and they were of frequent occurrence.

There were miracles from the earliest ages of Christianity to the present day. It would require a volume, or rather many volumes, to give details of the miracles recorded in Catholic Ecclesiastical History, and even if such volumes were written, we much fear they would fail to convince many. Nor can we expect that those who would not believe the testimony of St. Augustine and St. Anthony the Hermit, would be likely to believe the testimony, ample and authentic as it is, of the miracles performed by our great apostle, St. Patrick.

St. Patrick called back by the Sailors.

Chapter II.

Of the authorities for the Life of St. Patrick.

SAINT FIACC'S Hymn or Poem on the Life of Saint Patrick appears to be the earliest biography of the saint. Colgan evidently considered it the most important of the Lives which he has published, as he places it first, and gives a Latin version with the original.[1]

Saint Fiacc's Hymn is preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum* of Trinity College, Dublin. The late Dr. Todd, a high authority on such questions, when religious prejudice did not bias his judgment, pronounced the manuscript to be one of the most venerable monuments of Christian antiquity now remaining in Europe.[2] He considered that it could not have been written later than the ninth or tenth century.

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[1] *Original.*—Trias Thaumaturgus, p. 1.

The greater number of the hymns which it contains have never been published, and are wholly unknown to the learned. The Latin hymns are glossed partly in Latin and partly in Irish. The hymns in the Irish language are of immense value both to the philologist, the hagiographer, and the student of Celtic literature.

The eminent Irish scholar, Eugene O'Curry, considers St. Fiacc's Hymn the oldest extant monument of Celtic hagiology. He writes thus:—"St. Fiacc of Sletty is the author of a biographical poem, on the Life of St. Patrick, in the Gædhlic language, a most ancient copy of which still exists, and which bears internal evidence of a high degree of perfection in the language at the time at which it was composed; it is unquestionably, in all respects, a genuine and native production, quite untinctured with the Latin or any other foreign contemporary style or idiom."

O'Curry also gives St. Fiacc the honour of being the originator of the idea of writing the Lives of the Saints of Erinn.[3] A copy of the *Liber Hymnorum* is also preserved in Rome, which appears to be the one known to Ware and Usher, who mention it as a *vetustissimus*

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[2] *Europe.*—Liber Hymnorum, p. 1, printed for the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society.

[3] *Erinn*—O'Curry's Lectures, p. 343.

codex.[4] The introduction to the poem varies considerably in the Dublin and Roman copy. The introduction to the Roman copy commences thus: "Fiacc of Sletty it was that composed this eulogy of Patrick."

St. Fiacc was the disciple of the poet Dubthach Mac Ui Lugair, who rose up in disobedience to the command of the monarch Laeghaire, on the ever-memorable Easter morning when St. Patrick went to Tara. When the saint visited the poet at his own house in Leinster, he asked him to find a person of devout life and irreproachable morals whom he might consecrate bishop. Dubthach replied that he knew such a person, but he had gone on a visit to Connaught. As they conversed, Fiacc entered with his companions, and the poet informed St. Patrick that this was the man of whom he had spoken. St. Patrick replied that Fiacc might not wish to become an ecclesiastic. The poet answered: "Set about tonsuring me that Fiacc may see it." Fiacc, as he expected, at once inquired what they were doing, and on being informed, exclaimed that it would be a loss, for there was not in all Erinn so great a poet as Dubthach.

St. Patrick assured him that he might exchange with his friend, which he at once offered to do, exclaiming, with true generosity, "Less is my loss to Erinn than that of Dubthach." St. Patrick then tonsured Fiacc, and "great grace came on him after that; and he learned the ecclesiastical order in one night, or in fifteen days, as others say."[5]

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[4] *Codex.*—We are much indebted to an admirable article in the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record" for March, 1868, for information on this and other subjects. The very low price at which this serial is published places it within the reach of all, and it should certainly be in the library of every Irish clergyman. If it were generously supported, we might hope that many valuable Irish manuscripts would be published and translated in it from time to time.

The Tripartite Life adds, that St. Patrick baptized and tonsured Fiacc, who had hitherto been only a catechumen, and gave him an alphabet,[6] written by his own hand, and a blessing, so that he learned the whole Psalter in one day. St. Fiacc's progress in learning and sanctity was so rapid, that the saint not only constituted him first bishop of the Leinster men, but made him also chief and supreme bishop of the whole province.

In the Book of Armagh it is said, that St. Patrick gave a reliquary, a crozier, and a book-satchel to the new bishop, and left seven disciples with him. These were Muchatocc of Inisfail, Augustin of Inisbecc, Tecan, Diarmit, Nainnid, Paul, and Fedelmid. Their community was established at *Domnach Fiacc*, situated to the east of the Barrow, in the county Carlow.

St. Fiacc's disciples are all of note in the calendar of the early Irish Church. Muchatocc (the same as Cadoc) is honoured as an apostle in Wales and Britanny;

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[5] *Say.*—In the *Book of Armagh* the narrative of the interview between St. Patrick and Fiacc is fully given. It says there that St. Patrick asked Dubthach about the *materies* of a bishop for the Laginians [Leinster men], and that he recommended Fiacc Finn, or the Fair; for "great was his piety."

[6] *Alphabet.*—St. Patrick was in the habit of distributing what his biographers call alphabets. It is very improbable that these alphabets were such as we ordinarily understand by that term. It has been suggested that they might have been some compendium of Catholic Faith, such as the alphabetical poem which St. Augustine composed against the Donatists; or, perhaps, the Apostles' Creed.

Augustin was one of the first companions of Palladius; Tecan and Diarmit are commemorated respectively on the 9th of September and the 10th of January; Nainnid, or Nennidh, was surnamed the pure-handed, and administered the Holy Viaticum to St. Brigid; Paul retired to a desert island, where he was visited by St. Brendan; and Fedhelim is venerated as the patron of Kilmore, where his feast is kept on the 9th of August.

St. Fiacc must have remained a considerable time at *Domnach Fiacc*, as it is said that sixty of his disciples went to their eternal reward from that monastery before his removal to Sletty. His work was not yet accomplished; and an angel appeared to him to inform him that "his resurrection" should be in another place. The heavenly messenger added, that he should build his refectory in the place where they should find a boar, and their church in the place where they should find a doe. The saint's devotion to his master is strongly manifested all through his life, but especially so in the present instance, for he replies to the angel that "he would not go until Patrick should come to measure his place with him and to consecrate it, and that it should be from him that he would receive his place."

The territory of Sletty had originally belonged to St. Fiacc's family, but they had been expelled by the king of Hy-Kinsellagh, when his father and four brothers were driven into exile. The king, however, had now made profession of Christianity, and had just received holy baptism from the hands of the great apostle. He was, therefore, ready to accede to any request which he might make. At his solicitation, "not only was the site for a church granted to St. Fiacc, but also a grant was made to him of all the surrounding territory, comprising a fifth part of his paternal possessions, with which he was enabled to endow that church which he made his episcopal see."[7]

Crimthan, the king of Hy-Kinsellagh, died A.D. 483, therefore, the foundation of Sletty could not have been later than A.D. 480. In the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, it is said that Fiacc retired to a cave, on the hill of Drum Coblai, on every Shrove Saturday, where he spent the Lent in silence, fasting, and prayer. His only food was five loaves of bread. On Easter Sunday he returned to celebrate the festival with his disciples.

The principal incidents in the life of this saint are so intimately connected with events in the life of St. Patrick, that they are referred to a future page. Our present object is the important one of indicating clearly what ample and unquestionable authority is still on record for the life and acts of our great apostle. The date of St. Fiacc's death has not been recorded; but, as he was still a youth when St. Patrick preached to the court of King Laeghaire, it has been conjectured, from a comparison with other dates and incidents, that he died about A.D. 510, at a monastery called Minbeag, near his great church of Sletty. His son Fiachra was ordained[8] priest by St. Patrick; he also became eminent for his sanctity, and is commemorated in the ancient

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[7] *See.*—Colgan, "Trias Thaum." p. 155.
[8] *Ordained.*—Colgan, *Vit. Trip.* iii. 21.

Irish calendars on the same day as St. Fiacc, 12th October.[9]

In the Book of Armagh it is recorded that his relics were venerated in the district of Sletty; and the *Vita Tripartite* mentions that he was interred in that church. Ænghus thus eulogises the father and son:—

> "Proclaim Fiacc and Fiachrai,
> *Omne* great is the treasure."

The name of St. Fiacc's monastery is still preserved in the form of Slath or Slatey, the name of a churchyard and parish in the barony of Slievemarque, Queen's County, about a mile N.N.W. of the town of Carlow, on the banks of the Barrow. There are two stone crosses of considerable antiquity in the churchyard, and in the neighbourhood the ruins of a small church are yet in existence. This is still called Slieb-teach, *i. e.*, the house near the mountains, and is probably identical with the *minbeag*, or small church mentioned above. There are no remains of the once famous monastery of Sletty.

Some critics have raised a question as to the date at which the poem was composed, from a supposed or real allusion to the desertion of Tara. The late Dr. Todd thought that it must have been written after the middle of the sixth century, because the desolation of Tara occurred in the reign of Diarmaid, A.D. 539–558.

[9] *October.*—In the Martyrology of Donegal his obituary is thus recorded: "Fiacc, Bishop of Sletty, in Leinster, of the race of Cathoir Mor Fiachraidh, his son, of the same church as Fiacc, his father." In the Martyrology of Tallaght: "Fiacc, and with him his son Fiachra, of Sletty." The *Vita Trip.* explains the name Sletty as equivalent to *montes*, "venit ad locum qui *Slepte* vulgo, id est, *montes*, appelantur."—(iii. 23.)

Colgan evaded the difficulty by suggesting that the verses contained a prophetic announcement. O'Connor dated St. Fiacc's demise as late as A.D. 540. There are two presumed references to the desolation of Tara. The first occurs in the tenth strophe.

> The Tuatha of Erinn were prophesying that a new kingdom of faith would come.
> That it would last for evermore: the land of Tara would be silent and waste.

The second reference is contained in the twenty-second strophe.

> In Ardmagh there is sovereignty: it is long since Emain passed away;
> A great church is Dun-Lethglasse: I wish not that Tara should be a desert.

A recent writer, however, suggests, that the very opposite conclusions may be drawn, and that St. Fiacc neither announces in prophecy, nor commemorates as a fact the destruction of Tara, but rather expresses the alarm and fears of the Druids in the first allusion, and a wish for the prosperity of Tara in the second.

The whole question is obviously one open to a variety of conjecture, which will probably always be determined by individual bias to or for other opinions against which pre-formed conclusions or prejudices may militate.

The title *ardepscop,* usually translated archbishop, which is given to St. Fiacc, has been also brought forward by the Bollandists as an objection to the early date assigned by Irish authorities. But the old Irish word *ardepscop* by no means corresponds with the comparatively modern *archiepiscopus.* The Celtic word had simply the meaning of chief or principal, as *ard-file*, chief poet, *ard-anchoire*, chief anchorite. The best Celtic scholars are agreed as to the antiquity of the idiomatic structure of this most valuable and interesting poem. In the introduction to the poem, an indirect proof of its age is given by the allusion to tonsure of the beard according to the Roman usage, "more Romano capillos suos aut barbam tondere," which is expressly commanded in one of the canons of St. Patrick.

In the Trias Thaumaturga Colgan places a Life of St. Patrick second in his compilation, which he attributes to a St. Patrick, junior, or to some disciple of the saint who lived in the middle of the sixth century; but both the authorship and its date must remain a matter of considerable uncertainty. Colgan's reason for assigning the date is, that the author speaks of Loarne, Bishop of Brettan, now Bright, near Downpatrick, as being alive when the narrative was written. The words "ubi est episcopus Loarne," however, might mean that Bishop Loarne was buried at Brettan, and that his remains were there. But in the very commencement of the Life, the author speaks of a sister of St. Patrick, whom he calls Lupita, whose remains (cujus reliquiæ) were in Armagh. It is therefore fair to argue, that if Bishop Loarne had not been alive, he would have used the same mode of expression in his case.[1]

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[1] *Case.*—There is said to have been a nephew of St. Patrick who bore his name. Colgan heads this Life "Secunda Vita S. Patricii authore [ut videtur] S. Patricio, Juniore alioũe magni Patricii Discipulo, ex membranis monasteri S. Huberti in Arduenna."

The third Life is much fuller than either of the preceding biographies. The authorship is doubtful; but Colgan says he obtained it from Father Stephen Vitus, of the Society of Jesus, a very learned man, that it was found at Biburgensibus, in Bavaria, and he gives several reasons for attributing the authorship to St. Benignus, the disciple of St. Patrick, and his successor in the See of Armagh.

The Fourth Life is attributed by Colgan to St. Aileran, and bears internal evidence[2] of having been written before the year 774. As the saint died in 664, if the authorship can with certainty be attributed to him, it would give the work a very high antiquity. St. Aileran, or Aireran the Wise, was a teacher in the great school of Clonard, and died of the plague. A Litany which he composed is still extant, and was first discovered by Professor O'Curry, in the *Leabhar Buidhe Lecain*, or Yellow Book of Lecain, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. A fragment of an ancient tract has been published by Fleming in his Collectanea Sacra, which was discovered in the monastery of St. Gall, in Switzerland.[3] It is entitled "The Mystical

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[2] *Evidence.*—The author of the *Vita Quarta* mentions that the relics of St. Palladius, companion to Silvester and Solinus, were carried to the island of Boethin, and were there held in due honour (et ibi cum digno honore habentur). This island belongs to the townland of Inisboyne, near Arklow, and obtained its name from St. Boethin, who flourished early in the seventh century. The monastery was plundered and destroyed in the year 774, according to the annals of Ulster, or 770, according to the Four Masters. Hence this life must have been written before that event. The *Vita Secunda* also must have been written before the year 600, for it mentions that relics of these saints were honoured at Donard, where they had been kept before their removal to the island of Boethin.—*Colgan*, p. 38 and 13.

[3] *Switzerland.*—O'Curry's Manuscript Materials of Irish History, p. 379.

Interpretation of the Ancestry of our Lord Jesus Christ."

The Fifth Life, *Quinta Vita,* was written by Probus. But there is considerable difficulty in identifying the person of that name by whom it was compiled.

In the last chapter of this life the writer says: "Thou hast now, brother Paulinus, from me the humble Probus, the required token of our fraternal regard, through which you sought for some record of the virtues of our most holy father, Patrick, the bishop." This at once gives us the author's name and his object in writing. Colgan gives various reasons for believing that he was an Irish monk, who lived in the sixth or seventh century.

The Sixth Life was written by Jocelyn, a Cistercian monk of the Abbey of Furness, who lived in the early part of the twelfth century. This Life of St. Patrick is the only one which has been translated. An English version was published by Mr. E. Swift, in 1809, with "elucidations by David Rothe, some time bishop of Ossory," the principal object of which is to show that the miracles attributed to St. Patrick, however wonderful, were not therefore to be rejected; and that equally wonderful miracles had been performed by other saints.

The "Observations on the Acts of St. Patrick by the Translator," takes, as might be expected, a different view of this subject, and while the writer defends the veracity of Jocelyn, he apologizes for, and attempts to explain away the miracles which he records in a style which would do credit to a writer in "Essays and Reviews." Swift also calls the reader's attention to the extreme difficulty of giving a translation of such works, which would be at once correct and scholarly. Those who have made similar attempts can well sympathise with his remarks.[4]

The Seventh Life is by far the most important and valuable of these documents, and will demand considerable notice. It is called the Tripartite Life from its threefold division, and was written by St. Evin. Colgan referred this life to the sixth century, and seemed much impressed with its value and authority, and its consequent importance to the hagiographer. Colgan states that he had three different manuscripts of this work before him when occupied in translating it into Latin. He mentions that part was written in Latin and part in Irish, and that the Irish and the style were of the highest antiquity, *summam antiquitatem.*

After the issue of Colgan's work the Irish manuscript appeared to have been lost. No one had ever heard of its existence; and those who were inclined to throw discredit on Colgan's labours made the most of this circumstance. But even as modern research has tended to confirm the value and authenticity of the bardic annals of Irish history and Irish customs, so literary research has tended to prove the value and authenticity of the documents used by Colgan, and modern archæologists are obliged to admit the critical accuracy and care which he exercised in the compilation of his works.

The original document, or at least an original document of equal value and authenticity, was discovered by Professor O'Curry in the library of the British Museum, in May, 1849. Twenty years have passed since this memorable and, to Irish archæologists and hagiographers, most important discovery was made; and yet, until we began to prepare material for the present work, no attempt was made either to translate or use it in any way. Our readers are indebted, as we have already remarked, to the eminent Celtic scholar, W. M. Hennessy, Esq., for the accurate and scholarly translation which will be given at the end of this volume.

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[4] *Remarks.*—The Life and Acts of St. Patrick: by Edmund L. Swift, Esq., Dublin, 1809, printed for the Hibernian Press Company, p. 265.

Colgan, as we have already observed, says that he had three very ancient MSS. of the Tripartite. The first of these, and the chief, was the very ancient copy of the O'Clery's, *ex vetustis membranis Cleriorum antiquariorum in Ultonia;* the second was that of the O'Devrans in Leinster; the third was an unknown codex—"One relating what the other omitted, and one giving in Irish what the other gave in Latin." Colgan adds that he followed the manuscript which gave the narrative at the greatest length, and which contained the most Latin. He also states that, on account of the antiquity of the style, the work was used by antiquarians (antiquariorum) as a text-book in their schools; and hence that many glosses and observations foreign to the original may have been, and probably were, interpolated into the original text.[5]

As to the authorship, Jocelyn stated, when he wrote in 1185, that a Life of St. Patrick had been written by St. Eimhin or Evin; and that it was written partly in Irish and partly in Latin. He also distinguishes this life from those attributed to SS. Benignus, Mel, Lennan, and Patrick, junior. Colgan says, that he believes the copies which he used were essentially the same as those used by Jocelyn. It is evident, according to the same authority, that the work was written by a monk and an Irishman. The author's exact knowledge of tribes, families, territories, and places, are a sufficient evidence of the former. The age in which he wrote is inferred from frequent allusions to persons as living when the work was written, whose obituaries are known not to have occurred later than the sixth century; as, for example, where he says of St. Fiacc: "But none of them rose up to the servant of God except *Dubthach O'Lugair*, arch poet of the king and kingdom; and one young man of his disciples, who is to-day (*hodie*) in the church of Sletty." O'Curry has observed, however, that this mode of speaking in the present tense, which was used by distinguished ecclesiastics of the fifth and sixth centuries, continued to be used in the eighth and ninth, and cannot be absolutely relied upon to determine a date. It should also be observed, that St. Columbcille, St. Ultan, St. Aileran *the Wise*, St. Adamnan, St. Kieran, St. Colman, and others, are cited in the Tripartite as the writers of St. Patrick's miracles, while no mention is made of St. Evin. But it may well be believed, that we have not got the Life in its original form, and that many additions were made to it by transcribers. The antiquity of the language, the idiom of which is referred, by the best philologists, to the date at which St. Evin lived, the testimony of Jocelyn in 1185, and the opinion of Colgan, who had access to documents now lost, are the best grounds for assigning the Life to its reputed author.

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[5] *Text.*—Colgan, Trias Thaum, p. 169.

O'Curry[6] also remarks, as an incidental testimony, that John O'Connell of Kerry, who wrote a long poem on the History of Ireland, in 1650, refers to St. Evin's "Life of St. Patrick," which evidences a general opinion of its existence.

The festival of St. Evin occurs on the 22nd of December. In the Festology of Ængus the Culdee, he beseeches the intercession of *St. Eimhin,* the white or fair, from the banks of the river Barrow. He was the founder of the original church or monastery of *Mainister-Eimhin,* now anglicised Monasterevan. St. Evin was a Munster man, and descended in a direct line from Oilioll Olium, King of Munster, who died A.D. 234. "It is probable," says O'Curry, "that he was living in 504, and that he had seen and conversed with St. Patrick, who had only died eleven years before this time, or in 493."

The copy of the Tripartite, discovered by O'Curry in the British Museum, contains the following notice, which indicates the precise year in which it was transcribed. One cannot but regret that the copier did not give some account of the manuscript which he used but, perhaps, it is not much to our advantage that we have gained in critical accuracy by losing some of the piety and devotion with which our ancestors treated such subjects : "The annals of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the year that this Life of Patrick was written, were 1477, and to-morrow night will be Lammas Eve, and it is in Bailé an *Mhoinim* I am. It was in the house of *O'Troighthigh* this was written by *Domhnall Albanàch O'Troighthigh,* and *Deo Gratias Jesus.*"

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[6] *O'Curry.*—Manuscript Materials, p. 350.

The O'Troighthighs were originally natives of the county Clare, and were a clan of some note. It is impossible, however, to identify the writer of this memorandum. The place also presents equal difficulties, for there were many places in Ireland called by the name of Bailé an Mhoinim (the village of the little bog).

The short sketch of the life of St. Patrick given in the Book of Armagh is taken from the Tripartite ; and the annotations of Tirechan on St. Patrick's Life, found in the same book in Latin, were probably derived from the same source. Tirechan says he obtained his information from the books and from the oral instructions of his predecessor, St. Ultan, whose disciple he was, and who died A.D. 656.

The date and authenticity of the Book of Armagh is a subject of considerable importance in estimating and stating the authorities for the Life of St. Patrick, especially as it contains extracts from the Tripartite Life. These extracts record miracles which would be credited by modern sceptics to the imagination of the compilers, had they appeared in narratives written at a later date. As it is, the only resource for such critics is, to credit them to the imagination of the saints by whom they were performed.

The date of the compilation of the *Book of Armagh* is decided by the name of the scribe, Ferdomnach, which appears in several parts of the volume. His death is known to have occurred in 845, and he is described as "the wise and very admirable scribe of Armagh." The way in which the name of the scribe has been ascertained, and the date discovered, is full of interest. The identification in both cases was made by Dr. Graves, the present Protestant Bishop of Limerick.

Soon after the Book of Armagh was deposited in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, this gentleman observed that numerous erasures had been made in it, at the end of certain articles, and in the precise place where Irish scribes usually inserted their names. After careful examination, the words *Pro Ferdomnach ores*—pray for Ferdomnach—was discovered. The same words could also be traced in several other places; and this, combined with the uniformity of the handwriting, which is of extreme elegance, and remarkable for its distinctness and regularity, at once decided the question of authorship.

The next point was to discover who the scribe was, and when he lived. Two entries were found in the Annals of the Four Masters of the obituaries of scribes of Armagh of the same name. The first date was A.D. 727, the second date was A.D. 845. Colgan had enumerated the names of thirty or forty persons who held the office of *scriba*, or scholasticus, in Armagh, but there were only two Ferdomnachs. By the use of a weak solution of gallic acid in spirits of wine, Dr. Graves partly revived the traces of the original writing of an important memorandum, and, with a magnifying glass, he read some portions of it. The result was to obtain the information that the scribe was contemporary with some Heres Patricii, or successor of St. Patrick, in the see of Armagh, whose name ended with *ach*. There were three archbishops of Armagh whose name ended thus in the time of the second Ferdomnach. These names were Foenælach, Commach, and Torbach. The space in which no letters could be recovered, left only sufficient room for the letters in the latter name, and a careful examination showed that the letter preceding "ach" was probably "b," that it certainly was not an "l" or an "m."

Torbach held the primacy for a year only, according to the Catalogues of the Psalter of Cashel, and he died on the 16th of July, A.D. 808. The writing of the Gospel of St. Matthew, contained in the Book of Armagh, is recorded to have been finished on his festival day, the 21st of September. Dr. Graves, therefore, concluded that it must have been written in the year 807. The memorandum has been thus restored by Dr. Graves:—

F DOMNACH . H V N C . LIB.
E R V M . E DICTANTE
R TORBACH . HEREDE . PAT
RICII . SCRIPSIT .

The importance and value of the Book of Armagh cannot be too highly estimated. The certainty of the date at which it was written gives us at once an authentic testimony which cannot be disputed regarding the Life of our great apostle. It was quite impossible that those who wrote so near the time at which he lived could have been in ignorance, or could have been in any way deceived as to the circumstances of his life. And this work is not less valuable as giving evidence of the general belief of the age, the very fact, that the allusions to it are only incidental and not dogmatical, proves beyond all question what the general belief was. Thus, for at present we must confine ourselves to one example, we find that in the year 808 the Bishop of Armagh is styled the *Heres Patricii*, the successor of St. Patrick, as indeed was the custom from the time of St. Patrick to the present day. We find also that obedience to the command of the Heres Patricii was esteemed as sacred a duty then as now, when the *dictante Herede Patricii* was the motive power which induced the wise and learned scribe, Ferdomnach, to transcribe the Gospel of St. Matthew contained in the Book of Armagh.

Two incidental circumstances are noticed by Dr. Graves, which tend to throw further light upon the question of date and authorship. Dr. Petrie found a tombstone at Clonmacnoise, with the inscription:

OROIT OR FERDOMNACH.

And he refers both the character of the inscription and the style of the cross to the ninth century. It is not improbable that this may have been the tomb of the gifted scribe. Armagh was plundered by the Danes in 831, when he may have fled from that place, or possibly he may have retired at a still earlier period to end his days in the monastery by the banks of the Shannon, as it was customary for ecclesiastics to come thither from remote places. Wherever he sleeps let us breathe forth for his soul a *requiescat in pace.* And even should he be, as we can scarcely doubt, in the Land of Peace, and in the presence of God, he will not be unmindful of our prayer.

The pedigree of a Ferdomnach, twenty-third in descent from Conary More, monarch of Ireland, A.D. 158, has also been discovered in the Book of Lecain. Allowing thirty years to a generation, it brings the time of this Ferdomnach down to the middle of the ninth century, which coincides with the probable obituary of the scribe.

At the end of the Gospel of St. Matthew, the scribe has written a Latin prayer, of which a translation is given below :—

"O God, whose mercy is infinite, and whose holiness passeth speech, with humble voice I have boldness to implore that, like as Thou didst call Matthew to be a chosen apostle, from being a receiver of custom, so of Thy compassion Thou wilt vouchsafe to direct my steps during this life into the perfect way; and place me in the angelic choir of the heavenly Jerusalem, that, on the everlasting throne of endless joy, I may be deemed worthy to join with the harmonious praises of archangels in ascribing honour to Thee; through Thine Only

Begotten Son, who liveth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Spirit, throughout all ages. Amen."

It is noteworthy, also, that the Gospel of St. John is written on finer vellum, and with more delicate penmanship than the other portions of the work. This is observable, also, in other copies of the Gospels, and indicates a special tribute of honour to the beloved disciple, styled by Celtic writers, "John of the bosom."

The Book of Armagh commences with the memoir of St. Patrick. His Confession follows next. Then the New Testament, the Gospels being given in the usual order. The Acts of the Apostles follow the Apocalypse. Where the names of the twelve disciples are recorded in the Gospel, the word *trogan*, wretch, is written in the margin opposite to the name of Judas Iscariot.

The life of St. Martin of Tours, the uncle of St. Patrick, is placed at the end of the volume, and is introduced, says Dr. Reeves, partly in connection with St. Patrick's history, and partly because of the veneration in which St. Martin was held in the ancient Church of Ireland.

For many centuries it was believed that the Book of Armagh was written by St. Patrick himself, and this widely-spread opinion, no doubt, contributed not a little to the preservation of the volume. It will presently be seen that the authority for this opinion was the fact that the Book of Armagh, ancient as it is in its present form, was a copy of a work still older. The book obtained the name of *Canoin Phadraig*, or the scripture of Patrick; and in 937 we are told, by the Four

Masters, that the Canon of Patrick was encased by Donough, son of Flann, king of Ireland. This case was probably the leathern satchel still preserved with it, and which is of undoubted antiquity. It was the custom in ancient times to enter charters on the margins or blank pages of the most valuable books in monastic libraries. When Brian Boru visited Armagh in 1004, and again in 1006, he made valuable presents to the Church, and ratified its privileges. Brian's secretary and confessor, or "soul friend," as confessors were gracefully termed by the writers of that age, made an entry in the Book of Armagh for Brian, which may still be seen there, and which is thus translated :—

"St. Patrick, when going to heaven, ordained that the entire produce of his labour, as well of baptism and decisions, as of alms, was to be delivered to the apostolic city, which, in the Scotic tongue, is called Ardd-macha. Thus I have found it [stated] in the record of the Scots: This is my writing, namely, Calvus Perennis, in the presence of Brian, sovereign of the Scots; and what I have written he decreed for all the kings of Maceria." Calvus Perennis is the Latinised name of Brian's "soul friend," Maolsuthian, and Maceria, the Latin equivalent for Cashel.

This book was used frequently when solemn oaths were administered, and those who forswore themselves were believed to be subject to a special vengeance. There are records of the book having been used for this purpose in 1179 and in 1196. A keeper, or custodian, of this valuable document appears to have been appointed soon after the Norman invasion, probably to secure it from falling into English hands. In time the keeper came to be called as a surname by the name which distinguished his office, and in 1427 Primate Swayne granted an indulgence of forty days to all who should assist *Maor na Canoine* (Moyre Nakanany, the keeper of the Canon) of the Diocese of Armagh. This officer became exacting, and required repression at a later period; and in 1455 prohibitions were issued against paying certain exactions demanded by the Bajulator Canonis and the Custos Campanæ.

When Sir James Ware wrote in 1656, the volume was still held by the MacMoyers. Its possessor or guardian, Florence MacMoyer, has left his autograph on a blank page, thus: Liber Florentini Muire, June 29, 1662. He was the last hereditary keeper of the volume; and thus its authenticity is guaranteed from the eighth century to the seventeenth.

The next account of the Book was found amongst the papers of Edward Lhuyd, the eminent Welsh philologist, who died in 1709. Florence MacMoyer was one of the wretched men who gave evidence against Dr. Oliver Plunkett; and this paper mentions that MacMoyer pledged the Book for five pounds when he went over to England, when it came into the hands of Arthur Brownlow. When the wretched traitor died, his tomb was deserted; and although there were then eight townlands near Armagh, called Balli Moyre, in possession of the family, there is not an individual of the name of Moyer living or remembered in that district now. It is said that the family changed the name to M'Guire after the traitor's death, to remove, in some measure, the reproach of even bearing his name.

The Book of Armagh remained in possession of the Brownlow family from 1680 until 1847. In 1853, it was purchased by Dr. Reeves, the present Protestant rector of Tynan, from Mr. Brownlow, for £300. In 1858, it was purchased from Dr. Reeves, for the same sum, by the then Protestant primate, and placed by him in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. It must ever be a subject of regret that this heirloom of Catholic tradition and devotion should have passed into the hands of Protestants; yet it is a matter of no little satisfaction that it is in the hands of those who value it highly, and preserve it carefully.

But, it has already been remarked, that great as is the antiquity of the Book of Armagh, the tradition that it was in the handwriting of St. Patrick himself is founded on a statement in the Book which shows that some portions of it, at least, were copied from a manuscript described by Ferdomnach as even then almost illegible from age. This antiquity is no matter of literary conjecture; it is a matter of fact. The date at which the present Book of Armagh was written has been proved, beyond all cavil, to have been not later than A.D. 807.

The Life of St. Patrick contained in the Book of Armagh was written by *Muirchu-Maccu-Mactheni;* and he states that he wrote this life at the command of Aedh, Bishop of Sletty, who died in 692. We find thus, that the original from which this document was copied by the compiler of the Book of Armagh, is fully two hundred years older than the copy in that Book.[7]

It should be observed here that the Life of St. Patrick, by Probus, already mentioned as the Fifth Life in Colgan's collection, is evidently an amended version of that in the Book of Armagh, by Mactheni. A comparison of these Lives will at once decide this important question. It happens, unfortunately, that a folio has been lost from the Book of Armagh; but the discovery of identity of subject and composition enables us to supply the deficiency from the Life by Probus, while it adds considerably to the value of his work that it should so fully agree, in the remaining portions, with this most ancient authority.

But the Book of Armagh contains another most important and equally ancient document. This is called the Annotations of Tirechan; and Dr. Graves has remarked that "The Annotations of Tirechan were evidently becoming illegible at the time that Ferdomnach's copy of them was made. This is sufficiently indicated by notes in the margin, which show that the scribe found it difficult to read the manuscript from which he was transcribing." Let it be again remembered, that Ferdomnach wrote in the year 807; and if the manuscript from which he copied was then old and worn, the value of the copy which he made, and which still remains, can scarcely be over-estimated.

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[7] *Book.*—The following is the note occurring at the end of the summary of contents: "Hæc pauca de Sancti Patricii peritia et virtutibus *Muirchu Maccu-Machtheni* dictante Aiduo Slebtiensis civitatis episcopo, conscripsit." The summary has been, it is supposed, placed by mistake at the end of the Life. It is headed ANNOTATIONES AIDI.

Tirechan wrote by the command of St. Ultan of Ardbraccan,[8] who died at an advanced age, A.D. 657. Tirechan speaks of himself as belonging to a family specially dedicated to God and St. Patrick; he is also styled the alumnus vel discipulus of St. Ultan. The work was written before the death of St. Ultan, so that the date of its compilation may be precisely ascertained. This is ascertained by a statement in the work itself.

There is also an ancient tract on the Life of St. Patrick in the Leabhar Breac, which Petrie describes as "the oldest and best Irish manuscript relating to Church history now preserved," and which is characterized by O'Curry as of great interest and importance, and presenting "the chief collection of religious compositions which are extant in the Irish language."

The Hymn of St. Sechnall in honour of St. Patrick, published in the first, and, we much fear, the last, fasciculos of the Liber Hymnorum, can scarcely be classed amongst his biographies. No special historic facts are recorded in it, and it is obviously intended merely as a panegyric on, or commemoration of, the virtues of the saint.

We have now given ample evidence of the value, authenticity, and antiquity of the material for the Life of our great Apostle. It only remains for us to pray that we may both write and read that Life in the humble, devout, and loving spirit of those ancient saints who considered it their greatest glory and their highest privilege to be children of Patrick and children of Rome. They were not of the number of those who adorned the sepulchres of the saints, and dishonoured their memory by refusing to follow their example; rather were they saints who wrote of saints, and so cast the halo of their own sanctity around each line which they penned, thus speaking to the heart in a way in which we, who are so far beneath them, cannot hope to do.

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[8] *Ardbraccan.*—For some account of the piety and charity of this Saint, see "The Illustrated History of Ireland."

There is no question of the identity at least of the general locality which claims the honour of being the birthplace of St. Patrick. The first and most important authority on this subject is the saint's own *Confession*, the authenticity[9] of which has never been doubted. In this brief document he briefly states his parentage—"Patrem habui Calphurnium Diaconum, filium quondam Potiti Presbyteri, qui fuit in vico Bonavem Taberniæ." "My father was a deacon, Calpornius, the son of the late Potitus, a presbyter, who resided in the village of Bonavem Taberniæ." The ancient Lives of St. Patrick, being all founded upon this *Confession*, have added thereto whatever information they have been able to obtain by research or personal knowledge. The Book of Armagh, undoubtedly the most ancient authority, adds that Potitius was the son of Odissius, corresponding in other respects with the Bollandist version. It will be remembered that the first page of the Life of St. Patrick in the Book of Armagh has been lost; but as that life corresponds so closely with the Tripartite, the omission can be easily supplied.

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[9] *Authenticity.*—There are now in existence four ancient manuscript copies of St. Patrick's Confession. One of these is contained in the Book of Armagh, the value and authenticity of which has been fully proved; the second is in the Library of the British Museum, and is part of the Cotton MSS.; the two others are in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford. Ware, Usher, Tillemont, the Bollandists, &c., all agree in their estimate of this important document. The copy which was used by the Bollandists existed until the time of the French Revolution in the famous French monastery of St. Vedastus, but it has since disappeared.

The Tripartite, translated for this Work by Mr. Hennessy from the original Celtic, commences thus. "Patrick was of the Britons of Alcluaid by origin, Calphurnæ was his father's name. He was a noble priest. Fetid was his grandfather's name, whose title was a deacon. Conceis was his mother's name. She was of the Franks, and a sister to Martin. In Nemthur, moreover, the person, St. Patrick, was born." Further on, a few lines are added in Latin, which state that St. Patrick was brought up in Nemthur.

In Colgan's Latin translation there is some slight difference of expression, with a general agreement of subject. No grandfather is mentioned, but there is an explanation of the word Nemthur, which is said to mean a celestial tower.[1]

The whole question turns on the identification of three places: 1. Britain, which the saint himself mentions as the country of his parents;[2] 2. Bonavem Taberniæ, near which he says that his family resided; 3. Nemthur, which appears to be the name of the place where St. Patrick was captured. It has already been observed, that in the present Work all controversy would be, as far as possible, restricted to the notes, but it will be necessary to make an exception in the present case, the whole question being one of considerable interest.

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[1] *Tower.*—Colgan, p. 117.

[2] *Parents.*—"Ut iterum post paucos annos in Britanniis eram cum parentibus meis," &c.

Those who have written on the subject, from Colgan's time to the present day, appear to have completely overlooked the distinct statement of St. Patrick, that Britain was the country of his parents, though he does not say that he was born there, and to have satisfied themselves with more or less ingenious attempts to identify the two other places. But these identifications are simply valueless, until it has first been ascertained what country St. Patrick himself indicated by the name of Britain. The most natural and obvious inference, at first sight, would be that some part of England was intended. A theory was at one time started that the saint might have been born in that part of France called Brittany; but the province which at present bears this name was not occupied by the Bretons until the middle of the fifth century.[3]

Dr. Lanigan was the first to suggest that the birthplace of St. Patrick should be sought for in the north of France, and not, as Usher had so strongly urged, in

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[3] *Century.*—Lobineau says, in his *Histoire de Bretagne*, Paris, 1707: "The year 458 is about the epoch of the establishment of the Bretons in that part of ancient Armorica which at present bears the name of Bretagne." The Welsh Triads state that the Britons of Great Britain came from this district.

North Britain. Colgan, indeed, acknowledged there was a tradition among the inhabitants of Armorica that St. Patrick had been born in their country, but he passes it over lightly. Dr. Lanigan, who devoted special attention to the subject which the Franciscan monk probably considered of less importance, has clearly established his theory, so far as the identification of Bonavem Taberniæ.

A History of the Morini was published[4] in 1639 by the Jesuit Malbrancq, in which there are two chapters on the subject of St. Patrick's connection with the see of Boulogne. Here it is stated that St. Patrick remained at Boulogne for some time before he set out on his Irish mission, and that he was occupied in preaching against the Pelagian heresy. It is also affirmed that he was bishop of Boulogne. This is, undoubtedly, a mistake; but St. Patrick may have remained there a short time after receiving episcopal consecration, when journeying towards Ireland.

The country of the Morini was included[5] in the district known as Armoric Gaul, and there was in this district a clan called Brittani. Hence we have in the statement of St. Patrick that his parents lived in Britain, and in the tradition that the saint belonged to that part of Gaul where there was a tribe or clan known as the Brittani, a fair presumption that we may look here for further identifications.

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[4] *Published.*—De Morinis et Morinorum rebus.—*J. Malbrancq.*

[5] *Included.*—"It will not, I think, be denied that under the name of Armoric Gaul was comprised the country of the Morini, or the tract in which Boulogne is situated . . . in olden times the whole extent of the maritime district of Western Gaul was called Armoricæ, in so much that even Aquitain was distinguished by that name. Hirtius, the continuator of Cæsar's Commentaries, tells us that cities near the ocean, in the extreme boundaries of Gaul, were called Armoricæ. The people, says Camden, which in old time inhabited the sea-coast of Gaul nearest to Britain, were, in their own language, called Morini. Now *mor* is, in British, the sea. The Britons call such as live upon the sea-coast Morinwyr; as Aremorica in the old Gaulish, and now in the British, signifies by the sea-side. In process of time the name became gradually confined to the tract between the Seine and the Loire, and in after ages was still more limited, being understood of the country now called Brittany."—*Lanigan*, vol. i. p. 97.

Before we proceed to identify the localities, some arguments must be brought to show that North Britain could not have been the place intended by St. Patrick when he spoke of Britain as his paternal home. We should thus strengthen considerably the proofs already given that he indicated that part of France known as the district of the Brittani.

In the saint's epistle to Coroticus, he states that he was of noble birth according to the flesh, and that his father was a decurio.[6] Now, it is clear that, subsequently to 410, St. Patrick's father could not have been a decurio in North Britain. Bede, writing under the date 410, says:—

> "Rome was sacked [fracta est] by the Goths in the ten hundred and sixty-fourth year from its foundation, and from that time the Romans ceased to rule in Britain. From that time the part of Britain belonging to the Britons was entirely deprived of armed soldiers, military stores, and the flower of its youth, who, being drawn away by the rashness of the tyrants, never returned home; and was thus exposed to rapine, being ignorant of the art of war; hence for many years they groaned under the ravages of two fierce

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[6] *Decurio.*—Ingenuus fui secundum carnem, Decorione patre nascor.

nations from across the sea, the Scots from the west and the Picts from the north."[7]

Gibbon also says:—

> "Whilst Italy was ravaged by the Goths, and a succession of feeble tyrants oppressed the provinces beyond the Alps, the British island separated itself from the body of the Roman Empire. The regular forces which guarded that remote province had been gradually withdrawn; and Britain was abandoned, without defence, to the Saxon pirates, and the savages of Ireland and Caledonia."[8]

Thus we have ample proof of a fact of which the most ordinary scholar could scarcely be ignorant, that no Roman decurio could have held office as such in North Britain at the time when St. Patrick was born. At that date there was not a single Roman legion in England, and even when the Roman power was at its height in that country, its authority scarcely extended north of the wall of Severus. It is therefore impossible that a Roman magistrate could have lived there in state, cultivating farms and attended by numerous domestics.

It may also be observed as a collateral proof, that the Irish and Scots were on friendly terms at this period; hence it is most improbable that any extensive foray or pillaging expedition would have been carried out by the former against the latter, while it is a matter of history that the Irish undertook several important expeditions to Gaul, and carried from thence numerous captives. St. Patrick, in writing of his escape from Ireland to his own country, makes use of language which would be entirely incompatible with the idea that his family then resided in Scotland. There can be no doubt that the place of his captivity was the county Antrim; now he mentions that he had to travel two hundred miles to reach the port from which he escaped, so that he must have proceeded to the south of Ireland. He was then three days at sea, and after landing travelled for twenty-eight days through a desert country. It is clear from this statement that the journey must have been to France.

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[7] *North.*—Bede's Ecclesiastical History, l. i. cap. xi–xii.

[8] *Caledonia.*—Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. v. ch. 31.

Colgan remarks that the name Britain, as applied to part of Belgium and the north-west of Gaul, was well understood not only in the time of St. Patrick but at a later age. In a life of St. Furseus it is said, that having crossed the sea to go to Rome, he arrived in the province of Britain, and proceeded through the district of Ponthieu, a maritime tract in Picardy, near Boulogne. It is subsequently explained that this province of Britain is called by the moderns Normandy. Hence it is evident that a portion of this country was known for a considerable period as Britain, and that the name could not be referred to the province of Brittany, which has never lost its original appellation. The district of which the Britain referred to by St. Patrick, and by the biographer of St. Furseus formed a part, eventually obtained the name of Neustria. Even in modern times Normandy is called Neustria by Latin writers.

Sufficient evidence has now been brought forward to show that St. Patrick's Britain was undoubtedly some district in the north of France. It only remains to identify as far as possible the sites which he mentions. One other difficulty which Dr. Lanigan has amply elucidated must, however, be noticed. In his Confession St. Patrick says that he wished to go into Britain to see his family, and as far as Gaul to visit his brethren, so that he might see the faces of the Lord's saints. From this distinct mention of Britain and Gaul as if they were places not only distinct but distant from each other, it has been argued that Britain could not be in France. But Dr. Lanigan disposed of this difficulty by the simple remark that:—

> "Belgic Gaul was quite distinct from the real and properly called Gaul, which comprised only the country of the Celts, the name by which they called themselves, and which the Romans changed into Galli. It was separated from Belgium by the rivers Marne and Seine, as it was from Aquitain by the Garonne. The languages, laws, and institutions of these three countries were different."

Thus it would appear that the fact of St. Patrick having distinguished between Britain and Gaul shows his intimate acquaintance with that country, as it was a distinction which a foreigner would not be likely to make; obviously, also, if he wished to see "the faces of his Gallic brethern, his Lord's saints," he should make a considerable journey southward from his home; and, truly, if he proceeded southward to Tours or to Lerins, he would, indeed, have found his brethren, and those whose names are enrolled in the glorious catalogue of the Church's triumphs.

The first site which we must identify is that mentioned by St. Patrick, at the commencement of his Confession. An attempt has been made to divide the words as if two separate places were intended, with much show of learning, and little real critical acumen; but the way in which the name is mentioned by the saint[9] himself should surely be conclusive, and it would be as rational for a future archæologist to insist that *Boulogne* was one town and *Mer* another, as it is to maintain that St. Patrick intended Bonavem as one city and Taberniæ as another. Bonavem, as Dr. Lanigan has amply proved, is identical with the present Boulogne. The word Taberniæ either refers to the district in which Bonavem was situated, or indicates that Bonavem was a camp. It was probably included in the district which surrounded the city of Taruanna, the modern Therouenne, and which was called Tarvanensis regio. The authors of the most ancient Lives of St. Patrick concur in referring the severed word to the proximity of a Roman encampment.

In England the Roman camps were generally known as *castra*, whence we have so many names compounded with the word chester. In France the Roman stations were called *Tabernæ*, the verbal distinction indicating the fact that the Roman power in England was rather that of garrisons in a country of doubtful allegiance; while in France the Roman power was established, and merely required the ordinary support of its military.

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[9] *Saint.*—Ut viderem faciem Sanctorum Domini mei. The Breviaries, as will be shown later, generally favour the theory of St. Patrick's nativity in Brittania, but without any attempt to identify the Brittania as either in Gaul or Scotland.

Boulogne was an important Roman station. It was the port from which Julius Cæsar invaded England, and the principal camp of the Roman army in the north of France. The country round still manifests traces of the "streets," or roads, which that people made wherever they formed a settlement. The town itself was originally designated Gessoriacum, but in the reign of Constantine the Celtic name Bonavem, or Bonavan, was latinized into Bononia, and came into general use. The town was so called from being situated on a river, Aur, Aven, or On, signifying a river in the Celtic language.[1]

Before investigating the identity of the other sites mentioned by the biographers of the saint, it may be interesting to give a brief account of Kilpatrick. The site is thus described by Innes[2] in his *Origines Parochiales*:—

> "Of the places in various parts of Scotland, including six parishes in the diocese of Glasgow, which derived their appellation from the Apostle of Ireland, the most ancient and distinguished was certainly Kylpatrick in Lennox. The parish, lying on the right bank of the Clyde, is bounded on the north by the Kilpatrick hills, which approach very near the river at the place where stood the old church and village of Kilpatrick. Here it is said St. Patrick was born. His own words in the 'Book of Confessions' ascribed to him,

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[1] *Language.*—The names of rivers are of special value in historical investigations. They are the memorials of the very earliest races. A very large number of French river-names contain the root *afen* or *aven*. In England, the word, from a generic name, has become proper, thus we have the Avon as the proper name of a river in several countries. The word itself is cognate to the Sanscrit root *ap*, water. Thus we have the Punj-*ab*, or the land of five rivers. (See Philological Transactions for 1855. Astruc's Hist. de Languedoc, and Pott. *Etymologisch Forsch.*)

[2] *Innes.*—Origines Parochiales, vol. ii. p. 20.

and corroborated by other accounts, are, 'My father was Calpurnius, a deacon, who was the son of Potitus, a presbyter, of the village of Bonaven, of Tabernia.' Jocelin of Furnes, who wrote his life about the end of the twelfth century, from several very ancient accounts, says that 'the territory was called Taburnia, from its being a Roman station, and that it was by the town of Nempther on the shores of the Irish Sea.' The best authorities agree in applying this description to Kylpatrick, where the Roman wall terminated.

"St. Patrick was born about 372, and went to Gaul and Italy about the end of the fourth century; he continued there about thirty-five years, during which he studied for eighteen years under St. Germanus, and afterwards visited St. Martin of Tours, the brother, or more probably the uncle of his mother Conquessa. He returned when past sixty to preach the Gospel in Ireland, to which country he had been carried captive in his youth. A saint so famous, and who is said to have 'founded 365 churches, and ordained as many bishops, and 3,000 priests,' would not be long without a memorial in the place of his birth; but the early history of this district is obscure, and we have no transaction recorded in connection with the church here until about the end of the twelfth century; some time previous to which Alwin, Earl of Lennox, had confirmed to the church of Kilpatrick all the lands of Cochinach, Edinbernan, Baccan, Finbealach, Drumcrene, Graguentalach, Monachkenneran, Drumtechglunan, Cuiltebut, Dalerenach, granted by his predecessors, and had himself added the land of Cateconnen."—*Regist. de Passelet*, p. 157.

"Before 1227, Maldoven, Earl of Lennox, granted the church of Kilpatrick, which had been so richly endowed by his family, to the Monastery of Paisley, where he chose his own place of sepulture. The benefice continued the property of the abbey till the Reformation.

"The site of the ancient church seems to have been the same as that of Old Kilpatrick in 1793, which was described in that year as 'a very ancient building.' In the river Clyde opposite to it 'there is a large stone or rock, visible at low water, called St. Patrick's stone,' connected with a legend 'that St. Patrick's vessel struck upon it in full sail on setting out to Ireland, and sustained no injury.'

"The lands mentioned above as anciently belonging to the church were, at the end of the twelfth century, held by a person named Beda Ferdan (who lived at Monachkenneran, on the Clyde, in a large house of wattle), and three other persons, who were bound, for all service, to receive and entertain pilgrims or strangers coming to the Church of St. Patrick. From some defect of title, which cannot now be detected, these lands were the subject of continual disputes between the monks of Paisley and those claiming right through the family of Lennox.

"Dumbarton must have been one of the earliest Christian settlements in Scotland; but all that is known of the constitution of its church during the existence of the kingdom of Strathcluyd, of which it was the capital, is an intimation of a bishopric and bishop taking their style from it in the sixth century. The annals of Ulster record the death of Cathal MacFergus, bishop of Alcluyd, in 554.

"The parish of Dumbarton is distinguishable by its remarkable castle-rock rising abruptly from the level bank of the Clyde, where it is joined by the Leven at its southern extremity. For two miles inland the parish is flat, and then rises into high moorland at its northern boundary.

"In 1296 it was a free rectory. Allan de Dunfres, the parson of Dumbarton, swore fealty to Edward I. In the following century the church, with all its pertinents, was given to the monks of Kilwinning, who continued to possess it till the Reformation. The cure would seem to have been served by the monks or their chaplains. The chapel of Dumbarton Castle was dedicated to St. Patrick, and the parish church, also a collegiate church, founded in 1450 by Isabella, Duchess of Albany and Countess of Lennox, was dedicated to this saint also. It had an hospital for bedesmen, with a chapel and an endowed chaplainry, of which the Earls of Lennox were patrons.

Baptism of St. Patrick.

> "The town of Dumbarton, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Strathcluyd, is one of the oldest towns of which we have authentic historical record, whose site can now be identified. In 657 died Guivet, 'king of Alcluoith.' In 693, Donald M'Alpin, king of Alcluoith, died. In 731, the Venerable Bede describes Alcluith as the capital of the Britons of that district (civitas Britonum munitissima). In 756, Eadberht and Unst, kings of the Picts, 'led an army against the City of Alcluth, and there imposed terms of submission on the Britons' (Ann. Uls. Chron. of pr. of Wales). In 799 is recorded the burning of Alucloith; and in 869 and the following year, it was besieged and demolished by the Northern Pagans (Chron. of pr. of Wales). In 974, Dunwallen, the king of Strathcluyd went to Rome (*Ib.*) We hear no more of these sovereigns or their kingdom. The ancient town assuredly grew up around the castle; but the neighbouring and dependent port has drawn the buildings of the modern burgh in that direction."

It is evident that a respectable tradition connected St. Patrick with Alcluaith from a very early period, and there can be little doubt that some reason must have existed for this. A very ancient Irish authority will be quoted presently which throws an important light on the whole question.

Some conjectures[3] have been made in reference to a supposed site called Enon, but the word is probably an interpolation; hence, any attempts at identification are mere waste of time. In some versions of the Confession, St. Patrick is made to say that his father had lived at a villa called Enon, but in the Book of Armagh, the Cotton MS. and the MS. of St.

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[3] *Conjectures.*—Essays on Religion and Literature.

Vedast, used by the Bolandists, this name is not mentioned at all, and the passage runs thus : For he [St. Patrick's father] had a little farm near [Bonavem Taberniæ] where I was captured.

The Hymn of St. Fiacc says expressly that St. Patrick was born at Nemthur, and this is the third place which demands consideration. It should be remarked that St. Patrick does not say that he was born at Bonavem, but merely states that his father resided there, and that he was captured in the neighbourhood. Hence, Dr. Todd evidently inclined to the opinion that St. Patrick might have been born in Scotland, although he was captured in Gaul. But the fact of the Roman power having already been overthrown in Scotland, if indeed it could ever be said to have been established there, militates against this view.

The Tripartite,[4] and the Hymn of St. Fiacc[5] state simply that St. Patrick was born in Nemthur. The Second and Third Lives give two different places the honour of being his native town, the writers having evidently compiled their narrative from several sources, and with the utmost simplicity, giving the statement of each without observing that they by no means coincided.[6] The Fourth Life makes Nemthur a town in the Campus Taberniæ, interpreting Nemthur as a celestial tower, and adducing the frequently rejected idea that Taberniæ indicated a Roman encampment. Probus, in the Fifth Life, asserts that St. Patrick was born in *Britanniis*, that his father was a native of the village of *Bannave*, of the region of Tabernia, near the western sea.[7] He says also that the vicus Bannave was in Neutria, where giants once dwelt. Neustria was the name of the province which lay between the Meuse and the Loire, and this no doubt was the Neutria of Probus. Indeed, there are numerous misprints in Colgan, and it is more than probable that the omission of the *s* may be referred to this cause.

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[4] *Tripartite.*—In Nemthur, moreover, the person St. Patrick was born. (See Mr. Hennessy's translation from the original Irish, at the end of this Work.)

[5] *St. Fiacc.*—Patrick was born at Emptur ; this it is that history relates to us.—(Translated in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* March, 1868.) Monsignor Moran adds, in a note :—The name of our Apostle's birthplace is more accurately given as follows in a very ancient Irish MS. :—"In a village, the name of which is *Hurnia,* in Britain, near the city of Empter," &c.

It is just possible that the Scholiast on Fiacc's Hymn, preserved along with the copy of that document in the College of St. Isidore, at Rome, gives the true version of the whole matter. It runs thus :—

> "This was the cause of the servitude of Patrick :—They all went from the Britons of Alcluaid, across the Iccian Sea, southwards, on a journey to the Britons who are on the Sea of Icht—namely, the Britons of Letha, because they had brethren [relatives] there at that time. Now, the mother of these children, namely, Conches, was of the Franks, and she was a sister to Martin. At that time

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[6] *Coincided.*—Natus est igitur in illo oppido Nemthur nomine. Patricius natus est in Campo Taburne.—Vitæ 2, p. 4. Natus est igitur Patricius in illo oppido Nemthur nomine. Patricius natus est in Campo Taberniæ.—Vit. 3, p. 6.

[7] *Western sea.*—"De vico Bannave Tiburniæ regionis, haud procul a mari occidentali." Jocelyn has "mare Hibernicum."

came seven sons of Sectmaide, king of Briton, in ships from the Britons; and they made great plunder on the Britons—viz., the Britons of Armuric Letha, where Patrick with his family was, and they wounded Calpuirnn there, and carried off Patrick and Lupait with them to Ireland."

In this account we have what looks very like a clear explanation of apparently conflicting statements. It is quite impossible not to give weight to the concurrent testimony of the saint's having had some connection with Alcluaid, the modern Dumbarton. St. Patrick has not mentioned his birthplace. He simply observes that his father had property at Bonavem Taberniæ, and that he was taken captive there.

It is evident, from the saint's own account, that his family were noble and wealthy. The Roman people, victorious over all nations, had obtained peace for their empire, which might then, indeed, be almost described as the world. They had given peace to the Church also, hence Christian families were enabled to accumulate worldly wealth, though not always to their spiritual advantage. There is no reason why the property of Potitius might not have been in possession of his family for several generations. It is past question that his wife, Conchessa, was the sister or near relative of St. Martin of Tours. Yet all this by no means militates against the supposition that St. Patrick's father might have resided for a few years at Alcluaid. The great Roman wall terminates at Kilpatrick, the site which a respectable amount of tradition assigns as the birthplace of St. Patrick. Nor is it difficult to account for this. If the family of Potitius had resided for some years at Bonavem, Potitius, after his marriage with Conchessa, may have gone to Alcluaid on military business connected with the withdrawal of the Roman forces from that place. The Scholiast expressly states that the family went "*from* the Britains of Alcluaid *to* the Britons of Letha,[8] because they had relations there at that time." This bears out our theory. The home and paternal estates of the family were at Bonavem. St. Patrick's father and mother, for some reason which is not given, resided for some time at Alcluaid; but it was not their permanent abode. They had relatives among the Britons of Letha, and thither they came. Potitius had his family estates there. Conchessa had her saintly relative, Martin. Without doubt the family home was in Brittany, but there is a possibility that the family, or at least St. Patrick's parents may have resided for a time at Alcluaid.

The Scholiast also clears up all difficulty about the place where the saint was taken captive, and the twofold use of the word Briton. The family, let it be again observed, go *from* the Britons of Alcluaid southward *to* the Britons of Letha. Farther on, where the capture of St. Patrick is related, we have the distinction clearly drawn once more.

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[8] *Letha.*—The name Letha, or Latium, was applied by the early Irish writers to Armorica, or Brittany, as well as to Italy. Armorica was called Northern Letha; Italy, Southern Letha.—*O'Curry*, p. 502.

"The king of Britain[9] came in ships from the Britons; and they made great plunder on the Britons, viz.: the Britons of Armuric Letha."

We have still to deal with the place called Nemthur. No satisfactory identification of this site has been made as yet. If it was another name for Alcluaid or Dumbarton, the difficulty would be removed. In an old Irish MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, it is said that St. Patrick was born "in a village the name of which is Hurnia, in Britain, near the city of Empter." An attempt has been made to identify Nemthur by contravening the high authority of Eugene O'Curry with regard to the initial letter of the word. No doubt, if any one consonant might be used for any other, if vowels are of no account, and if the syllables of words may be reversed, Nemthur may be converted into Tournahem; but those who prefer a more scholarly method of treating the subject may prefer to admit that it is a difficulty of which, at present, there is no solution.[1]

The evidence in favour of St. Patrick having been born at Nemthur is indubitable. The evidence of his being connected with Alcluaid is equally strong.

The clear and simple statement of the Scholiast is all the more valuable from the absence of any attempt at controversy; for it merely states as a fact, that St. Patrick was born at Alcluaid, that his family left that place and went to their relations in Britain, and that St. Patrick was captured there. The real difficulty has arisen from the mistake of supposing that St. Patrick was born where he was captured.

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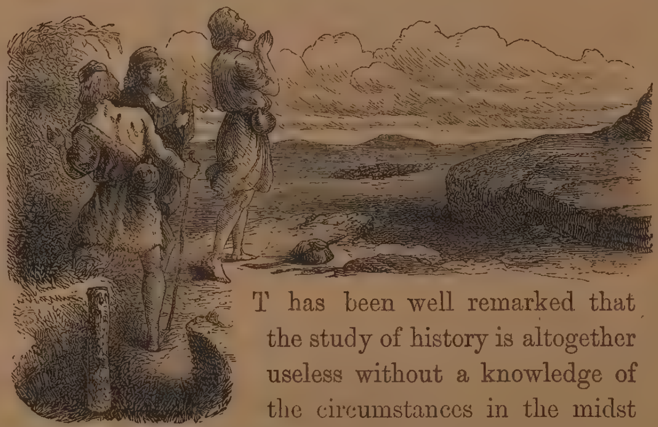
[9] *Britain.*—This "king" is called Sectmaide. Colgan has translated it Factumchias. The name cannot be identified, and probably was that of some petty chief who led the plundering expedition.

[1] *Solution.*—In Essays on Religion and Literature, an attempt has been made to identify Nemthur in this style. Any valuable remarks in the paper on the birthplace of St. Patrick are taken, with scant acknowledgments, from Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History. Colgan is mis-quoted, and the Second Life is called the First.

If the Scholiast on Fiacc's Hymn, as preserved in the College of Isidore, can be proved to be very ancient, it must, undoubtedly, carry considerable weight. But the whole subject is one open to controversy, and it is one which happily is not of grave importance. Indeed, even if the Scholiast could be proved an unquestionable authority, the question might still be asked whether St. Patrick might not have been born in Gaul, and taken, at an early age, with his parents to Scotland.

Chapter XXX.

St. Patrick's Early Life and First Captivity.



IT has been well remarked that the study of history is altogether useless without a knowledge of the circumstances in the midst of which events take place. The circumstances throw light on the events, even while the events originate the circumstances. Biography is history in instalments; hence what applies to the one is equally in its degree applicable to the other. Christ gave us the example and the precepts of Christianity. Christianity produced those wonderful men to whom nations owe their evangelization. The birth of the Eternal Son of God, the mightiest of events, produced a chain of circumstances which influence the destinies of individuals and of nations to the present hour.

The Creator of the first Adam came himself to repair, as the second Adam, the fault of his creature. A new garden of Paradise was brought into existence, or rather should we say the gates of the old garden were re-opened. Man had refused the painless obedience of his primeval state. He was now to learn that by painful obedience only could he obtain the prize which he had rejected. Briars and thorns had taken the place of the Tree of Life, and men were needed brave enough to remove these briars and thorns, not only from their own path, but also from the paths of others. He who had created man was all-powerful and all-loving. Had he not been so, how could the creature have been raised from the depths to which he had fallen? The remedy surpassed the disease. The healing was so perfect that it did more than cure. It renovated, it renewed. A new food was given to man which he was commanded to eat, and by partaking of which he becomes one with his Creator. Human words must ever fall short of the great reality. The words of Him who conferred upon man this surpassing blessedness can alone explain it. "He that eateth me, even he shall live by me."

Thus as men became permeated more and more with the Life of Christ, they desired to do the works of Christ, and they thirsted, in their measure, as He thirsted, to impart the knowledge of this life to others. Humanity, weary of itself, and its worshippings of the "Unknown God," to which many an altar had been erected, now pined for light, and the light came. Here and there rays of its eternal splendour were cast on lands far distant from those great shores where the True Light shone in its pure refulgence.

To some, clear intimation was given that the light had come; to others ever deepening shadows indicated the presence of light elsewhere. To a few that light was shown in all its glory, and they knew the only Begotten, full of grace and truth; to a few also faint rays of its blessedness shone across the darkness by which they were surrounded, and dim glimpses of truth radiated across the long night of error.

The coming of the true light made itself felt in many ways and in many places. Heathen oracles, where men had long sought that knowledge of the future, which is one of the deepest and most insatiable of human desires, told of a coming One whose power should overthrow their own. Even the very dispensation and ceremonial appointed by God Himself as a means by which mankind might be educated for a higher worship and more spiritual form of religion, even this also by sign and portent declared that another dispensation had commenced. The veil of the Temple was rent at the moment when the sacrifices of the Temple were for ever abolished by the one Sacrifice, and mystic voices and sounds were heard in that ancient fane on the day of

Pentecost. "Let us go hence, let us go hence." Well, indeed, might the angels of that house depart when the Lord of angels had been crucified and denied by its unfaithful guardians.

An unvarying tradition informs us that the mysterious darkness which covered the earth when Jesus died was remarked even on the distant shores of Erin. Conchobar, or Conor Mac Nessa, was king of Ulster at the time of our Lord's Incarnation. Fergus Mac Nessa was the rightful monarch, but Conor's father having died while he was an infant, Fergus proposed marriage to his mother, who agreed, on condition that her son Conor should be allowed to reign for one year. But the young prince made himself so popular that his subjects absolutely refused to allow Fergus to assume the reins of government, and the good Conor had a long and prosperous reign. A ball had been thrown at his head treacherously by a Connaught man, and his physicians ordered that he should refrain from all excitement, as any sudden movement might prove fatal. Conor continued in health until the day of the Crucifixion. He then observed the strange darkness, and other atmospheric phenomena, and inquired if Barach, his druid, knew the cause. The druid consulted his oracles, and then informed the king that Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, was at that moment suffering at the hands of the Jews. "What crime has he committed?" said Conor. "None," replied the druid. "Then they are slaying him innocently?" exclaimed the king. "They are," said the druid. This was more than the noble prince could bear. He knew not that this death was to be the source of life. He only thought in his brave true heart how he could avenge the wrong, and rushing madly to the forest he hewed at the young trees until the sudden excitement ended in his own death.

And while the fire of Celtic chivalry manifested itself in these deeds of satisfaction for wrong, the king mourned in plaintive cries the sorrows of his God. "Why," he asked, "did not Christ appeal for help to a valiant high king? he would have gone as a hardy champion with quivering lips, until the great valour of a soldier should be witnessed, dealing a breach of battle between two hosts. Bitter the slaughter by which there would be propitiated free relief—with Christ should my assistance be. I would complain of the deed to the faithful host of noble feats, whose vigilant beautiful aid should be with the merciful God to relieve Him. Beautiful the overthrowing which I would give. Beautiful the combat which I would wage for Christ who is being defiled. I would not rest, though my body of clay had been tormented by them. It crushes my heart to hear the voice of wailing for my God, and that this arm does not come to reach with true relief to arrest the sorrow of death, without avenging the Creator; because I am told that it is dangerous for me to ride in chariots."[1]

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[1] *Chariots.*—Mr. O'Curry says that this tale was always believed by the Irish historians from a very early date. It is one of the Historic Tales, and

In the Book of Leinster it is said that a Roman centurion named Altus visited Ireland, and informed Conor of the death of Christ.

> "And they say, Centurion Altus, when he to Emania came,
> And to Rome's subjection called us, urging Cæsar's tribute claim;
> Told that half the world barbarian thrills already with the faith
> Taught them by the god-like Syrian Cæsar lately put to death."[2]

It is said also that as the time of St. Patrick's mission approached the druids gave warning of his coming. In the Ecstacy, or Prophecy of Conn of the Hundred Battles, it is said "with Laeghairé, the violent, will the land be humbled by the coming of the *Tailcenn*, that is Patrick; houses across, that is churches, bent staffs, which will pluck the flowers from high places." Another version of this prediction is given in the Tripartite, which runs thus: "A *Tailcenn* shall come, he will erect cities, churches, union-houses, with gables and angles; many kings will take up pilgrim staffs."

There is no account of the cause or origin of this prophecy. It has been translated into Latin very incorrectly by Colgan, but Professor O'Curry succeeded in obtaining the most undoubted authority for every word from ancient manuscripts, and his ability, as a

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of that class known under the generic appellation of *Oitté* or *Aideadh*, Tragedies or Deaths. It is found in some of the most ancient and best authenticated MSS.; and there seems no more reason to doubt its truth than to doubt the existence of Conor, who was an historical character of considerable importance.—O'Curry, p. 276. For fuller details see "The Irish before the Conquest," p. 75, by M. C. Ferguson, and "The Illustrated History of Ireland," p. 128.

[2] *Death.*—Lays of the Western Gaul, by Samuel Ferguson, Esq.

translator of the oldest forms of the Celtic tongue, is beyond question.

It was the opinion of this eminent scholar that this passage was an interpolation in the modern copies of the Tripartite. But he also observes that Macutenius introduces a druidical prophecy of the coming of the saint into his Life of St. Patrick; hence some such prediction must have been current and credited as real within a few centuries after the death of the apostle. The history of this prophecy is very brief. It is said that the coming of St. Patrick was foretold by Lochra and Luchat Mael, king Laeghairé's druids, in 429, three years before the arrival of the saint.

> " A Tailcenn will come over the raging sea,
> With his perforated garment, his crook-headed staff,
> With his table at the east end of his house,
> And all his people will answer Amen, amen."

The perforated garment is, of course, the chasuble, the crook-headed staff explains itself as the symbol of episcopal authority, and the table at the east end of the house indicated the altar, the great centre of Christian worship and reverence.[3]

There can be no doubt that some knowledge of Christianity and Christian practices preceded the advent of St. Patrick to Ireland. Although the Roman legions never crossed the Iccian Sea, as the English Channel was then called, there was still some intercourse between the two countries, and still more intercourse with France. It is true that this intercourse consisted principally in marauding expeditions, but even thus some Christians must have been brought to Ireland as slaves, and during their compulsory stay Celtic wit and curiosity could scarcely have failed to make many inquiries about the new religion. The well-known passage of Tertullian proves that Christianity had made its way into Britain as early as the second century. In a few years later the British Church sent St. Alban at Verulam and SS. Aaron and Julius at Caerleon upon Usk, to sing the victor's song and wear the martyr's palm in heaven. In 314 three British bishops were present at the Council of Arles—Eberius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelfius, whose see has not been clearly ascertained, but who signed himself "Episcopus de civitate Colonia Londinensium."

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[3] *Reverence.*—The meaning of the word *Tailcenn* is doubtful. The name or soubriquet of *Talchenn* was descriptive of baldness and a term of reproach. Mr. O'Curry believes that the tonsure was adopted for this reason by the priesthood (MS. Materials, p. 618).

But before the middle of the fifth century the heresy of Pelagius had made such progress that St. Germanus of Auxerre and St. Lupus of Troyes, were sent by Pope Celestine to oppose its progress. The mission of St. Germanus is thus recorded by St. Prosper of Aquitaine, a contemporary authority: "Agricola, a Pelagian, son of Severianus, a Pelagian bishop, corrupted the churches of Britain by insinuation of his doctrine, but through the instrumentality of Palladius, the deacon, Pope Celestine sends Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, in his own stead [*vice sua*] to root out heresy and direct the

Britons to the Catholic faith." This was in the year 429. Two years later, A.D. 431, the same chronicle informs us that: "Palladius was consecrated by Pope Celestine, and sent as the first bishop to the Irish believing in Christ."

Thus we have evidence that there were Christians in Ireland, although their numbers were few, and we have also the equally interesting statement that the first bishop was sent to Ireland direct from Rome.[4] From the earliest days of Christianity the Roman pontiffs had devoted their special attention to the conversion of pagan nations. The mission given to them by their Divine Master was ever present to their minds. It was their work when hidden in the Catacombs, it was their work when the Church was undergoing its fiery ordeals of persecution. It was not forgotten when the peace of the Church was proclaimed, and from the day on which Peter and the Apostles received the command to go and teach all nations to the present hour, his successors have diligently discharged their heavenly commission. Innocent the First, writing to Decentius, in this very century [A.D. 402] says:

> "Is it not known to all that the things which have been delivered to the Roman Church by Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and preserved ever since, should be observed by all; and that nothing is to be introduced devoid of authority, or borrowed elsewhere? Especially as it is manifest that no one has founded churches

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[4] *Rome.*—Vetustiora Latinorum Scriptorum chronica, T. Roncallius, Padua, 1787.

> for all Italy, the Gauls, Spain, Africa, and the interjacent islands, except such as were appointed priests (or bishops) [sacerdotes] by the venerable Peter and his successors."

The mission of Palladius was not successful. But little is known of his early career, and this little is also gathered from the testimony of Prosper. He calls him the deacon, and the Book of Armagh supplies the further explanation that he was chief deacon of St. Celestine.

> "This was a post of high honour and responsibility in the Roman Church. Many of the early pontiffs were elected to the popedom from being deacons of Rome; and during the vacancy of the see or the captivity of the pontiff, the whole administration of affairs devolved on them. Even two centuries later than the period of which we now treat, when Archbishop Fornian, of Armagh, and other Irish prelates, addressed a letter to Rome on the Paschal Question, the reply, which was written during the vacancy of the see, bears the name of Hilary, archdeacon, guardian during the vacancy of the Holy See, and John the deacon, who was, moreover, Pope elect, and soon after ascended the papal throne as John IV. Thus, in this office of Deacon of Rome, Palladius was entitled to represent to the Pope the wants of the Christian Church, and his solicitations in favour of Britain were sure to meet with a favourable response. His subsequent mission, as first evangelizer of our island, is quite in accordance with his high dignity in Rome, and with the views of the Holy See, which ever attached the greatest importance to the bringing of the Gospel light to pagan nations."[5]

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[5] *Nations.*—Essays on the Origin, Doctrine, and Discipline of the Early Irish Church, by the Very Rev. Monsignor Moran, p. 5. This work should be in the library of every student.

In the Providence of God it happens not unfrequently that while one sows in pain and tears, another comes, and, as far as human eye can judge, reaps the golden harvest, and bears away in triumph sheaves from a field which he has never ploughed. And so it was in this instance. Palladius went forth to labour on the Irish coast, his mission failed, yet even then another was preparing in silence, in penitential exercises, and with many prayers, whose harvest will continue for centuries, and only end when kingdoms and peoples have ceased to be.

The attempt and failure of Palladius is thus related in the Book of Armagh :—"Palladius, Archdeacon of Pope Celestine, Bishop of Rome, and forty-fifth successor of St. Peter in the Apostolic See, was ordained and sent to convert this island, lying under wintry cold. But he was unsuccessful, for no one can receive anything from earth unless it be given to him from heaven ; and neither did these fierce barbarians receive his doctrine readily, nor did he himself wish to remain long [transigere tempus] in a land not his own ; wherefore, he returned to him who sent him. On his way, however, after passing the first sea, having begun his land journey, he died in the territory of the Britons."

Some further information is given in the Scholiast on St. Fiacc's Hymn, and we are told that "he founded some churches, viz., Teach-na-Roman, or house of the Romans, Killfine, and others. Nevertheless he was not well received by the people, but was forced to sail around the coast towards the north, until he was driven by a tempest to the land of the Picts, where he founded the Church of Fordun, and there he is known by the name of Pledi."

The *Vita Secunda* gives fuller details.

"The most blessed Pope Celestine ordained bishop the archdeacon of the Roman Church, named Palladius, and sent him into the Island of Hibernia, giving to him relics of the blessed Peter and Paul, and other saints; and, moreover, the volumes of the Old and New Testament: entering the land of the Scots, arrived at the territory of the men of Leinster, where Nathi MacGarrehon was chief, who was opposed to him. Others, however, whom the divine mercy had disposed towards the worship of God, having been baptized in the name of the sacred Trinity, the blessed Palladius built three churches in the same district—one which is called Killfine (*i. e.* Church of Finte, perhaps the present Dunlavin), in which, even to the present day, he left his books received from St. Celestine, and the box of the relics of SS. Peter and Paul, and other saints, and the tables on which he used to write, which, in Irish, are called from his name, Pallere,—that is, the burden of Palladius, and are held in veneration. Another was called Teach-na-Roman, the house of the Romans; and the third, Dumnach-Ardech (Donard, near Dunlavin), in which repose the holy companions of Palladius, viz., Sylvester and Salonius, who are still honoured there.

After a short time Palladius died at Fordun, but others say that he was crowned with martyrdom there."

In the *Vita Quarta* the arrival of Palladius is also recorded :

"When, therefore, Palladius arrived in the territory of the Lagenians, he began to preach the Word of God. But as the Almighty had not predestined the Irish people to be brought by him from the errors of heathenism to the faith of the holy and undivided Trinity, he remained there only a few days. Nevertheless, some few did believe through him, and in the same district he founded three churches, one of which is called (*Church Finte* Ecclesia Finte) in which, to the present day, are preserved his books, received from St. Celestine, and a box with the relics of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and other saints, and the tablets on which he used to write, which are called from his name in Irish, Pallad-ir, and are held in great veneration. Another church was built by the disciples of Palladius, viz. : Silvester and Solinus, whose relics, after some time, were carried to the Island of Boethin, and are there held in due honour. But St. Palladius, seeing that he could not do much good there, was anxious to return to Rome, and migrated to the Lord in the region of the Picts. Others, however, say that he was crowned with martyrdom in Ireland."

After carefully weighing conflicting evidence, it appears there is a possibility that St. Patrick may have been born in Scotland, where his parents were at that time residing. Many legends are related of his early years, and unless we are prepared to deny the miraculous occurrences in the Lives of the Saints altogether, there is no other reason why they should be questioned. His family were noble and wealthy, although, for reasons already given, it is scarcely possible that Potitius could have acted as a Roman magistrate at Athcluaid; he doubtless was there on some special mission, as this was not the family home.

His mother, Conchessa, the sister[6] of the great St. Martin, was of good family also, as the world reputes. Her father was a pagan, and a tribune of the Imperial army. St. Martin was born in Pannonia, at a village called Sabaria, but his parents removed from Hungary to Pavia, in Italy, while he was still a youth, and at the age of ten he escaped from home that he might become a monk. The laws of the Imperial army obliged him to serve twenty campaigns, and his own father assisted in capturing the fugitive, so that he was compelled to become a soldier. With his further history we have no concern at present.

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[6] *Sister.*—The word used by Irish writers is *siur;* this is applied to neices, cousins, and often to sisters in religion. There are chronological difficulties in the way of supposing that Conchessa was St. Martin's sister. In the year 385, when, according to the most probable calculation, St. Patrick was only a year old, St. Martin was sixty-nine, and Conchessa could be scarcely more than twenty years his junior. There can be no doubt, however, that St. Martin and Conchessa were nearly related; and she may have been his sister. The date is fixed by the fact that it was in this year St. Martin went to Treves, where the Emperor Maximilian held his court, to arrange some ecclesiastial affairs.

Many legends are related of the saint's early life. Like St. Benedict, he had a nurse to whom, it would appear, that he was attached, and who was devoted to her charge. The Tripartite gives these details, and they are also mentioned in the Second and Third Lives. It is said that the saint was baptized by a priest, named Gormias, who was blind. There was no water at hand, and the priest made the sign of the cross over the ground with the hands of the infant, when a spring immediately gushed forth. According to another account, the blind man was a layman, but all agree that he recovered his sight by washing in the water which had been miraculously procured. He was able also to read the office, although he had been ignorant of letters hitherto.[7]

It was, indeed, fitting that such a miracle should occur at the birth of one who was destined by Providence to bring the light of faith to thousands, and great undoubtedly as the miracle of restoring or giving sight may seem, far greater and far more wonderful was the exercise of Divine power by which, through the instrumentality of Patrick, spiritual sight was given to those who sat in darkness and the shadow of death. Those who are familiar with the Lives of the Saints will recal many instances in which the birth of those destined for some great end has been signalized by some special and characteristic miracle. Before the birth of St. Francis of Assisi, angels were heard singing ; and by the command of a pilgrim stranger, his mother was laid on a bed of straw before his birth. A chapel, built on the site of the stable where he was born, is still shown at Assisi. On the day of his baptism a mysterious visitor appeared, who took the infant in his arms, and after caressing him for some time, made the sign of the cross on his right shoulder. The mark remained thereon, and he returned him to his nurse, desiring her to have a special care of her charge, as the devil, whose power he would so vigorously oppose at a future period, would use every means to injure him.

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[7] *Hitherto.*—In the Second and Third Lives the person who baptized St. Patrick is said to have been a priest. In the Fourth Life he is said to have been a certain holy man, blind from his birth [Sanctum virum a nativitate cœcum]. Jocelyn states that St. Patrick had been baptized before, and that Gormias was told in a dream that he would recover his sight if he went to the newly baptized child, made the sign of the cross on the ground with the infant's hands, and bathed his eyes in the fountain which should spring forth. In the preface to the copy of the Hymn of St. Sechnall, preserved in the *Leabhar breac*, Gormias is called a priest, and the miracle is said to have taken place at the baptism of the saint. All agree in describing Gormias as flat-faced (tabulata facie).

Many instances are recorded in which persons have obtained the power of reading who had never been taught letters, or of the knowledge of languages of which they had been hitherto ignorant. Perhaps the best authenticated and most wonderful account of the latter power may be found in the Life of St. Francis Xavier, the great apostle of the Indies. In the report in the cause of this saint, the auditors of the *Rota* thus speak : "Xavier was illustrious for the gift of tongues, for he spoke the languages of different nations, which he had never learned, with fluency and eloquence." The same statement is made with regard to St. Lewis Bertrand and several other saints.

The Tripartite Life states that many miracles were wrought by St. Patrick in his youth, but that only a few of them are related. There is some not very clear tradition about a stone or rock on which, according to Jocelyn, St. Patrick was born, which is also connected with the legend that a leper made the journey from Gaul to Ireland on this stone. I am aware that even Catholics may smile at the idea of such a statement being mentioned as even possible ; but those who question such miracles must first say where the line should be drawn between what is possible or impossible to God. If to Him all things are possible, the only question which remains is whether we have sufficient historical evidence for any miracle, and we must not reject a miracle merely because it seems to us to surpass our ideas of possibility ; nor should we even refuse to believe the accounts of such events if given to us on the same evidence that we would accept for what may be termed ordinary incidents in the life of a saint. In writing of another subject, Dr. Todd has well remarked that we should " beware, lest if we cast out the rubbish without sifting, we should cast out also precious stones which have long lain concealed in the mass."[8] He had found that statements of fact, which had been utterly rejected as purely fabulous, were, in one instance at least, proved by subsequent research to be true.

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[8] *Mass.*—Memoir of St. Patrick, p. 366. The reader may remember that St. Raymond of Pennefort sailed from Majorca to Barcelona on his cloak, a distance of sixty leagues. King James had threatened with death any person who should attempt to carry him out of the island. The saint, full of faith, exclaimed :—" An earthly king would deprive us of the means of withdrawal, but a heavenly king will supply them." He then went to the shore, cast his mantle upon the waves, and having tied up one corner of it to his staff to serve as a sail, he stepped upon the frail barque without fear, and was safely landed

According to the account in Jocelyn, there was a rock near the place where St. Patrick was baptized, on which, according to some, he was born, and according to others, he said Mass. Here persons were brought when there was any controversy between neighbours, and both parties placed their hands upon the stone after receiving the sacrament; if any person perjured himself, water at once came forth where his hand touched the rock.[9]

The *Vita Secunda* gives the same account briefly. The *Vita Tertia* uses almost the same words. The *Vita Quarta* gives the narrative more briefly, but also states distinctly that St. Patrick was born on the stone: natus autem fertur super lapidem qui illic honorifice habetur. Probus (*Quinta Vita*) does not mention this rock, nor does he give any of the miracles of the saint's early life. The *Sexta Vita* (Jocelyn) gives the details already

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in about six hours at Barcelona. His arrival was witnessed by hundreds. This miracle was one of those which were accepted for his canonization, and it is well known how rigorously all such miracles are examined. If God could permit such a miracle, it would be as easy to believe that St. Patrick's stone could have borne the leper in safety from Gaul to Ireland. St. Raymond was born A.D. 1175.

[9] *Rock.*—Colgan, p. 65. Jocelyn says that St. Mel is his authority for his statement about this rock. Colgan appended a note in which he says none of the Lives which he has given mentions this, but that it is taken from some Life of St. Patrick written by St. Mel. This appears to have been known to Jocelyn, as he says St. Mel testified to having *seen* the stone. St. Mel is the patron saint of the diocese of Longford.

mentioned. The *Tripartite* (*Septima Vita*) does not even allude to the subject.

There is, however, a vellum MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, of the fifteenth century, which throws additional light on the account given by Jocelyn. It is very short, and is written in irregularly measured prose, in ancient language, and with an interlined gloss. It is headed: "Finn, the grandson of Baiscné, cennit, foretelling of Patrick, when he slipped off the flag on which he afterwards came to Erinn." The MS. consists of about thirty lines, and commences thus:

> "It is not the path of crime my foot has come,
> It is not a decline of strength that has come upon me,
> But it is the warrior's stone this stone rejects:
> He is a distinguished man for whom the stone rejects me,
> [A man] With dignities from the Holy Spirit (*i.e.* the dignity of a bishop)."

Professor O'Curry considers that the heading is defective by two words, and that it should run thus:

"Finn, the grandson of *Baiscne*, cennit, predicting of Patrick, when he [Finn] slipped off the flag-stone upon which [the leper] came afterwards to Erinn."

The legend of the leper and the flagstone is this:

When St. Patrick was leaving the coast of Britain to come over to Erinn on his mission, just as the ship had cast off from the shore, a poor leprous man came on the beach, and begged earnestly to be taken on board. Patrick was willing to put back, and take him up; but the crew refused, and the ships moved on. The poor leper still continued his entreaties, whereupon, Patrick took his altar-stone (which, in the old writings, is called the stone altar), and casting it on the water within reach of the leper, desired him to sit on it and be quiet. This the leper did, and immediately the stone moved, following the ship throughout its course until they reached the harbour of Wicklow, where the leper was one of the first to land; after which the saint again took possession of his "Stone Altar." This stone is spoken of as an altar in the text of this prophecy, and with the promise that as long as it lives in Erinn, Patrick's children in Christ will live in his doctrines. It is not improbable that there was an ancient legend, which is not now known, of the history of this stone before Patrick consecrated it to holy purposes. In this, as in the former prophecies, Patrick is called the *Tailcenn.*[1]

From the account of this stone, as given both by Jocelyn and by this old manuscript, it is clear that there was both a stone and a rock. There can be little doubt that the altar-stone which St. Patrick brought to Ireland would be an object of especial veneration. From the earliest ages of the Church it was customary to celebrate the Sacrifice of the Mass over the relics of the saints, and the stone, honoured because a fragment of their relics was enshrined, became incomparably more honourable when it had been used as a resting-place for the Body of Christ. It might, indeed, be expected that the attention of a pagan people of peculiarly impressionable character should be drawn by some special miracle to the altar-stone brought to Ireland by the saint to whom thousands should owe their conversion. By the almighty power of God, the leper might sail as safely upon the altar-stone as St. Raymond upon his mantle. The question for consideration would be, not whether the All Powerful could work the one miracle or the other, but whether there is sufficient evidence to prove that He did work either. In the case of St. Raymond there can be no reasonable doubt, the miracle having been one of those approved for the process of his canonization. In the case of our own saint there is, at least, sufficient evidence to prove a strong traditionary belief that some such miracle had happened.

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[1] *Tailcenn.*—Curry's Lectures, p. 300.

The Rock of Cashel is still called Carraig Phatraic, or Patrick's Rock; but it was commonly called *Leac Phatraic*, or Patrick's Flagstone, another evidence in favour of the tradition. In the manuscript already quoted, which is called a Prophecy of St. Patrick, the angels are said to wait for the coming of the saint in *Corc's* city. Cashel was founded by *Corc Mac* Lughadh, who was king of Munster at the time when St. Patrick came to Ireland. And here also we find another legend of the great apostle.

When Flann was king of Munster, A.D. 622–633, he resided at Cashel, and St. Mochaembrog settled in the neighbourhood. This king sent some horses to graze in a meadow which belonged to the saint, who expelled the intruders. The saint went at once to Cashel, obtained an interview with the king, and settled matters peaceably. Some nights after this the king had a vision, in which he beheld a venerable old man, who took him to the southern battlements of the walls of Cashel. Here he showed him a host of "white saints." Flann inquired who they were, and was informed that they were St. Patrick and the saints of Erinn, who had come to the relief of *St. Mochaembrog*, and was further told by his guide that if he did not make peace with the saint he would soon die.

St. Patrick received the name of Succat at his baptism. In the Scholiast, on the Hymn of St. Fiacc, it is said that this name is English, and signifies the "god of war," or "strong in war," an appropriate appellation for one who was to fight against the demon of idolatry, and to win the victory for a whole nation. His Irish masters called him Cothraige, or, as it is written in some of the lives, Quadriga. This name is mentioned in the MS. which we have lately quoted thus: "Until comes the powerful *Tailceann*, who will heal everyone who shall believe; whose children shall be perpetual as long as *Cothringhes*, Patrick's Rock shall live."[2] In the Glossary *Cothraighe* is explained as another name for Patrick. It would almost appear, from the way in which this name is mentioned, as if it were used as a generic term to express servitude to four masters. The author of the *Vita*

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[2] *Live.*—O'Curry's Lectures, p. 623.

Secunda, which the late Dr. Todd considers a very ancient authority, says: Illic *Quadrigæ* nomen accepit, quia equorum quatuor domibus serviebat. Et erat quadrinomius: nam primum *Succet* vocatus est: a serviendo vero quatuor domibus Quotirche vocabulum sumpsit et eis quatuor divitibus cum omni cordis devotione servivit. St. Fiacc gives a similar interpretation of the name:

> "*Cothraige* he was called, for as a slave he served four families."

The word *Cothraige* being glossed thus: "The name of Cothraige attached to him, *i.e.*, four families; *i.e.*, he used to do the work of four tribes.

It is said that St. Germain gave him the name of Magonius, and finally he obtained the name of Patrick, by which he is best known, from Pope Celestine.[3]

The saint does not mention any of his family individually except his father, but the names of his sisters, and his sisters' sons have been preserved. In the "Cause of Patrick's coming to Erinn," we are told that his two sisters were taken captive with him. Only one name is mentioned, Lupait, but it is added after that his two sisters were sold in Conaille Miurtheimhue, but that he did not know it.

Ængus, the Culdee, in his book "On the Mothers of the Saints in Ireland," has the following entry:

"Lupait, sister of Patrick, was the mother of the seven sons of the *Ua Baird, i.e.,* Sechnall, Nechtan, Dabonna, Mogornan, Darigoc, Ausille, Priest Lugnath.

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[3] *Celestine.*—See Historical Preface to the Liber Hymnorum, p. 27.

Colgan has shown that Lupait is an error for Liemania.[4] The veracity of this genealogy has been verified, like many other facts in Celtic hagiography, which were long disputed by the discovery of the tombstone where the mortal remains of Lugnath were laid to rest. It might be expected that the sepulchre of any relative of St. Patrick would have special honour, and no doubt the ravages of time and barbarians, both modern and ancient, have conspired to deprive us of some of the most important of our archæological treasures in this department. This tombstone, in characters which may, with almost certainty, be regarded as not later than the beginning of the sixth century, bears the following inscription:

LIE LUGNAEDON	*The Stone of Lugnaed,*
MACCLMENUE,	*Son of Limania,*

Where it will be observed that *Lugnaedon* is the Celtic genitive of *Lugnad* or *Lugna,* the name given to the youngest of the seven sons of Liamain or Limania.

The name of Sechnall will be observed as the first on the list of Limania's seven sons. In the preface to St. Sechnall's Hymn or Poem on the Life of St. Patrick, as given by Colgan, it is said that his father was one of the Longobards of Italy [Italiæ], and that his name was

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[4] *Liemania.*—Colgan, p. 227, where the whole subject of St. Patrick's relatives is fully treated.

Restitutus. In the preface to the same hymn, contained in the *Leabhar Breac*, the details are given more at length, thus :

Sechnall, viz., the son of Restitutus, was he who made this hymn in honour of Patrick ; for he was a disciple of Patrick, and he was also the son of Patrick's sister; and he was of the Longobards of Letha,[5] ut dixit Eodhaich O'Flannagan.

> "Sechnall, son of Ua Baird, the gifted,
> The most gifted of living men,
> Of the race of the pure, firm, white-coloured
> Longobards of Letha."

Two other persons are also said to have been sons of Limania, probably because they were sons of a Ua Baird;[6] they were Comitius, Bishop of Cluain-sean-moil, now Clonshanville, co. Roscommon, and Diarmaid, who is mentioned in the Tripartite as the nephew of St. Patrick.

Dr. Lanigan, with a mistaken eagerness to show that he was above what the world calls prejudice, made the rash mistake of being above believing on the mere evidence of early Irish historians much which has, since his day, been proved to be simple truth. Thus, while rejecting the accounts of hagiographers as to the number of St. Patrick's relatives, he overlooked the "golden grains" of truth on which these accounts were founded.

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[5] *Letha.*—Liber Hymnorum, p. 29.

[6] *Ua Baird.*—It is a disputed point whether the Longobards were so called from the length of their beards, or from an ancestor named Bard. Then there is also a question about the origin of the Longobards, who are mentioned at a still earlier period than the present in Irish History. Dr. Todd conjectures that Restitutus may have been a Longobard of Armorica, or northern Letha, and adds: on the whole, it is possible that there may be found more golden grains of true history in these rude and seeming blunders about Longobards of Letha, than would at first sight seem probable to the modern readers."—Liber Hym. p. 39. Perhaps, also, there might be found "golden grains" in the "rude" legends which the modern critic is so ready to reject without the slightest inquiry as to whether it is even *possible* that such things could be true, neither the legend in the history should be rejected merely for their "rudeness."

The fact that so many persons were mentioned led the learned doctor to consider that none of them existed. A more thoughtful mind, or perhaps we should rather say one more free from the fear of being thought too bigoted, would have drawn precisely the opposite conclusion. The discovery of the tombstone of Lugnath, which may still be seen with its ancient Inscription on the island of Inis-an-ghoill, in Lough Corrib, should be a warning to all who rashly refuse to believe what they are pleased to consider improbable.

And now we return once more to the "golden grains" of legend. It would appear that the saint, like St. Francis of Assisi, and Blessed Martin Porres the Dominican, had been given, even from his earliest years, a special power over nature and the animal creation. Adam and Eve forfeited the peace of Paradise for the tumult of sin and the world. But in their primeval state of innocence they were given full power over all creatures. The world was full of life when Adam first gazed upon it. The leopard and the lamb, the lion and the kid, were alike under his control. But when he rebelled against the control of the Creator of all things, his power, which had been only delegated, ceased at once and for ever. He was only ruler because he obeyed; when he ceased to obey his power to rule ceased also. But the Eternal mercy had provided a remedy, and in proportion as man availed himself of this remedy, he obtained some degree of his former power. Hence the most saintly, who are simply those who obey God's will most perfectly, obtained the most perfect control over the lower creation.

The lion-tamer goes into the den of wild beasts with his loaded whip in one hand and his deadly weapon in the other. If he falters for a moment or forgets a weapon, a terrible fate awaits him. By brute force he makes some attempt to control brute force. Not so the saint. His power is not his own. He needs no earthly weapon when he would tame the wolf or the bear. The force he uses is the Eternal Power communicated to him by the Eternal will. He goes forth, not to attempt conquest, but as a conqueror. Fire has no power to burn him, cold has no power to chill him, the rain may fall on others, but he passes along dry shod, even across rivers. The wolf obeys his bidding, and forsakes his natural prey, and the tree falls as he wills it to fall, and not according to the ordinary laws of nature.

Countless instances might be given of this glorious prerogative of true sanctity. The man of science may calculate the distance of the stars, the motions of light, the disturbing cause of changes in our system; he may discover wise remedies which shall heal in time the diseases incident to our earthly being. But the man of God can alone rule those elements. Who, then, is the most powerful and who the most wise? He who makes conjectures about science, or he who can control those effects and alter those causes?

There are few, even amongst non-Catholics, who are not in some degree familiar with the acts of the early martyrs. Those acts have been transmitted to us for the most part with unquestionable authority. In them we find frequent instances, in which the ferocious and hungry animals refused to touch the saints, whom heathen philosophers, in their ignorance, were so anxious to destroy. And it was not unfrequently the martyrs themselves who were obliged to arouse as best they might the courage and natural desire of the lion and the tiger.

In the acts of the well-known child martyr, St. Agnes, we find that fire had no power to hurt her, yet the flames were so fierce and the furnace into which she was cast so powerful, that several of the pagans who stood around were burned to ashes. But Agnes stood in the midst calm and peaceful, while the fiery element formed an arch of triumph around and over her. Again, we read of saints whom cold was powerless to hurt, and who passed dry shod over rivers, and through torrents of rain.

It is related in the life of St. Leonard of Port Maurice, a Franciscan friar, lately canonized, that he was often exposed to torrents of rain in his journeys, and yet that the garments he wore were not wet. St. Peter of Alcantara was known to have passed across rivers several times without the water touching him. The miracle performed by St. Martin of Tours, when he by the Sign of the Cross caused the falling tree to turn in a direction exactly opposite to that to which it inclined, is a matter of history.

Thus it will be seen, that however wonderful may have been the miracles performed by St. Patrick, they are not more wonderful than those which have been performed by other saints. The writer of the Tripartite Life observes, after mentioning the baptism of St. Patrick, that "God performed three miracles through Patrick at this place—viz., the fountain of water through the ground, his eyes to the blind man, and his reading the *ordo* of baptism without knowing a letter up to that time.[7]

Several other noticeable miracles are related as having happened while he was still a child. On one occasion the house was flooded where his nurse lived, and as even the fire was extinguished no food could be cooked. The child had asked for food, but the nurse replied that they must have a fire kindled before his desire could be attained. St. Patrick then went to a part of the house which the water had not yet reached. Here he dipped his fingers in some water, and as five drops fell from his five fingers they were miraculously changed into sparks of fire, and the fire glowed, and the water rose not. On another occasion, when playing with his companions in winter, he brought his nurse home an armful of ice sheets.[8] The intense cold of a severe winter had probably caused some difficulty in procuring fire-wood, and the nurse exclaimed that it would be better if he had brought her some fagots to burn. The boy replied that it was easy for fire to prevail over water, if God willed that it should be so; and then, casting the ice upon the fire, he made the sign of the cross and breathed over it. Even as he did, long streams of flame came forth, which gave light and heat to all; and as those who surrounded this marvellous fire looked and wondered, they beheld flames of light[9] issuing also from the saint's face, even as of old the face of Moses was made radiant by the light of God.

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[7] *Time.*—There are several instances of saints having learned to read miraculously. In the Life of St. Catherine of Sienna we are told that she learned how to read without having been taught by anyone. She herself informed her confessor, Blessed Raymond of Capua, who has written her life, that after she had spent several weeks in fruitless efforts to learn even the alphabet, she prayed to our Lord to enable her to learn to read, so that she might at least be able to recite the Divine Office, if it was His holy will. "Before the end of her prayer, she was able to read every kind of manuscript as rapidly and as perfectly as the most highly educated person." See the Life of this saint, translated and published in America.

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[8] *Ice sheets.*—In the Life of St. Peter of Alcantara a miracle of a somewhat similar nature is recorded. On one occasion, in winter, the saint had plunged into a pond of ice, either through mortification or to cool the bodily heat which the fire of divine love caused him to suffer continually. To the amazement of all, the ice at once melted, and the waters of the pond commenced to boil as if they had been contained in a vessel placed over a large furnace. It was often remarked that snow melted at once when he came near it.—*Life of St. Peter of Alcantara;* by Father de Beavain, S.J., vol. ii. p. 63.

[9] *Light.*—In the second Book of Machabees we find a remarkable instance in which water was sprinkled on the sacrifices, and a great fire was kindled at which all the people wondered. Jocelyn has remarked this in the chapter in which he relates the miracle of the ice being converted into fire.—Colgan, c. v.

It may be that the miracle was intended to be emblematic of the flames of Divine love which he was to enkindle by the words of his mouth in the icy hearts of the pagan Celts. It would appear that St. Patrick, as a boy, had been employed in tending sheep before his enforced servitude. Indeed in those primitive ages such occupations were not considered a degradation or a merely menial duty unless performed by slaves. Once, while he and his sister were thus engaged the lambs came suddenly to their mothers, and Patrick hastened with his sister to drive them away. As they ran the little girl fell, and to all appearance she had received a fatal blow; the young saint at once raised her up, and made the sign of the cross on her over the wound, which was instantly healed.[1] Only the "white wound" remained to testify to the miracle. Once, also, their flock was attacked by a wolf, who carried off a sheep. The nurse reproached St. Patrick for his neglect in permitting this, but on the following day the wolf appeared again, and brought back the sheep with

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p. 66. Frequent mention is made in the Lives of the Saints of supernatural light or rays appearing to surround them, or to be emitted from them, when they were working miracles or absorbed in prayer. In the depositions made for the canonization of St. Paul of the Cross, it is said that on one occasion specially his countenance lighted up, and brilliant rays flashed from his face.—*Life of St. Paul of the Cross*, p. 122.

[1] *Healed.*—This sister is called Lupita by Colgan, p. 118. The devotion of St. Patrick's nurse to her charge reminds us of St. Benedict's nurse, who so faithfully tended him, and even followed him into the desert.—*Monks of the West*, vol. ii. p. 6.

St. Patrick Taming the Mad Ox.

him. Like the nurse of St. Benedict, this good woman wished never to leave her charge, and was equally faithful to him, and well she might be, when she saw him thus "magnified by God" in prodigies and miracles. At one time he restored five cows to life who had been killed by a vicious cow; at another time, when he went to some assembly with his nurse and guardian, the latter fell dead, but was restored to life by the prayers of St. Patrick. On another occasion, his nurse reproached him because he did not bring home supplies of wild honey as other boys did, and Patrick returned to the well, filled his bucket with water, and at once it was changed into the purest honey. Again, when a tribute[2] of curds and butter was required, and there was none to supply the demand, St. Patrick made curds and butter of the snow.

It is scarcely possible to read the Life of any saint without finding a record of similar miracles; but perhaps the most noteworthy of all may be found in the Life of Blessed Sebastian, of Apparizio, a lay brother of the Order of St. Francis. It is related of him, that hearing a person was about to kill one of his oxen because it could not be tamed, he asked for it, and by one look tamed it so completely that it followed him home like a lamb. Several other incidents of a similar kind are also related. The power which St. Francis of Assisi possessed over the animal creation is almost too well known to need more than a passing allusion. One of his disciples, St. Joseph of Cupertino, restored a number of sheep to life who had been killed by a hail storm, and whose loss would have proved a serious calamity to a poor man. Many miracles also have been performed in the way of procuring food when necessary, in all ages of the Church. Even in our own day such a miracle, or rather many such, were performed by the saintly Curé of Ars, whose name will doubtless ere long be added to the glorious catalogue of the Church's saints.[3]

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[2] *Tribute.*—It will be remembered that in those times tribute was usually paid in kind. The Book of Rights lays down with great exactness the various tributes which were demanded by the Irish chieftains from their subjects; the custom obtained also in other countries, though it was not carried out so systematically.

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[3] *Saints.*—It is a common excuse when miracles are mentioned for people to say that miracles do not happen now. They do happen, and are quite as frequent and as wonderful as they have ever been. Those who question the possibility of a miracle happening in the nineteenth century, and those who question the miracles related in the Life of St. Patrick, are referred to the Life of the Curé of Ars, who died in the year 1859.

Chapter XV.

St. Patrick's Captivity and Release.

SAINT PATRICK has given us himself an account of his captivity and subsequent trials. He commences his Confession withthe history of his captivity and the age at which he was taken from his father's house. The expressions of humility which he uses must be taken with a qualification. The saints have ever considered themselves the most unworthy and the most ignorant of mankind. Hence, when St. Patrick says, that he was ignorant of God (*Deum verum ignorabam*), we cannot for a moment suppose that he had not learned and practised the Christian faith. Indeed, this could be scarcely possible, since he himself informs us, that his father was a deacon and his grandfather a priest. That such could not be his meaning, also, is evident from his account of the way in which he devoted himself to prayer while in captivity. The holy lessons which he then practised could only have been learned in a pious household, and the value of such early training was fully proved by the saint's subsequent conduct.

Organized expeditions for the purpose of procuring slaves from foreign countries were then frequently planned and effectively carried out by the Irish princes. This is proved by the twofold testimony of history and legal enactments. According to the best and most carefully computed chronology, St. Patrick was captured in A.D. 400, and remained in captivity until A.D. 406. The famous Nial of the nine Hostages was then king of Ireland, and was devoted to hostile expeditions against the Britons and Gauls. Indeed the Scoti, or Irish, were almost as formidable and as celebrated plunderers in this age as the Danes were at a later period. Even the Latin poet Claudian[1] has mentioned that troops were sent by Stilicho, the general of Theodosius the Great, to resist Nial's adventurous hosts. Nial was slain in one of these expeditions, at "Muir-n-Icht, the sea between France and England," which is supposed to have been so designated from the Portus Iccius of Cæsar.

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[1] *Claudian:—*

. . . Totam cum Scotus Iernem
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.

There can be little doubt that St. Patrick was captured in one of these expeditions. The Book of Rights informs us that "foreigners," were especially required to be presented as slaves to certain princes, and were in fact amongst the "rights" to which they laid claim, and which were sternly exacted. The provincial kings, and even the chief monarch or Ard-Righ, were not exempt from this obligation, and were bound to present their vassals also with certain presents. Thus we find :—

> The stipend of the King of Burghrigh
> From the King of Eire without sorrow—
> Ten tunics brown-red,
> Ten foreigners without Gaedhealga [Irish].

And the King of Cineal Aodha was entitled to—

> Five sheilds, five slender swords,
> Five bondsmen [brought] over the bristling surface of the sea,
> Five fair haired, truly fine women.[2]

In the Historical Preface to the Hymn of St. Sechnall the cause of Patrick's coming to Erin is thus related: "This is the way it happened, viz. : the seven sons of Sechmaidhe, king of Britain, that were in banishment, ravaged Armoric-Leatha. They happened to come upon a party of the Britons, of Ercluaide, on that occasion in Armoric-Leatha. Calpurn, son of Fothaid, Patrick's father, was killed there, and Patrick and his two sisters were taken captive there. The sons of Sechtmaidhe went afterwards over the sea to Erin, and Lupait was sold there in Conaille Muirtheimhue, and Patrick was sold to Miluic, son of Ua-Buain, in Dal-Araidhe, and to his three brothers, and they sold his two sisters in Conaille Muirtheimhue, but they did not know it.[3]

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[2] *Women.*—Book of Rights, p. 86 and 131. *Burghrigh*, now Bruree. The king of this district was called O'Donovan, and his country lay on the west side of the Shannon. The kings of Cineal Aodha were of the race of Aedh [Anglicised Hugh] though the territory was called Eas Ruidh, now Assoroe, from the cataract of that name at Ballyshannon.

In the Scholiast on Fiacc's Hymn, as given by Colgan, the account is substantially the same. We find, however, that his mother is said to be the daughter of Ochmuis (mater Conchessa Ocmusii filia). This agrees with the narrative as given in the Tripartite, where, however, it is added that his mother was a "daughter of Ocbas of the Gauls, *i.e.*, of the Franks." The Scholiast mentions a brother of the saint, who is called Sannan, and five sisters, named Lupait, Tigris, Libmain, Darerea, and Cinnemun. These are not mentioned in the Tripartite.

St. Patrick himself states that thousands were carried captive into Ireland, a statement which is amply confirmed by the history of the period. The saint was sold to four men, who probably had united in procuring slaves from Gaul. One of these eventually bought the captive from the others, doubtless seeing that he would thereby secure a faithful servant for himself. There has been no question as to the place where St. Patrick spent his six years of servitude, or of the persons whom he served. A leaf is missing both from the Bodleian and British Museum MS. of the Tripartite; but as the Latin translation of Colgan is remarkably accurate, there is no difficulty in supplying the details of the saint's captivity, even were there not other sources of information.

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[3] *It.*—Liber Hymnorum, p. 27, 28. *Conaille Muirtheimhue* was the name of the tribe who inhabited that part of the present county Louth extending from the Cooley mountains to the Boyne.

The circumstances of the saint's servitude are thus related in the Preface to St. Sechnall's Hymn:

> "Four persons purchased Patrick, and Miluic was one of them; and from this he had the name of Cothrighe. Afterwards he did not serve four houses; but when Miluic saw that he was a faithful servant he purchased him from the other three, so that he served him alone to the end of seven years, according to the custom of the Hebrews; and he suffered much hardship in the wilderness of Sliabh Mis in Dal-Araidhe, tending the swine."

St. Patrick has himself told us how dreadful were the pains of his servitude. The nights were passed in the woods or on the mountains. In the summer he was exposed to burning heat, in the winter to bitter cold. Yet this servitude was to him but the preparation for eternal freedom. Like St. Vincent of Paul, he served his cruel masters faithfully for love of the Great Master. Like him also he prayed day and night, and his vigour of mind (et spiritus augebatur) increased, and Divine love was his compensation for earthly suffering. Well might he say that the spirit was fervent within him (quia tunc in me spiritus fervebat), when one hundred times in the day and one hundred times in the night he made his prayer to God. The snow, the rain, the frost, were alike powerless to injure him, for the divine fire within was such that he felt no harm.

This is the saint's own statement, delivered calmly years after the event, though it may excite a smile of contempt from the would-be philosopher. But Patrick had learned another philosophy and a higher science. Such contempt could harm him as little then as now.[4]

There were two districts in the North of Ireland known by almost similar appellations. These were Dal-Riada and Dal-Araide. The former obtained its name from Carbry Riada (long arm) or, as Bede calls him, Reuda, one of the three Carbrys, whose names are famous in the pre-Christian history of Erinn. He established a colony in Scotland, in connection with the head-quarters of his clan, which were established in the present county of Antrim. The Scotch colony obtained the name of *Airer Gaedhil*, which has been modernized into Argyle. The district of Dalaraida was that in which

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[4] *Now.*—It will be remembered that St. Vincent of Paul was taken captive by African pirates. At Tunis he was sold to a fisherman, who, finding he could not bear the sea, sold him to a physician. On the death of this master he was sold to a renegade Christian, whom he converted by his piety and prayers, and with whom eventually he escaped across the Mediterranean to Marseilles. In his captivity, and while working laboriously for his hard masters, he consoled himself, like St. Patrick, with reciting or singing the Psalms of David.

St. Patrick spent his six years of servitude. It took its name from *Fiacha Araidhe*, who was king of Ulster in 236. This district extended from the present town of Newry, county Down, to *Sliabh Mis*, now Slemish, in the county Antrim.[5]

St. Patrick's master was king of North Dalaraida; he is thus mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters: A.D. 388, Milchuo, son of Hua Buain, king of North Dalaraida. In the Tripartite Life he is called "Milcho Buani filius Princeps Dalaradiæ." Dalaraida, as Dr. Reeves has well observed, not only enjoyed a succession of chieftains from a very early date, but also held an important place amongst the Irish principalities.[6]

The writer of the Scholiast on St. Fiacc's Hymn states that Milcho dwelt in Arcuil, a valley in the north of Dalaraida, near Mount Mis, now Slemish. Hence, the very place where St. Patrick spent his years of lonely servitude can be accurately identified even at the present day.

This district is now called the valley of the Braid, from a river of that name which flows through it. The site where St. Patrick had the vision in which he was commanded to fly from his master is still marked by the ruins of an ancient church. The valley through which the Braid flows, divides the parishes of Skerry and Rathcavan, and the whole district, as might be expected, is rich in memorials of the saint. It should be visited by the pilgrim, after a previous noting down of each site, and the subject which it commemorates.

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[5] *Antrim.*—Reeves, Down and Connor, p. 334. Book of Rights, p. 21.

[6] *Principalities*—Visitation of Down and Connor, p. 339.

Skerry was anciently called *Sciric* (rocky). Tradition assigns the foundation of this church to St. Patrick. The present ruins are not of very great antiquity, but close beside them there are traces of a smaller building, which was probably erected at an earlier date. Such, at least, is the opinion of Dr. Reeves, a high authority on all matters of antiquarian investigation. The present ruin measures 64 feet by 18 feet 10 inches. There is a rock close to the north-east angle of the church, where a faint impression of a footmark may be seen. This is called St. Patrick's footmark, but it should be more properly termed St. Victor's, since all tradition[7] avers that the angel left this mark when he visited St. Patrick. Colgan informs us that when he wrote (in 1647), this place was a famous pilgrimage.[8]

There is a holy well in the neighbourhood, a little to the south of the hill of Skerig. It is mentioned on the Ordnance Map as Tubernacool holy well. There is a townland called Ballytigpatrick, in the valley of the Braid, between Slemish and Skerry.

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[7] *Tradition.*—Dr. Todd says that as St. Patrick himself does not mention the apparition of an angel, therefore no angel could have appeared. Had St. Patrick mentioned an angel, no doubt Dr. Todd would have attributed the vision to the saint's imagination. In either case he would have disbelieved. It is quite true that St. Patrick does not mention it, but St. Patrick was not writing his life or a complete record of his spiritual experiences. He does elsewhere mention the apparition of Victor; hence there is no reason why his angel may not have appeared to him here also. The Tripartite Life expressly mentions that Victor assisted him while in captivity. So does St. Fiacc.

[8] *Pilgrimage.*—Hodie hic locus *Schire* Padruic appellatur et in hunc usque diem plurimâ peregratione, magnoque populi concursu et devotione frequentatur.—*Colgan*, p. 171.

While St. Patrick was with Milcho, this king had a dream or vision, in which he saw his servant come into the house where he was, and flames of fire appeared to issue from his head. Milcho thought that "the flame broke upon him to burn him," but he drove it from him and it did him no harm. His son and daughter were with him, and it seemed as if it consumed them entirely, and their ashes were scattered all over Erinn. Milcho called Patrick at once and told him his vision, which the saint interpreted to him thus: The fire which thou sawest on me is the faith of the Trinity which burns within me, and it is this faith which I shall hereafter preach unto thee; but thou wilt not believe. Thy son, however, and thy daughter they will believe, and the fire of grace shall consume them.[9]

St. Fiacc tells us when and by whom the summons came to St. Patrick to escape from servitude. We have indeed in this part of his life an admirable example of patience and humility. It was his faithfulness that made his earthly master secure his services; it was his faithfulness which made his heavenly master crown him with the reward of special graces. Nor can the duty to God and the duty to the neighbour be separated; and the earthly duty is ever most faithfully performed by those who serve not unto man but unto God. Patiently for six long years the saint suffered hardship in the wilderness of Dalaraida ; but the time of release had come. St. Patrick had learned the language of those whom hereafter he was to win to God by words of burning eloquence. He had learned their customs, so that he might be the better fitted to reform what was not entirely evil, and might know how best to abolish what was bad. His own soul had been trained to lessons of humility, he had been purified by suffering, he had learned to commune more closely with God ; and now he has other preparations to make for his glorious mission, and God himself calls him to his new work.

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[9] *Them.*—Liber Hymnorum, p. 28.

> "Victor said to Milcho's slave : go thou over the sea.
> He placed his foot upon the Leac [stone], its trace remains, it wears not away."

St. Patrick himself thus relates his call, and his escape :—On a certain night, as I slept, I heard a voice saying to me : "Thou fastest well, thou shalt soon go to thy country. And after a short time I heard a response saying to me : Behold thy ship is ready. And it was not near, but perhaps two hundred miles off, and I had never been there, nor did I know anything of the people. And immediately after this I fled ; and having left the man with whom I had been for six years, in the power of the Lord, who directed my way to good, I feared nothing, until I arrived at the ship ; and on the day of my arrival the ship had left her place, and I spoke to them and asked that I might go with them. And the master was displeased, and replied sharply with anger : Do not think that you can go with us. When I heard this I left them, and went to a cottage, where I had received hospitality, and I began to pray as I went along, and before I had finished my prayer I heard one of them calling out loudly after me, come quickly, for these men are calling thee; and immediately I returned to them, and they began to say to me: Come, we receive you in good faith, be friends with us, as you may wish. So on that day I ceased to fly for the fear of God. However, I hoped of them that they might say to me, 'Come, in the faith of Jesus Christ,' for they were Gentiles."

Although the various manuscripts of St. Patrick's Confession agree in the main, there are still some slight points of difference, of more or less importance. The version of the Confession, as it stands at present in the Cotton collection, will be given at the end of this volume. But this copy has been carefully collated with the other versions, and each difference will be noted and the authority given. A translation is given of the notes as well as of the text, so that the ordinary reader can judge for himself of the various copies.

One version of the Book of Armagh says that the distance which he had to travel was two hundred miles (cc. milia passus). Probus has also duccenta milia passuum. The Tripartite quotes the Confession. Indeed, there can be little doubt as to the distance, and it is probable that the saint was obliged to traverse the whole of Ireland before he reached the port of embarkation. It is not surely too much to suppose that He who had commanded his flight, and told him that "the ship was ready," guided him on his journey, and made known to him the port from whence he should escape. It would have served Peter little to have had his chains struck off in prison if the gates had not been opened also for his deliverance.

The Bollandists read *veni ad Benum* in the place where the Book of Armagh reads *Diregabat ad bonum.* It will be observed that St. Patrick avoids all mention of places in his Confession, either intentionally, or more probably by accident, hence the only localities named there were those where his family resided. Dr. Lanigan considers the Bollandist version correct, and says, indeed, what is obviously true, that a transcriber meeting with the word *benum*, which he did not understand, would be more likely to write bonum, than to write the former word for the latter.[1] The Bollandists, therefore, make the saint embark at the mouth of the Boyne. But both Dr. Lanigan and Dr. Todd have shown that this argument is untenable. The Boyne is always Latinised *Boindus*, or, according to Ptolemy, *Bovinda.* If the word is a proper name it may more correctly be referred to Bantry. The ancient name of the district was Bentraighe, the shore of the Ben, so that Ben, Latinised into Benum, was the Bay. If this theory be correct it agrees with the almost universal reading, that St. Patrick journeyed two hundred miles to the ship.[2]

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[1] *Latter.*—Lanigan, Ec. Hist. vol. i. p. 149.

[2] *Ship.*—Dr. Todd thinks *bonum* the correct reading, *Memoir of St. Patrick*, p. 368. Dr. Lanigan has suggested also that if bonum were a proper name, it might signify the river now called Bandon, which falls into the sea at Kinsale.

The saint informs us himself that he arrived at land after a three days' sail. This is exactly the time which would be required in those days for a voyage from a southern Irish port to the northern part of Gaul. It must be conjectured from St. Patrick's own narrative that the place where he landed was some considerable distance from the place where his family then resided. He writes thus : After three days we landed, and for twenty days we wandered through a desert.

In some copies of the Confession there is a paragraph from which, if it be correct, we must infer that the saint endured a second captivity. The Bollandists have inserted the paragraph, which runs thus : "And again after a few years I was again taken captive (et iterum post annos non multos adhuc in capturam decidi)." This sentence, however, is not contained in the version of the Book of Armagh, though it is given in the other version. A sentence follows in which the saint refers to the statements he has already made about the first captivity in such language as to leave little doubt that the transcribers of the Confession have made some great mistake. It is evident from the whole context, that if St. Patrick does write of a second captivity, that it must

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I find the following paragraph in Mr. Joyce's admirable work : "The descendants of Beann, one of Conor's sons, were called from him Beanntraighe [Bantry], *i.e.*, the Race of Beann ; a part of them settled in Wexford, and another part in Cork, and the barony of Bantry, in the former county, and the town of Bantry, in the latter, retain their names." The Origin and History of Irish names of places ; by P. W. Joyce, A.M., M.R.I.A., page 116. This valuable work should be in the hands of every Irish scholar, and of every Irishman who has the least interest in his national history.

have occurred during the time which intervened between his escape from Milcho and his arrival at home. If this is the correct interpretation, the words *post annos non multos* must be an interpolation. Indeed these very words occur two or three lines further on, where the saint speaks of his being with his parents in Britain after a few years. How easily the eye of a transcriber might catch the words and write them in the wrong place, and repeat them again without further observation where they really should stand, is known to all who have had any experience in such matters.[3]

Two of the headings of chapters in the Book of Armagh are as follows:

Of his voyages with the Gentiles and his trials in the desert, and the supernatural supply of food for himself and the Gentiles.

Of his second captivity which he suffered for three score days from his enemies.

It will be remembered that although the early portion of this valuable Life is lost, yet the Life by Probus is manifestly an amended text of Mactheni; hence the omission can be easily supplied. Probus gives details of a second captivity in full, but makes it to be clearly distinct from the first captivity. Hence the question is one which it is obviously impossible to decide, and it is not a subject of any great importance. It is just possible that the lessons of the Rheims Breviary furnish the key to the whole question. The Scholiast on St. Fiacc's Hymn was, probably, the source from which they were taken, and this gives a second and more ancient authority. According to this account, after St. Patrick fled from Milcho he was captured by a man named Kienan, who sold him to some sailors. He afterwards repented of what he had done, and procured the saint's liberation, who then continued his journey southwards. It is very probable that this statement contains the correct explanation of the second captivity, and it explains why St. Patrick introduced it into the same paragraph with the account of the first, and why he continued the narrative of the first captivity after he had mentioned the second.[4]

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[3] *Matters.*—The text in the Book of Armagh is manifestly corrupt. The Bollandists, seeing the apparent discrepancy which is made in some copies by the introduction of the narrative of a second captivity into the middle of the narrative of the first, have simply left out the last paragraph.

The desolation of the country through which St. Patrick journeyed is easily explained. At the commencement of the fifth century European society was in a state of chronic dismemberment. The world and the Church, the Church and heresy, were engaged in deadly and desperate conflict. Faith alone could enkindle the eye of Hope with a glimpse of future peace. The mighty empire of Rome, which had served unconsciously the Divine purpose in extending the knowledge of Christianity, was now falling to pieces, as human empires must surely do sooner or later. The barbarians were about to do another service to the Church, though equally unconscious of their mission. Christians, when persecutions ceased, began to forget that the end of their existence was to prepare for an eternal kingdom, rather than to seek the enjoyment of temporal goods. They needed the purifying fire of suffering once more to recal them to a better life and holier purposes, and this purification was given to them. Spain was ravaged by a host of half-savage men, who called themselves Christians in name, yet were Arians by creed and barbarians by nature. France was invaded on the north by the pagan Franks, and on the south by the Arian Burgundians. Everywhere there was war, and the desolation consequent upon its ravages. Hence vast tracts of country were depopulated: for, though cities might escape, the poor were sure to be the victims of either or of both parties of combatants.

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[4] *Second.*—Kienan was afterwards baptized by St. Patrick, and founded the church or monastery of *Daimhliac-Kienan*, now Duleek, in the county Meath. He is commemorated in the Martyrology of Donegal at 24 Nov.

As St. Patrick and the sailors or merchants journeyed through the desert, two remarkable events occurred, which he has left on record in his Confession. Many of the men (*multos ex illis*) had fainted, and were left half dead of hunger upon the road. The master appealed to the saint, and asked could he not obtain help for them from his great and powerful God. He replied that if they would be sincerely converted, with their whole hearts, God would send them food, for to Him all things were possible. Even as he spoke a herd of swine appeared on the road before them; and they gave thanks to God and honoured Patrick.[5]

When they had rested for two nights, and were thoroughly refreshed, they continued their journey. The men now discovered some wild honey, and one of them offered a portion to St. Patrick, saying at the same time that it was offered in sacrifice. The saint at once refused it. His doing so is an evidence that he must have received full instruction in Christian doctrine in his father's house, or it may be that the holy instinct of extraordinary sanctity prevailed over natural inclination. Those who are familiar with early ecclesiastical history will remember how many martyrs perished, or rather, we should say, entered on immortality during the severe persecutions under the Roman emperors, merely because they would not honour even the "genius of Cæsar," when by so doing they must perform an act of idolatry.

Men who were ready to sacrifice twenty lives for their rulers, dared not preserve their own lives on the condition of performing even the most apparently trifling act which could give a suspicion of idolatry. So, also, and on the same principle, in the centuries which followed the so-called Reformation, thousands were found in Ireland, and hundreds in England, who sacrificed their lives, or their whole worldly estates, sooner than listen even for a few moments to the new form of prayer, which had taken the place of the ancient Sacrifice of the Mass. The same causes have produced the same results in all ages of the Church. In pagan Rome, heathen Gaul, in once Catholic England, the "honey" has been rejected, and the demon has been foiled.[6]

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[5] *Patrick.*—Et ego honorificatus sum sub oculis eorum.

And when souls give themselves most unreservedly and generously to God, they not unfrequently receive in return the reward of special suffering. Even the powers of darkness are allowed to work their will within the limits of Divine permission. Christ was tempted in the desert; and in the lives of all who are called to a special nearness to Christ, there is ever some desert into which they are driven for their souls' greater purification, and wherein they are refined and purified by special suffering. The very night of the day on which Patrick had refused the honey was the time chosen for a remarkable assault of diabolic malice. How terrible this assault must have been we may judge from the words which the saint himself uses in recording it; for he declares that he could never forget it while he lived. Et fortiter tentavit me Satanas, quod memor ero quamdiu fuero in hoc corpore. When the remembrance of that night of temptation was so strong, after the lapse of seventy or eighty years, how terrible must have been the reality.

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[6] *Foiled.*—In the Acts of the well-known martyr, St. Polycarp, we read that as his captors were conducting him on an ass towards the city, Herod and his father, Nicetas, took him into their chariot and asked him what harm could there be in saying Lord Cæsar, or even in sacrificing, to escape death; and when he refused they flung him from the chariot. When brought before the Proconsul he was offered a discharge if he would swear by the genius of Cæsar. Similar instances are too numerous to record. It is well known that during the persecutions of Catholics which followed the so-called Reformation both in England and Ireland, men sacrificed their lives and property willingly, sooner than even listen to the Protestant prayers. Yet, strange to say, there are Protestant clergymen, in England at least, who try to persuade themselves and others that the service to which these martyrs would not even listen is the same as the Catholic Mass. In the appendix to *Challoner's Missionary Priests,* he mentions an instance in which the Protestant Archbishop of York attempted to entrap fifty-three Catholics to hear him preach, but they all shut their ears, though compelled to remain in the place by armed men.

"On the same night," says the saint, "as I slept, Satan strongly tempted me, and he appeared to fall on me like a great rock, so that I had no strength in my limbs. But how it came into my mind that I should invoke [*invocarem*] Elias I know not; and then I saw the sun arising in the heavens, and whilst I called Elias, Elias, with all my might, behold the splendour of the sun fell upon me and removed all my heaviness. I believe that I was succoured by my Christ, and that his Spirit even then cried out for me, and I hope that I will be so also in the day of my adversity, as the Lord testifies in the Gospel. For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you."[7]

In the Second Life the words in reference to the invocation of Elias are given in Irish, but the chapter consists only of a few lines; and Colgan says in his note to this chapter that the rest is wanting, "in codice et Hubertino et Alnensi."[8] The Irish sentence runs thus: "He prayed Eli to expel it [the stone] from him."

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[7] *You.*—St. Math. x. 20. This passage has been the subject of much useless controversy. Even if St. Patrick intended to say Eli, and to pray directly to our Divine Lord, Catholics lose nothing by the admission. There is ample evidence that the practice of invoking the saints was customary from the earliest ages of Christianity, and that it was a general devotion in Ireland is past denying. But if all the transcribers were mistaken, and wrote Elias where they should have written Eli, how comes it that St. Patrick should have said he knew not how it came into his mind to do so? Surely he who was so constant and fervent in prayer to God could not have wondered that he should pray to Him. The most simple interpretation is, that St. Patrick was not in the habit of invoking *Elias* and did not know how the saint's name occurred to him at the moment.

[8] *Alnensi.*—Tris. Tha. p. 17, n. 22.

In the Third Life the person invoked is also called Eli. Patricius vocavit Eli, &c. As the leaves of the Irish version of the Tripartite are missing, we can only gather from Colgan's version what they probably contained on this subject. Here it is expressly stated that St. Patrick invoked Elias the prophet.[8] The passage is doubtless translated faithfully from the original. Hence we have very ancient authority for supposing that by the word used by St. Patrick he meant Elias the Prophet. There is also the authority of the version of the *Confession* contained in the Book of Armagh. Indeed, it is probable there would never have been any question about the saint's meaning had not some few persons found it difficult to reconcile the fact of his invocation of a saint with their anxiety to make it appear that the early Irish converts were not Catholics.[9]

Probus informs us that St. Patrick preached to the sailors on their journey, which we may well believe him to have done. There can be little doubt that he had already determined on his apostolic mission to Ireland; it is at least manifest, that he lost no time in preparing for it, and this preparation may be said briefly to have consisted in prayer, self-discipline, and study.

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[8] *Prophet.*—Colgan, p. 121, c. xxiv.—Invocavit Heliam Prophetam.

[9] *Catholics.*—Personal assaults and temptations of the evil one are frequently recorded in the lives of the saints, as well as angelic visits. Sulpicius Severus informs us, in his Life of St. Martin of Tours, that he was frequently assailed by frightful phantoms, which took the form of the gods whose altars he had broken, appearing to him in the shape of Jupiter or Mercury, oftener still of Venus or Minerva and making the air resound with their clamours and reproaches. The Life of the Curé of Ars gives many details of sufferings inflicted on the holy servant of God by satanic malice. For many months he could not get even a brief rest, so terrible were the noises with which his midnight hours were disturbed. They were heard by many others, both priests and laymen, who were at last obliged to admit that they were supernatural. —*Life of the Curé of Ars.* Burns & Co., London, p. 121.

The portion of the history of St. Patrick which records his education in the monasteries of Gaul for his Celtic mission, is of the deepest interest and importance. It gives us, in fact, an epitome of the ecclesiastical history of the period, and a glimpse into the lives of the noblest and holiest men who laboured to extend the Catholic Faith in Europe. A brief description of Christian life on the continent of Europe is almost an essential introduction to an account of the saint's residence there; and this description can scarcely fail to be full of interest.

We have already glanced at the state of European society at the commencement of the fifth century. It was not satisfactory: revolt and schism were the normal state of continental nations.

Heresy and schism were sanctioned, if not upheld, by so-called Christian emperors. But however evil the state of the world might be, there was hope, and more than hope in the Church. Even while the secular power proclaimed the triumph of heresy, the spiritual power was establishing those institutions which have ever been the best safeguard against it.

The name of Roman citizen, which until now had been a title of the highest honour, was rapidly falling into contempt ; the name of saint was daily honoured more and more. When a nation falls, she rises no more. There is no power of national vitality within her ; she has accomplished her purpose—the designs of Providence are fulfilled ; she rises from barbarism to civilization, and is subdued by barbarians, or amalgamated with a more powerful race ; her special identity is lost, and in the history of nations, her record is only a record of the past. But it is not so with those spiritual nations, who exist within the Church. The religious orders, her standing army of brave soldiers, are ever full of young recruits, ardent and eager for the battle. If in one place these soldiers seem to be vanquished, it is only that they may appear with new force and vitality in another. The Fathers of the Desert had accomplished their work. The monks of Gaul took up the arms which they had laid down, or had died in defending, and carried on the conflict. St. Ambrose compared the isles of the Mediterranean, peopled with religious, to a collar of pearls upon the sea. He knew the value and importance of these armies of souls consecrated to God, and at the gates of his own episcopal city he established a convent of monks.

His well-known work on Virginity was written at the request of his sister Marcellina, and he answered therein the old accusation, so often reiterated, as if it were new. He defended the virgins, who only asked liberty to choose the service of God in preference to the service of a husband, and he assured the world that it need not be anxious lest the human race should fail for lack of progenitors.

It was at the close of this century also that the great Augustine, vanquished by the grace of God, obtained for him by the prayers of his mother, gave himself to God without reserve, and learned that there was something greater than to be the friend even of an emperor. Thus, while St. Augustine was writing his Confession and his Rule, which has been the guide of so many religious orders, St. Patrick was preparing for the great work which he has recorded in his Confession also, and obtaining, by penitence and prayer, the grace of being the spiritual father of thousands who should hereafter follow the rule of the great Doctor of the Church. St. Augustine, indeed, went to his reward almost at the very time when St. Patrick, in middle age, went forth on his apostolate.[1]

But there were others whose influence was exercised more directly on the life of our saint. The unvarying testimony of his biographers show the connection of his family with that of St. Martin of Tours. This circumstance, combined with the fact that he went to the monastery of Tours, after his release from captivity, to prepare himself for his apostolic labours, must satisfy all but those who are wilfully incredulous. What the precise relationship was is another question, and one which, as we have before observed, will probably never be settled.

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[1] *Apostolate.*—St. Augustine died at Milan, aged 76, A.D. 430. St. Patrick arrived in Ireland, A.D. 432.

We have already said something of St. Martin's parentage and early history. It was while still a soldier that he divided his cloak with the poor beggar, and for his reward saw the garment taken up to heaven. When freed from the terrible servitude of a life which must have been to him in every respect most painful, he sought for one who might guide his course in the heavenly army, in which he had so long desired to be enrolled. He chose for his leader and instructor St. Hilary of Poictiers who, like the great Athanasius, had been honoured by banishment for his fidelity to the Catholic Faith. St. Martin remained at Milan while his friend was in exile, and returned with him in 360 to Poictiers. Here Martin founded the monastery of Ligugé, which is said to have been the most ancient in Gaul. But God had destined him for an important work in the Church, and he had to learn a yet deeper lesson in the spiritual life by sacrificing his love of retirement for the good of souls. His special warfare was with the powers of darkness, who still held sway over the great mass of the populace. Later he defended the truth in the courts of princes, and opposed the harsh cruelty of the Spanish bishops, eager to shed blood—the blood of heretics. But his heart was still in the cloister, for which, from youth, he had so ardently pined. When a brief interval of rest from public duties permitted his return to Tours he at once commenced the foundation of a monastery.

The site which he selected was about half a league from Tours, and was then a desert enclosed on one side by the right bank of the Loire, and on the other by rocks. Here St. Martin was the first to give the example of these austerities which he invited others to practise, and he made for himself a cell of the interlaced branches of trees. His last words have become proverbial as an aspiration of perfect sanctity: "Lord, if I am still necessary for thy people, I refuse not to labour." But his work was accomplished, and he went to his reward surrounded by holy souls, who were ready to continue the work which he had begun, until they also should be no longer necessary.

The exact year of St. Martin's death is not known, but dates have been given varying from A.D. 400 to A.D. 404. Hence it seems doubtful if St. Patrick could have been present at his death-bed, yet the writers of the Lives of the Saint are unanimous in their testimony of his having had personal intercourse with his saintly relative.

St. Ninian of Scotland was also at Marmoutier about the same period. He had journeyed to Rome, then, as now, the great centre of Christian unity, and had passed twenty-four years in that city preparing for his mission. He received episcopal consecration from Pope Siricius, and, accompanied by some of the monks of St. Martin's monastery, proceeded to Scotland. On his arrival he also founded a religious house, and as he heard of the death of St. Martin before its completion, he dedicated it under his invocation. St. Ninian died the very year in which St. Patrick arrived in Ireland, A.D. 432.

St. Martin's biography was written by Sulpicius Severus. In early life he had been a lawyer, and brought to the cloister refined and cultivated tastes, which a life of penance and prayer enhanced more and more with spiritual brightness. When he renounced his legal career he sold his patrimony, and chose for his dwelling one of his villas in Aquitain, where he lived as a brother with his converted slaves. Their mode of life was one of the most extreme austerity, but they persevered in it with wonderful fidelity. It was in this retreat that Sulpicius Severus wrote the Life of St. Martin, a work so treasured by St. Patrick, that he copied it with his own hands, and carried it with him wherever he went. This remarkable and beautiful biography is contained in the Book of Armagh, and is one of the most interesting portions of that important relic of early Irish history.

It would be impossible, and indeed apart from our subject, to give details of all the monastic establishments in Gaul at this period, or of all the saints who illumined the darkness of pagan and military barbarism, but there are two of them, heroes of peace and sanctity, whom we cannot pass over. Both Lerins and Auxerre were places honoured by the presence of St. Patrick; and for this reason, if for no other, we must desire some information regarding their founders, and the mode of life of those who dwelt within their cloisters.

Lerins is an island in the Mediterranean, not far from Toulon. In 410, the very year in which St. Patrick escaped from captivity, a young noble who preferred poverty to riches, and asceticism to pleasure, made for himself a home. The island was barren, deserted, and infested by serpents ; all the more reason for his choice. The barrenness soon disappeared, for labour was one of the most important duties of the monk, and it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that one-half of the marshes of Europe were reclaimed, and made fruitful by these patient tillers of the soil. These men laboured as none others could labour, for to them labour was not undertaken to procure the meat which perisheth, but in obedience to one of the first laws of the eternal author of our human life. A monk who ceased to labour ceased to be a true monk. A monk who laboured negligently would almost surely be a negligent monk. The desert also soon ceased to be such. The saintly attract the saintly, and the odour of virtue once spread abroad never fails to win those to whom God has given the rich gift of loving it. The noxious animals fled away, or ceased to exist—for Honorat, like St. Patrick, had special power of control over the animal creation.

The account transmitted to us of the monks of Lerins has some features of peculiar beauty. It is thus described by a pen more gifted and eloquent than ours :

"There is, perhaps, nothing more touching in monastic annals than the picture traced by one of the most illustrious sons of Lerins, of the paternal tenderness of Honoratus for the numerous family of monks whom he had collected round him. He could read the depths of their souls to discover all their griefs. He neglected no effort to banish every sadness, every painful recollection of the world. He watched their sleep, their health, their food, their labours, that each might serve God according to the measure of his strength. Thus he inspired them with a love more than filial. "In him," they said, "we find not only a father, but an entire family, a country—the whole world." When he wrote to any of those who were absent, they said, on receiving his letters, written, according to the usage of the time, upon tablets of wax: "It is honey which he has poured back into that wax, honey drawn from the inexhaustible sweetness of his heart." In that island paradise, and under the care of such a shepherd, the perfume of life breathed everywhere. These monks, who had sought happiness by renouncing secular life, felt and proclaimed that they had found it; to see their serene and modest joy, their union, their gentleness, and their firm hope, one could have believed oneself in presence of a battalion of angels at rest.

The churches of Arles, Avignon, Lyons, Vienne, Troyes, Kietz, Frejus, Valence, Metz, Nice, Venee, Upt, Carpentras, and Saintes, borrowed from the happy isle, as it was everywhere called, their most illustrious bishops. Honoratus, taken from his monastery to be elevated to the metropolitan see of Arles, had for his successor, as abbot of Lerins, and afterwards as bishop of Arles, his pupil and relative, Hilary, to whom we owe the admirable biography of his master. Hilary, whom the gentle and tender Honoratus had drawn from a worldly life, after a desperate resistance, by force of entreaties, caresses, and tears, retained in the episcopate the penitent and laborious life of the cloister of Lerins. He went through his diocese and the neighbouring country always on foot, and barefooted even in the snow. Celebrated for his graceful eloquence, his unwearied zeal, his ascendency over the crowd, and for the numerous conversions which he worked, he was once at variance with the Pope, St. Leo the Great, who deprived him of his title of metropolitan to punish him for certain uncanonical usurpations; but Hilary knew how to yield, and after his death, the Great Pope did him justice by calling him Hilary of holy memory."[2]

Such was Lerins, and such were the men with whom St. Patrick dwelt, from whom he received, and to whom we may well believe he gave in return, lessons of the most perfect sanctity.

But there was one of the inmates of this holy monastery of whom, for special reasons, we must make special mention, while all others may be passed by in silence. The name of Vincent of Lerins has been handed down to posterity as pre-eminent amongst those who have written most boldly and effectively in defence of the holy Catholic faith. He was the companion of Patrick, and we cannot doubt that he was also his friend. Vincent, above all others, would sympathise most deeply with the aspirations and desires of the apostle of a whole nation; and in that abode of sanctity we may well believe that there may have been some who foresaw with prophetic light the future glory of the holy and stranger monk who, for a brief space, dwelt with them.

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[2] *Memory.*—The Monks of the West, vol. i. pp. 465-6.

Again, I shall quote from the description of this monastery, as given by the fervent author of the Monks of the West: "Holding the first rank amongst these [the monks of Lerins] was the great and modest Vincent de Lerins, who was the first controversialist of his name, and who has preserved to posterity the name of the isle which had been the cradle of his genius.

He composed the short and celebrated work which has gained him immortality in 434, three years after the Council of Ephesus, and on occasion of the Nestorian heresy which that Council had condemned. He would not put his name to it, and entitled it humbly, "Remarks of the Pilgrim"—Commonitarium Peregrini. In this he has fixed with admirable precision, and in language as decisive as it is simple and correct, the rule of Catholic faith, by establishing it on the double authority of Scripture and tradition, and originating the celebrated definition of orthodox interpretation:—Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est.

After having thus established the immutability of

Catholic doctrine, he demands, "Shall there then be no progress in the Church of Christ?" "There shall be progress," he answers, "and even great progress; for who would be so envious of the good of men, or so cursed of God, as to prevent it? But it will be progress, and not chance. With the growth of the ages and centuries, there must necessarily be a growth of intelligence, of wisdom, and of knowledge, for each man as for all the Church. But the religion of souls must imitate the progress of the human form, which, developing and growing with years, never ceases to be the same in the maturity of age as in the flower of youth."

Vincent has inscribed at the head of his masterpiece a testimony of his gratitude for the sweet sanctuary of Lerins, which was for him, as he says, the port of religion, when, after having been long tossed about on the sea of this world, he came there to seek peace, and study that he might escape, not only the shipwrecks of the present life, but the fires of the world to come.[3]

Let us pass from Lerins to Auxerre, and from St. Honoratus to St. Germain. Indeed it is to the latter we must specially look for testimony as to the preparation which St. Patrick received for his apostolate. It was from St. Germanus that he learned the CANONS; it must, therefore, be full of interest and all important to inquire what Canons St. Germain taught. It was to St. Germanus that he looked for spiritual guidance for thirty years. It is all essential that we should know how Germanus himself lived. Even had we no other source of information as to the doctrines taught by St. Patrick than a knowledge of the doctrines taught by St. Germanus, our information would be complete. Thirty years of spiritual guidance tell us how deeply the son must have reverenced the father. Thirty years of spiritual guidance tell us how much the father had to teach and how the son desired to treasure all the instructions which he could obtain.

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[3] *Come.*—The Monks of the West, vol. i. p. 486.

St. Germanus was born at Auxerre about the year 378. He was, therefore, St. Patrick's senior by ten years. But while the Apostle of Ireland was enduring the hardships of slavery, and deprived of every opportunity of increased mental culture, St. Germanus was pursuing a liberal course of education, and excelling in more than one branch of human science. It is believed that his parents were noble, but little more is known of them than their names. The future bishop was destined by his family for a legal career. They were Christians, and he had the benefit of a Christian education. As they were desirous that he should excel in the course of life which they had chosen for him, he was sent to Rome to complete his studies. Here, at this period, regular collegiate education was carried out, and the youth of all parts of the continent flocked thither to obtain the benefit of superior instruction.

The students were assigned special lodgings, and officers called Censuales were appointed to look after their morals. None were permitted to remain in Rome after the age of twenty, lest they should lose or weaken that attachment to their native place which is so eminently desirable for a good citizen.

After St. Germanus had returned to Gaul, he rose rapidly in the profession which he had chosen. Advancing step by step, he became at last Duke or Governor of Armorica. He had previously married a lady of high birth and considerable wealth, from whom he separated, by consent of both parties, when he became a priest. While holding his legal office he resided at Auxerre, of which town St. Amator was the bishop. Paganism still prevailed even in those parts of Gaul where Christianity had been long preached and fervently practised, and the Christian bishops of that age were obliged with the one hand to repress heresy and with the other to put down idolatry. They were, in truth, apostles, and with some rare exceptions, fulfilled their apostolic missions gloriously. St. Amator had to contend also with the demoralization and misery which ever follows in the train of war; but miracles evidenced his faith and assisted his mission, and it is related of this holy bishop that he restored, by the Divine power, sight to the blind, and by the same power caused the lame to walk.

Such was the bishop under whose auspices St. Germanus became a saint. It was usual with the wealthier class of Roman citizens to have villas outside the towns where they resided. To these country places they retired for rest or amusement. Hunting was the favourite pursuit of both Goth and Roman, and Germanus was especially devoted to the pleasures of the chase. There was a large tree of great antiquity in the centre of the town of Auxerre, whereon the nobles were wont to display trophies of their skill. This tree had been, and indeed was still, an object of pagan veneration, and the custom of thus exposing the spoils of the chase was pagan also. Germanus, as a Christian, did not believe the superstition, but Christians then, as now, were not always perfect—he did from motions of vanity what was done by others from motions of superstition.

Whatever his motives might have been, it was a great scandal for the Christian governor of the province to countenance in any way a pagan custom. St. Amator expostulated with him, as in duty bound. Germanus still continued the obnoxious exhibition. Amator appealed to him again and again, but he would not listen. As the scandal could not be repressed in any other way, Amator took the bold and wise course of destroying the tree. Germanus was furious, and vented his indignation in angry words and still more angry threats. Yet, in all this Providence was working secretly for the eternal welfare of the future saint and the Church. Germanus collected a large body of his soldiers, and proceeded to Auxerre, either to overawe, or perhaps to seize and imprison St. Amator. In the meantime the holy bishop was favoured with a revelation, in which he was informed that his own earthly course was nearly at its close, and that the man who was coming to attack him with his armed band was the person chosen by God to succeed him in his office.

St. Amator, on receiving this divine communication, did not wait for the arrival of the angry governor, but set out for Autun, in order to obtain an interview with the Prefect of Gaul, who was then staying at that place. The Bishop of Autun, St. Simplicius, whose character was expressed by his name, came forth to meet his episcopal brother, and the Christian prefect vied with him also in showing honour to their visitor. St. Amator soon explained his object,—he wished to inform the prefect of the revelation which had been made to him, and to obtain his permission to confer the tonsure on Germanus.

The prefect, whose intercourse with St. Amator is described[4] as being marked by the deepest reverence for his episcopal character and his great sanctity, at once complied. Germanus, he said, was indeed necessary to the republic; but when one higher than Cæsar demanded his services, he dared not refuse his sanction.[5]

Amator returned to Auxerre, and on his arrival assembled as many as he could collect quickly of his own flock, and informed them of the divine revelation, as far as the fact of his impending departure was concerned. He exhorted them, as was customary at that period, to consider who was the fittest person to succeed him. The people were amazed and silent. He then desired them to proceed to the church. Germanus and his party had joined the crowd, and the bishop imperatively demanded that all should lay down their arms on entering the sacred edifice. When all had entered, he ordered the doors to be fastened; then proceeding to where the governor stood, he seized him by the mantle, took from him his secular robes, clothed him in ecclesiastical garments, and solemnly invoking the name God, ordained him priest.

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[4] *Described.*—Tillemont, vol. 9, p. 114.

[5] *Sanction.*—There were three dstinct ranks in the government of the Roman provinces above the many inferior grades and subdivisions. The highest office was that of prefect; the next below that of governor. The prefect had the administration of the whole province. Hence no change could be made in the administration without the permission of the prefect; it was, therefore, absolutely necessary that Amator should obtain his sanction for the retirement of St. Germanus from office.

How complete and glorious a sacrifice of all mere human feeling there must have been at that most solemn hour? Naturally St. Amator might have felt angry at the obstinacy of the governor in refusing to comply with his wishes about the pagan tree; and with such natural feelings—if indeed he were not too saintly to have entertained them—he would be prejudiced against him, and, above all, unwilling to admit him to any ecclesiastical office. But God had spoken; it was enough for Amator. God knew best who was most fit to govern His Church; and the one fault of vanity or obstinacy in Germanus, may have only served to humble him, and thus to make him still more suitable for so exalted a position.

St. Patrick's Temptation.

The holy bishop died immediately after the ordination of St. Germanus, but not until he had impressed on the people again and again predictions of his future sanctity, and implored them to elect him as his successor.

St. Amator, when he felt or probably knew that his last hour had come, desired his attendants to carry him into the church, and here, on his pontifical throne, and surrounded by a vast multitude of the faithful, he peacefully breathed his last. Even as his blessed soul passed away, a choir of saints were seen descending from heaven and bearing away his spirit in the form of a dove to the eternal throne. As they bore forth his mortal remains to the cemetery, the procession was met by a paralytic, who had been thus afflicted for thirty years. He came hoping to be cured by St. Amator, and he was not disappointed. Germanus, who was present, gave orders that his limbs should be bathed in the water which had been used to wash the mortal remains of the saint. An instantaneous cure was the result.

St. Germanus was consecrated Bishop of Auxerre on the 7th of July, A.D. 418, and it was in this very year that St. Patrick came to place himself under his guidance. No doubt, the fame of St. Amator's holy death, and all the supernatural circumstances connected with the elevation of St. Germanus to the episcopal see, were widely known, and St. Patrick may have been specially attracted by them.

And now St. Germanus commenced a life of the most extraordinary austerity, of such austerity as even the fathers of the desert found difficult after long years of trial. From the day on which he began his ministry to the day of his death, a period of thirty years, he never touched wheaten bread, nor did he allow himself the common seasoning of salt with his barley, the only food which he permitted himself. None of the monks in Gaul ate meat at this period on any occasion. St. Germanus refused even oil, vegetables, or wine. His biographer, Constantius, informs us that the little food which he allowed himself was only taken twice in the week at evening, and more frequently he abstained until the seventh day. It is probable that St. Patrick had not much to learn from him in the way of austerity, since even an angel had commended his fasting while in his lonely captivity in Dalaraida; but the men who accompanied Sulpicius Severus into his retreat had found even abstinence from meat very hard to bear. They reminded him that they were Gauls, not angels, and that as such they could scarcely be expected to live like angels. Indeed, an abstinence from animal food must have been most trying to those northern races, accustomed to live exclusively, if not abundantly, on the spoils of the chase.

The saint's clothing was equally penitential—summer and winter he wore the same dress, the cuculla and the tunic. As this was probably adopted by St. Patrick, a description may be interesting. The tunic was a long garment of coarse wool, or serge, which covered the whole body, and reached quite to the feet, the cuculla was a small hood for the head, which ended in a point, and when not drawn up hung over the neck and shoulders. His inner garment was a hair cloth. At night he lay on four planks strewn with ashes. But he had one treasure from which he never parted, a treasure for which, after his death, an empress made the most earnest entreaties, and obtained as the greatest favour. This treasure was a small box, containing the relics of the apostles and of several martyrs. Germanus wore it day and night fastened to his chest by a leathern belt. St. Patrick had already learned to venerate the relics of the saints, but we may well believe how his devotion was increased by the example of St. Germanus.

The saintly Bishop of Auxerre was also distinguished for his miracles. Let it be remembered by those who condemn the lives of Irish saints, because the supernatural is continually manifested therein, that there are other lives quite as marvellous, and of whose authenticity there has never been any question. A man may altogether refuse to believe in miracles, just as a man may refuse to believe the Bible, or to believe history, but no man should condemn the biographers of St. Patrick as credulous, and discard their testimony as untrustworthy, simply because they record his very wonderful miracles. They may settle this question with St. Jerome, who wrote the Life of Paul, the first Hermit ; with St. Augustine, who wrote the Life of St. Anthony of the Desert, and who believed and recorded miracles as wonderful as any, which we shall presently relate.

There was one devotion practised by St. Germanus with which St. Patrick had long been familiar. It is recorded of the Bishop of Auxerre that he, like our saint, was frequently accustomed to spend the entire night in prayer, and it was remarked that his most wonderful miracles were generally performed after these vigils.

We have now described the religious houses which St. Patrick visited, and the persons with whom he associated ; it is time, therefore, that we should return to the immediate history of our saint. We shall meet with St. Germanus again, and hear more of his holy life and of his most blessed end.

ST. PATRICK'S BELL.

Chapter V.

St. Patrick at Tours, Auxerre, and Lerins.

WE are informed by St. Patrick himself that his parents were most earnest in their entreaties that he should remain with them. It is not quite clear whether by the word parents we are to understand the nearest relations of father and mother, or merely his kindred. According to some accounts, St. Patrick's parents were both killed when he was taken captive. It is at least certain that he was strongly urged[1] by some persons nearly related to him to remain with them, and that he generously resisted the temptation. Thus is he led on step by step—thus is he prepared by one trial after another for the great and glorious work which lies before him. To renounce all is one of the first and most imperative conditions for the Christian priesthood; and if it is necessary for the ordinary exercise of this most sacred office, how much more necessary is it for the Christian missionary? He renounces all that he may gain all, he frees himself from all that he may possess all. He forsakes a paternal home to find a still better and holier portion in the devoted love of the people to whom he ministers. Such is the Christian priest, and such was Patrick. Had he in that moment of trial listened to the voice of human inclination, his crown might have been given to another; for if we fail to do the work of God we do not injure his work, for another will obtain the favor which we have rejected.

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[1] *Urged.*—Probus says distinctly that "he was with his father Calpurnius, and his mother Conchessa."—Colgan, c. xii. p. 48. But there is considerable confusion in the whole narrative.

It would appear probable that St. Patrick was favored with the well-known vision in which his Irish mission was specially revealed to him, immediately after his return from captivity. In the Confession it is happily recorded at length; and though that work cannot be used exactly as an historical narrative, yet there is a certain sequence of events in the whole composition. Some authors have referred the vision to the time of his residence with St. Germanus, but the words "post paucos annos in Britannia . . . . *et ibi vidi*," &c., can only be explained in the one way.

It should ever be remembered that the exterior work of a saint is but a small portion of his real life, and that the success of this work is connected by a delicate chain of providences, of which the world sees little and thinks less, with his interior life. Men are ever searching for the beautiful in nature and art, but they rarely search for the beauty of a human soul, yet this beauty is immortal. Something of its radiance appears at times even to mortal sight, and men are overawed by the majesty, or won by the sweetness of the saints of God: but it needs saintliness to discern sanctity, even as it needs cultivated taste to appreciate art. A thing of beauty is only a joy to those who can discern its beauty, and it needs the sight of angels to see and appreciate perfectly all the beauty of a saintly soul. Thus, while some men scorn as idle tales the miracles recorded in the Lives of the Saints, and others give scant and condescending praise to their exterior works of charity, their real life, their true nobility is hidden and unknown. God and the angels only know the trials and the triumphs of holy human souls.

St. Patrick had the human hopes and fears and affections which would naturally incline him to be influenced by the earnest entreaties of his parents. But there was another and a mightier influence at work, and the Divine Spirit was calling him to sever these holy ties for those which were still holier, to renounce the service of his father on earth for the yet more binding service of his Father in heaven. And then when St. Patrick had made the sacrifice, the special consolation came. It is after the lonely wrestling with temptation that the angels are sent to comfort us. In the visions of the night the angel brings the message to the apostle; He appears to come from Ireland, perhaps because he was clothed as the saint had seen his captors clothed, and he bore with him innumerable letters (*epistolis innumerabilibus*), and then, as he presented one to Patrick, he saw written thereon the *Voice of the Irish.* The voice of the Irish! Truly from that hour to this that voice has not ceased to resound in the ears of our great apostle. Ah, our father, our friend, listen to us still. We would also send thee letters once more by angel hands, and pray that we may ever be faithful to what thou didst so willingly come to teach us. And while he read the beginning of this mystic communication he heard many voices, united as in one holy strain, who made this earnest request: We entreat thee, O holy youth, to come and walk amongst us.

It was enough. The voices from the western sea, borne upon the midnight breeze, had thrilled the heart of the great-souled apostle. He could read no more; in truth, he had read enough. The message was given, though the words were few. It needed only that he should know who called him—it was the voice of the Irish—it needed only that he should know why they called—they would have him come and walk amongst them. The holy youth should teach them also to be holy, and he came and taught them, and they have learned; and if fidelity to the lessons taught is the best proof that the scholars were indeed earnest in their desire for instruction, we may surely say that not in vain did Patrick obey the midnight call from over the Western Sea.

Thanks be to God, exclaims the saint, that after many years He hath granted to them that for which they asked. And again, in another part of this Confession, he returns to the same subject, and thanks God once more, with burning words, that through his ministry so many people should have been born again to God, and that so many priests should have been ordained for these faithful converts.

The testimony of the various Lives of the Saint is scarcely needed to prove how frequent and sublime was his intercourse with heaven. There is not a page of the Confession in which we may not find a record of some vision or supernatural favour. Yet all is told with such pure simplicity that the reader hardly realizes how wonderful is the record. Immediately after the relation of the vision in which he saw Victoricus, and heard the voice of the Irish, he mentions another night, in which, like St. Paul, he knew not whether the favour granted to him was within him or nigh to him. Then it was that he heard words of mystic import which he could not understand, until the close of their utterance, when, adds the saint, "He thus addressed me: 'He who gave His life for thee:' And so I awoke, rejoicing:" Blessed, indeed, was it for him to have heard the voice of the Irish, but how incomparably more blessed to have heard the voice of Jesus. "He who gave His life for thee." Yes, it was Jesus Himself who condescended to speak to His favoured servant, and He who had given His life for Patrick, might well ask that Patrick should give his life for Him. Greater love there could not be than that friend should give his life for friend, and if we cannot give our lives for our Friend Jesus, since He no more needs such personal devotion, how happy for us that He counts as done to Himself that which we do for those whom He calls friends, even though the world may scorn and despise them.

One other favour also is recorded by our saint as having been granted to him at this period. He heard one praying within him and above him, so that he was, as it were, encompassed by prayer. And as he marvelled at this strange and unusual manifestation, it was revealed to him that it was the Holy Ghost who was thus making intercession for him.

Thus was he enlightened, comforted, and strenghtened for the great work to which he was called. But while he was thus favoured with divine communications, he did not neglect the necessary preparations for his mission. He knew, as only saints can know, that however great may be the favours granted to us by God, we are none the less bound to use every means ourselves to accomplish what we believe to be his designs.

There have been instances in which it has pleased God to impart the knowledge of theological science supernaturally to holy men. But in the ordinary ways of Providence all knowledge costs us labour, and it were presumption even for the saints to expect that God would grant such favours, and to neglect the ordinary duties of a student.

It will be remembered that St. Patrick was freed from captivity in his twenty-second year, A.D. 410. He went to Auxerre in 418. It would appear that the eight years which intervened between the saint's release and his visit to St. Germanus were spent partly with his family at Boulogne, but principally at Tours. In the *Vita Quinta* we are told that he rested [requiescens] for a few years with his parents. After this there is an account of another captivity, and then some not very clear details follow, which are not given in the Tripartite. According to this Life, St. Patrick then came to St. Martin, and remained with him for four years at Tours, receiving the tonsure from him, and being instructed by him in science and doctrine.[2]

In the Tripartite we are informed "he set out for Tours to visit St. Martin, that he might receive the monastic tonsure, for hitherto he had only the tonsure of servitude; and receiving then the monastic tonsure from St. Martin, he abandoned all the cares and pleasures of the world, and devoted himself entirely to prayer and abstinence, so that he made the resolution never more to taste flesh meat."[3] In the Rheims Breviary his visit to St. Martin is also recorded, and the same time [four years] is given as the period during which he remained there. Usher mentions an ancient Life of St. Patrick, in which it is said that "on a certain occasion Patrick visited St. Martin, and with due reverence remained with him for forty days."

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[2] *Doctrine.*—Colgan, p. 48.

[3] *Meat.*—*Ib.* p. 121.

There is in fact an accumulation of evidence in favour of this four years' visit to Tours, and it must also be observed that in each instance the authors of these Lives wrote as if St. Martin were living at the time of the saint's arrival. This certainly cannot be reconciled with what appears to be the most correct chronology of the life either of St. Patrick or St. Martin. It is simply one of these historical difficulties which might be elucidated with ease if we had the key, but which, wanting that key, presents a formidable appearance. It must be remembered also, that those who wrote the Lives of the Saints in early ages were much more anxious to record their virtues and to relate their labours than to attend to those critical details which modern writers consider so essential.

The austerity of the monks of Tours, and the sanctity of Patrick, are evinced by some interesting details of his residence in this monastery. It has already been observed that the monks of Gaul abstained from animal food, and that this abstinence was not accomplished without considerable trial. St. Patrick had long been inured to a most severe life, but it would appear that he had not as yet entirely renounced the use of flesh meat, nor was he in any way bound to this strictness, since his vocation as apostle might require that he should live as others did under certain circumstances. While at Tours he probably wished to conform, as far as possible, to the rule of those with whom he had taken up his abode for a brief period, and there, at least, his abstinence would have been as strict as theirs.

Once, however, he had procured a small portion of meat for his repast, and this, probably to avoid any scandal, he carefully concealed. But even as he did so he saw a vision of a man with two faces, who addressed him thus: "I am a servant of God; with one face I contemplate the ordinary actions of man, but with the other I view a monk who, yielding to self-indulgence, conceals some meat, lest, perchance, he should be discovered." Then the vision disappeared, and left Patrick overwhelmed with grief for what appeared to him a grievous crime. To know a fault and to weep for it is the special characteristic of a saint, even as to know a fault and to make excuses for it is the invariable conduct of the sinner. But He who had warned the saint supernaturally that he was departing in some slight degree from the high profession to which he was called, now comforted him supernaturally also. Even as he wept prostrate on the ground, his angel, Victor, appeared to him, and desired him to arise, for his fault was pardoned.

But, although the saint was thus assured of the Divine pardon, he still desired to humble himself for his guilt before men, as one who, loving much, could not do too much to manifest his grief for having offended his beloved. It was usual, from the earliest ages of the Church, to make public accusation of faults and to do public penance for them. This holy custom could not fail to be observed in a monastery like that of St. Martin, where all were in earnest in seeking perfection. Thus men who had in any degree become degraded by sin, became ennobled by penance, and, while the worldly and the pagan thought that they proclaimed their degradation by such acts of humiliation, they were, in fact, proclaiming their greatness—for has not He, the greatest of all, said : "He that humbleth himself shall be exalted ?" and has not He Himself given the example of the lowliest humility and the most perfect subjection to obedience ? And it sometimes pleases Him that His servants should be glorified in their humiliations on earth as a slight foreshadowing of the glorification which they shall receive for them in heaven. Thus it was with Patrick. To humble himself, and to atone for his fault, he brought forth the meat before all the brethren, and confessed what he had done. By the command of his superior he threw it into some water, and even as he did, his act of humility and obedience was crowned by a miracle, for the meat instantly became changed into innumerable fishes. Thus figuratively would our Lord teach us that it is not so much what we eat or drink in itself that is pleasing or displeasing to Him, but the act of self-sacrifice which we perform in abstaining from what naturally gratifies our fleshly inclinations.[4]

It is said that St. Patrick remained four years at Tours; this would bring us to the year 414, supposing the saint to have proceeded to Tours immediately after his arrival in Gaul. But if we allow that he may have remained a year with his parents, it would give the date A.D. 415, and still leave an interval of three years before the known date of his visit to St. Germanus. It was probably during this interval, whether of three or four years, that the saint visited some of the places vaguely mentioned in the various Lives, and which cannot be accurately identified. His age at his release from captivity was two-and-twenty. His residence at Tours, and his visits to other places, all occur between the twenty-second and the thirtieth years of his age.

Jocelyn says but little of St. Patrick's intercourse with Germanus. He simply mentions: "The saint desired that all his acts should be sanctioned by the Apostolic authority," and therefore he went to the chair of Peter, founded upon a Rock, and that he disclosed his purpose to Germanus, who approved of it, and gave him for his companion a holy servant of God named Sergetius. Probus gives very full details (*Vita Quinta*), but either he has himself strangely confused the accounts from which he compiled his narrative, or his transcribers have disarranged his history, for the whole of his life at this period is incoherent. Indeed, so hopeless is the confusion, that Lanigan well observes, we must look for some more consistent authorities to guide us as to this part of our saint's history.

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[4] *Inclinations.*—Colgan, p. 121, Tripartite. This is also mentioned by Jocelyn. He strongly condemns a superstition practised in his time by the Irish, who used to plunge meat in water on St. Patrick's Day, and when dressed eat it, and call it St. Patrick's fishes. Such superstitions, or rather sinful evasions, are always severely condemned by the Church. It is very usual now, however, to give permission for the use of meat on St. Patrick's Day, which always occurs in Lent.

As an evidence of the similarity of the miracles recorded in the Lives of the Saints, it may be observed that a somewhat similar circumstance is mentioned in the Life of St. Agnes of Montepulcianno. In consequence of ill health she was required to eat flesh meat, from which she had abstained for years. She obeyed the commands of her superiors, but at the moment when the meat was placed before her it was miraculously changed into fish by the same power which caused the water to become wine at the Feast of Cana in Galilee.—*See the Life of St. Agnes of Montepulcianno*, p. 214.

There can be no doubt that St. Patrick visited the islands in the Tyrrhene sea during some part of the time of his preparation for his apostolic mission to Ireland. It was here that he received the *Staff of Jesus*, and here also he was favoured with many divine revelations.

To the present writer it appears most probable that this visit took place after St. Patrick's introduction to Germanus, and before his visit to Rome. It must be observed once more, that the biographers of the saints in the early Christian centuries were much more intent on giving correct accounts of the favours granted to them by God, and on the correspondence with grace which they manifested in their lives, than in giving critical details of their history.

The evidence of St. Patrick's connection with St.

Germanus is ample and beyond controversy. In the Hymn of St. Fiacc it is briefly stated thus;

> "He [the angel Victor] sent him across the Alps: over the sea marvellous was his course,
> Until he stayed with Germanus in the south, in southern Letha.
> In the Islands of the Tyrrhene sea he stayed: therein he meditated:
> He read the canon with Germanus: it is this that history relates."

In the Book of Armagh, amongst the sayings of St. Patrick one is preserved, which runs thus:

> "The fear of the Lord was the guide of my journey through Gaul and Italy, and to the islands which are in the Tyrrhene sea."

From the titles of the lost chapters of the Life of St. Patrick contained in this Book, we find that the sixth chapter contained an account of St. Patrick's journey into Gaul, where, having found Germanus, he remained with him, and proceeded no further for a time. In that part of the Book of Armagh which is still preserved, the circumstances of the visit of St. Patrick to Germanus are fully detailed.

> "The angel Victor came to him and declared that it was time for him to go forth with the evangelic net, and fish for those barbarous nations to whom the mercy of God had sent him; therefore when the fit time had come he set out strengthened by the divine assistance to undertake the missionary work for which he had long prepared, and Germanus sent an ancient priest with him, whose name was Segetius, that he might be both a companion and a witness, for the holy master, Germanus, had not yet conferred episcopal consecration on him."

In a treatise on the Irish Liturgy, which Spelman refers to the seventh century, the connection between our saint and St. Germanus is thus recorded:

> "They [Lupus and Germanus] subsequently preached to the Britons or Scots, as the Life of St. Germanus of Auxerre and the Life of St. Lupus testify; and they spiritually trained up and nourished with sacred learning the blessed Patrick, whom, being consecrated bishop, they by their commendation elevated him to the chief episcopate of the Scots and Britons."[5]

The biographer of St. Germanus, Eric, or, as his name is more generally Latinized, Hericus, has written fully on this subject also.

> "As the discipline of children redounds to the glory of their father, I have deemed it, I have considered it well, briefly to commemorate one of the most famous of the many sons in Christ whom he [Germanus] had instructed in religion—I mean Patrick—who, as his Life records, was the special apostle of Ireland, and spent eighteen years under his most holy instruction, and drank in no small draughts of learning and the Sacred Scriptures from this rich fountain."[6]

The important fact that St. Patrick read the Canon with Germanus is also mentioned in the Irish Nennius. Indeed the subject is one which is not, and cannot be questioned; and the only matter for investigation would be what St. Germanus taught St. Patrick with regard to doctrine and discipline. This is a subject full of interest and full of importance. We have already sketched the Life of the Bishop of Auxerre up to the period of his consecration as bishop. It was precisely then, A.D. 418, that St. Patrick placed himself under his spiritual direction.

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[5] *Britons.*—Essays on the Early Irish Church, by the Very Rev. Monsignor Moran. At page 246 he gives the original of this treatise.

[6] *Fountain.*—The Life of St. Germanus of Auxerre was written by a monk of his monastery whose name was Constantius, and is well authenticated. In the reign of Charles the Bold, the body of the saint was transferred to a new church, 16th January, 859. It was about this period that Hericus republished the Life of the Saint, with a commentary.—*See Tillemont. Hist. Ec.*, vol. xv. p. 24

There can be no doubt that our saint had fully and deeply weighed the importance of the Divine call which he had received, to be the apostle of a nation. The Catholic missionary, while relying absolutely, or rather I should say, because relying absolutely, on the Divine Spirit promised to the Church for his guidance, does not neglect all the ordinary means supplied by Providence which might avail for the furtherance of his work. It would be presumption for a missionary to go forth without a knowledge of the language of the country to which he was sent, because God has been pleased to impart the gift of languages in some cases supernaturally. Thus, also, no man dare go forth to teach unless he has been himself taught, and this is, indeed, one of the most marked differences between the apostles of truth and the disseminators of error.

The faith of the Catholic Church is unalterable. What St. Germanus taught in Auxerre, St. Ambrose taught at Milan, and St. Peter at Rome. As each new missionary went forth to convert pagan nations, he took with him a definite creed which it was perilous to reject, and heresy to deny. He knew that each dogma which he should teach had been taught to him by those who received the sacred deposit of Divine truth in an unbroken sequence of theology. Hence it was of the first necessity, it was rather, we should say, the essential duty of the Christian missionary to learn fully what he should teach; and thus it is that years of study are considered now, and were considered then, the duty of the candidate for the priesthood.

And, if such study is important and essential for the ordinary exercise of the sacred ministry, how much more important is it for the apostle destined by Divine Providence to convert a whole nation to the Faith. How could such a one go forth and ask the men of that nation to give up their old beliefs, unless he had something more than mere conjecture to offer them in exchange? If his creed could be shaken by their arguments, as the creed of a Protestant bishop has been shaken in modern times, why should he attempt to teach them at all? But, happily for Ireland, St. Patrick learned his canon from one who had authority to teach, and from one whose creed could not be shaken by the conjectures or questions of his first convert. It was also essential that the saint should be fully instructed on all details of Church discipline. The awful responsibility of teaching and ordaining many priests would be committed to him. His advice would be esteemed a law, and his very opinion an obligation; hence it was most necessary that he should be able to give a correct decision—and decisions in accordance with the principles of canon law, as taught by the Holy Catholic Church, on every subject. Thus was it well that he should have read the Canon with Germanus.

It is also more than probable that the subject of civil law would have been considered. Though Patrick knew it not, he was to assist in Christianizing the laws of ancient Erinn, and Providence prepares each instrument for the work for which it is designed, though the instrument may not be always conscious of the preparation. A person of ordinary prudence could scarcely fail to foresee some of the difficulties that would arise when a pagan nation began to renounce their national customs. St. Germanus, from his previous study of Roman law, and from his long and brilliant career as governor of a partly pagan and partly Christian province, must surely have had considerable experience on this subject—another reason why he was specially fitted to instruct St. Patrick.

We are informed in the Tripartite that Germanus was distinguished by birth, dignity, life, learning, ministry, and miracles. Here again we find another reason why it was a special grace for St. Patrick to have been favored by his guidance. The power of working miracles, which to our want of faith appear more than ordinarily wonderful, is frequently granted to those appointed to evangelize heathen lands. The miracles of St. Germanus were frequent and marvellous, and we can scarcely doubt that they were a subject of special consolation and instruction to St. Patrick.

St. Germanus was consecrated Bishop of Auxerre in July, A.D. 418. In the course of this very year he was visited by St. Patrick, and it is probable that the two saints remained together for several years. In the Scholiast on St. Fiacc's Hymn it is expressly stated that St. Patrick accompanied St. Germanus to Britain, to root out the Pelagian heresy, and that he afterwards returned with his companion to France. There can be no reason for questioning this statement ; even Usher gives high authority to these scholia, and considers them as an independent and valuable addition to our information concerning the life of St. Patrick.

The history of the Pelagian heresy is almost too well known to need more than a passing allusion. Pelagius, the unhappy originator of this sect, was by birth a Briton. He went to Rome, as was indeed the custom of the time ; but it must be feared he scarcely made his pilgrimage in the spirit of devotion and humility which generally characterized such undertakings. For some time he remained in obscurity, although acquainted with St. Augustine, with whom he had some correspondence. After a time he appears to have devoted himself to the education of youth. He was undoubtedly a man of considerable learning and apparent piety, though it is said that his private life was not very edifying. He first gave publicity to his errors about five years before St. Germanus was elevated to the episcopate. Two young men, who had been his pupils, were now his warm supporters ; and in the history of one of these we trace the history of all heresy; for Bede informs us, that Julianus of Campania was an ambitious man, and was mortally disobliged by the loss of a bishopric.[7]

The heresy of Pelagius consisted in declaring, contrary to the teaching of the Catholic Church, that the sin of Adam does not in any way affect his descendants, and that man is able to fulfil the law of God without the aid of divine grace. Councils were held in Africa, in 416, where this heresy was condemned, and Pope Innocent was appealed to for a confirmation of their decrees, which he granted. He also condemned Pelagius and his followers, and declared them excommunicated, unless they renounced their errors. St. Augustine, in noble and memorable words, evinced his Catholicity and his loyalty to the See of Peter:—

> "Rome has spoken: the judgment of the bishops of Africa has been sent to the Apostolic See; the letters of the Pope have arrived, and confirm that judgment. Rome has spoken—the question is at rest—discussion has ceased; God grant that the error may cease likewise."

But the error did not cease. In 418, Honorius issued an edict condemning the heresy; and, in 425, Valentinian issued another; Agricola then fled from Gaul to promulgate Pelagianism in Britain. Bede, who probably quotes from Prosper's Chronicle, informs us that the English bishops, finding that these false doctrines were gaining ground, and that they were unable to oppose them effectually, requested the assistance of the bishops of Gaul. Palladius had already brought a report to Rome of the state of Britain, and the ravages which heretics were making in its Church; and Prosper relates, that Pope Celestine sent Germanus as his representative to direct the Britons to the Catholic faith. The probable position and dignity of Palladius, the deacon, has already been fully explained.

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[7] *Bishopric.*—Bede, lib. i. cap. vii.

St. Germanus paid two visits to Britain; and it was during the first of these that the saint accompanied him (A.D. 429). The interval from the time in which St. Patrick came to Germanus until this date, was spent in study at Auxerre, and in visits to the islands of the "Tyrrhene Sea," of which many curious and interesting details are given. It is indeed quite clear, whatever view may be taken of the accounts given by the saint's biographers at this period of his life, that some portion of it was spent at Lerins. We have already given full details of the foundation of that monastery and of its inmates. It only remains to record the events which are said to have occurred there, or, at least, in some of the Mediterranean islands visited by our apostle. Lanigan has well observed that St. Germanus could not have selected a better school than that of Lerins for St. Patrick, since it was the abode of so many men eminent for sanctity and learning. He also observes that there was an island called *Lero,* now St. Marguerite, close to Lerins, which became celebrated as the place chosen by St. Eucharius of Lyons for his retreat. These islands were indeed, at this time, a second Thebias, and their inhabitants were persons wholly devoted to religion and separation from the world.[8]

It was during St. Patrick's visit to Lerins that he received the *Staff of Jesus.* The gift of this relic is mentioned in the Tripartite, and the antiquity and authenticity of this life should be recalled before the legend is rejected. It must also be remembered, as cumulative evidence of great weight, that this staff was supposed, from a very early date, to have been a heaven-sent gift, and as such was venerated and preserved with extraordinary care until the very time of its wanton destruction.

According to the account in the Tripartite, St. Patrick and his companions were cast by the tide upon an island, where they found a strange family, the children being apparently very much older than the parents. One of the men explained to St. Patrick that Christ had visited their family while upon earth, and that they had made a feast for Him. He had blessed those who thus honored Him according to the best of their power, and had promised that they should be "without age and without decay to the judgment day." The blessing, however, did not reach to their children, who, it would appear, grew aged in appearance, in the ordinary course of nature as years went on.

The man then declared that they had long expected the coming of St. Patrick, which had been foretold to them, with the further information that he was to preach to the Irish. A token was left for the saint, namely, a bent staff, which was to be given to him on his arrival. But St. Patrick replied that he would not take the staff until it was given to him by our Lord Himself. Patrick remained with this family for three days and nights, and then went to Mount Hermon,[9] in the neighbourhood of the island. Here our Divine Lord appeared to him, and gave him the Staff of Jesus, desiring him to go and preach to the Irish.

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[8] *World.*—Ec. History, vol. i., p. 179.

In the Scholiast on St. Fiacc's Hymn it is simply mentioned that St. Patrick received the Staff of Jesus on Mount Hermon. In the *Vita Tertia* the saint is said to have met with a hermit from whom he received this staff, but no place is mentioned. It is, however, added that the staff was then [at the time the Life was written] in the city of Patrick [Armagh]. But the writer, in a subsequent chapter, mentions that our Lord appeared to St. Patrick on Mount Arnon. In the *Vita Quarta* we find an account somewhat similar to that given in the Tripartite. Probus does not mention the gift of this mysterious staff, but Jocelyn gives very full details.

According to his account, St. Patrick, when on his way to Rome, visited a holy man, who in his name and works was just [nomine ac opere justum], and from him he received the Staff of Jesus—this solitary having

[9] *Hermon.*—Of the identification of this place, more hereafter.

informed him that he had received the staff from the hands of the Lord Jesus. There were other solitaries in this island, some of whom appeared to be youths, and others aged and decrepit men; and Patrick is informed, as already stated in the Tripartite, that these men who retained their youth had seen our Divine Lord while He was on earth, and that He had blessed them specially for their charity in receiving Him.

The legend, it will be observed, is told without any material[1] variation by the different writers. With regard to the staff itself, there can be no doubt that it was transmitted by St. Patrick to his successors, and treasured by them with a veneration which can only be attributed to their firm belief in its supernatural origin. Nor, if we believe in miracles at all, can any reason be adduced why such a favor may not have been granted to our saint. His mission was a special one; it was one which required the exercise of more than ordinary power, in dealing with the demons of darkness who had for centuries held a whole nation in thrall. Many apostles have converted tribes and districts of continental countries, but generally they have been assisted by numerous bands of disciples. St. Patrick was called to convert a whole nation, an entire and isolated country, and he had few, if any, helpers in his work. Hence he needed special graces and helps, which might not have been so necessary to others. What, indeed, could prove more effectual in subduing the visible power of the demon than such a staff, blessed and given by Christ Himself? If the staff of a prophet could effect a miracle, how much more efficacious would be the *Staff of Jesus?* And we shall find that it was precisely for the purpose of subduing and expelling the powers of darkness that this staff was used.[2]

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[1] *Material.*—Dr. Todd, ever unhappily anxious to discredit anything which in the least approached the supernatural, has remarked sharply on the circumstance that the Tripartite mentions "women," and Jocelyn "men," as the persons who preserved their youth. But there is nothing either in the Tripartite to lead one to suppose that there were no men, or in Jocelyn to lead one to suppose that there were no women. A man who had made up his mind not to believe the details of the Life of Wellington would have no business to write his memoir. Careful and scholarly criticism is one thing; to have a predetermination not to believe certain facts is not scholarly.

The legend of the men and women who still retained their youth cannot of course be literally true, nor can we suppose that it is intended to be so understood. It may have been a vision by which the saint was told that those whom Christ Himself had blessed were ever young in truth and beauty—it may have been to show that the redeemed ones grow not old in Paradise, and that, there, age is as beautiful as youth.

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[2] *Used.*—The present writer has seen a small cross of wood which was said to have been blessed by our Divine Lord, who appeared to a nun in Italy, and desired her to procure a number of these crosses that He might bless them. It must, however, be distinctly understood by non-Catholic readers, that Catholics are not in any way obliged to believe this or similar statements, which are merely given on the ordinary testimony of human information. A Catholic knows that such favors may be granted by God to His saints, and therefore will be guided as to his belief or disbelief in such occurrences by the weight of evidence for or against such statements. A Protestant at once rejects them, without taking the trouble of further inquiry. A Catholic says, when he hears that a miracle has been performed, or that a supernatural event has occurred, "It may be true;" a Protestant says, "It is not true." If all the marvellous discoveries of science had been treated thus, and rejected without further investigation, we may doubt if civilization would have been greatly advanced thereby.

All the ancient Lives of our Saint concur in stating that our Divine Lord appeared to St. Patrick about this time on a mountain. This mountain is called Hermon, Arnon, and Morian, and the identification of the site must always remain doubtful. Indeed it is quite evident that several of the saint's biographers have confused some of the events of this portion of St. Patrick's life with the history of Palladius. Two entirely different sites are indicated in the Lives for this place. It is also stated in one of these Lives that St. Patrick was ordained priest by a bishop named Senior, who dwelt in a city with seven walls, near Mount Hermon. Colgan thinks that the real name of this bishop was Senator, not Senior, and that he may have been a friend of St. Germanus, who lived in Italy, and who is mentioned by his biographer, Constantius. Dr. Lanigan suggests that Senior may not be a proper name, but only an epithet indicating that the bishop was aged. Dr. Todd thinks that Palladius may have received priest's orders from this prelate preparatory to his consecration at Rome as first bishop of the Scots.[3]

Mount Hermon is variously described as being on "the south side of the ocean," "on the sea of Letha," "on a rock in the Tyrrhene Sea," "in the city of Capua," and "near the city of Capua." It is quite clear that all these statements cannot be correct, as they are in some cases absolutely contradictory. All the conjectures which have been made fail to throw any light on the subject, and we can only believe that the account of the Tripartite is the most probable. Here it is stated that Mount Hermon was near the island where St. Patrick met the man or men who had the Staff of Jesus. Thus, without being able absolutely to identify the place, we have something like certainty that it was near Lerins, or possibly a hill on that island. The opinion of the present writer is that the name of Hermon was given, from devotional reasons, to some hill or eminence near the monastery of Lerins ; that the name ceased to be remembered, because it ceased to be used after the monks had left the locality, and hence that all attempt at identification will be useless. The unanimous testimony of the writers of the various Lives of St. Patrick leave no doubt of the existence of some elevation bearing that name.[4]

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[3] *Scots.*—For all references on these subjects see *Constantius*, Vit. S. German, ii. cap. n. 6, and the Bollandists. Colgan, p. 62, n. 17. Lanigan, vol. i. p. 166, and Dr. Todd's *Memoir*, p. 337.

The Lives, however, agree in their accounts of the visions with which St. Patrick was favored on this mountain. Here our Divine Lord appeared to him, and commanded him to sit upon His right hand. He then conversed with him as a friend with his friend, even as Almighty God conversed with our first parents in the Garden of Eden. Our Lord then commanded St. Patrick to "go to Ireland and preach therein the word of eternal life." Then the saint made three petitions to our Lord, and asked that the men of Ireland might be rich in gold and silver, that he might be the judge of the Irish in the day of judgment, and that he might have a place on His right hand in the kingdom of heaven. This remarkable vision and the requests of the saint are, perhaps, amongst the most widely known traditional records of the saint. We cannot suppose for a moment that he asked earthly riches for the people to whom he was going to preach the gospel of poverty and humiliation, so that we must believe the gold and silver had some mystical meaning. Perhaps he would convey in this symbol the desire, that they should be rich in the gold of charity and the silver of a pure faith; and surely, if this conjectural interpretation be a true one, it corresponds with the history of the Irish nation. Preeminent among all people for charity, preeminent amongst all people for devotion to the one true Faith, surely in this at least the prayer of Patrick has been answered.

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[4] *Name.*—Dr. Lanigan conjectures the site to have been the celebrated Mount St. Michael, in the bay of Cancale, near Avranche, but he founds his conjecture on a Celtic derivation which is quite untenable.—*Ec. His.* vol. i p. 166.

Nor can we doubt that he may have desired to judge them at the last day, who were, humanly speaking, indebted to him for the knowledge of its blessedness and its terrors. A faithful servant was he to whom the stewardship of many talents and the governance of many cities should be confided. His one petition for himself was full of simplicity and love—that he might be placed with the chosen ones at the right hand of Jesus in the heavenly kingdom. What more could we desire, what more can we ask—to be on the right hand in the day of fear, when so many shall be upon the left? O most sweet Jesus, grant to us also that we, with Patrick, and with all thy saints, may attain to this most happy state.[5]

It is also said that the saint banished a furious beast from the islands while he was residing there, to the great comfort and relief of the inhabitants. A Protestant writer has called this legend "a childish story;" but surely he could never have read the Lives of the Fathers of the Desert, as recorded by St. Jerome and St. Augustine, or he would have known that the power to subdue or destroy noxious animals was no uncommon gift; and that the exercise of such power has been recorded again and again upon the most ample testimony.

We must observe once more, that the Lives of the Saints were written for edification, and not with the view to critical accuracy, which is, in some respects very justly, considered necessary in the present age. The writers of the various Lives of St. Patrick had many ancient manuscripts before them, and they have contented themselves with copying these documents as they stood, or taking certain paragraphs from each to make up the Life. That the latter course was adopted by the writer of the Life attributed to Probus must be evident even to the most cursory examination of its contents. Hence, in our own narrative we have followed what seems the most correct sequence of events in the Life of our Apostle, after a careful examination of the various authorities. Much confusion and difficulty have been caused by the supposition that St. Patrick resided for thirty years with St. Germanus. But this supposition is purely gratuitous, and in no way indicated by the statements of any of those writers. That he looked to St. Germanus as his spiritual guide for thirty years, is undoubtedly true; and this simply means that St. Patrick, having placed himself under the direction of the saint, continued to look to him for advice during the remainder of his life. This would be a period of precisely thirty years from the year of his consecration as Bishop of Auxerre.

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[5] *State.*—There is a remarkable family likeness, if we may use the expression, in the Lives of the Saints. In the Life of St. Francis of Assisi, we find a record very similar to the above. The biographers of St. Francis, probably, scarcely ever knew of the existence of St. Patrick, hence even ingenious scepticisim can find no ground to suggest a plagiarism of idea. In 1224 our Divine Lord appeared to this saint, and conversed familiarly with him, sitting on a stone which Francis had used as a table. He then promised him certain favors, one of which was that the Order should continue until the Day of Judgment.

We can scarcely fix any definite number of years for the time during which St. Patrick remained at Lerins and in the islands of the "Tyrrhene Sea," but there can be no doubt that he returned to St. Germanus before the year 429. It was in this year that St. Germanus undertook his first expedition to Britain to assist the bishops of that country in checking the ravages of heresy, and there is ample evidence to prove that he was accompanied in his journey by St. Patrick. Nor can one fail to reflect that this seems a happy anticipation of the services which English Catholics should hereafter receive from the priests of Gaul and Ireland.

During the long ages of persecution which followed the rejection of the Catholic Faith by that nation, and the ascendency of heresy, France was the nursery where careful nurture was provided for the saintly and devoted men who served the English mission; while even at the present day the ministrations of the Catholic Church in England are principally sustained by Irish priests.

It is expressly stated in the Scholiast on St. Fiacc's Hymn, that St. Patrick accompanied St. Germanus to England. The writer thus relates the circumstance:—

> "It happened that St. Germanus came to Britain to root out the Pelagian heresy, and he came accompanied by Patrick, and many others; and he unceasingly labored to root out that heresy, until intelligence was brought to him that his own city had begun to be infected with it. Then he and Patrick returned to France, and they applied themselves to combat the same pestilential errors."

Probus also mentions that St. Patrick evangelized both in Britain and Normandy. William of Malmesbury mentions this also; and in the curious old tract on the Irish Liturgy it is at least implied, if not distinctly stated. The Bollandists do not admit it, but this is solely because it interferes with their chronology, which has long since been proved to be very incorrect.

Dr. Lanigan thinks, with some appearance of probability, that St. Patrick was met at Boulogne by St. Germanus and St. Lupus. There is evidence that he officiated there in some way. Malbrancq says that he was sent thither by St. Germanus to repair the loss which the people of that district had sustained by the removal of St. Victricius, who had been made Bishop of Rouen.

St. Lupus, who was chosen by the Council of Troyes to accompany St. Germanus to Britain, was one of the most distinguished men of the age. He had spent some time in the monastery of Lerins, under the spiritual direction of St. Honorat, and was thus probably known personally to St. Patrick. St. Lupus was consecrated Bishop of Troyes about two years before the expedition to Britain, and he was distinguished for his holiness, his learning, and his eloquence. As there are no records of St. Patrick's share in this mission, we shall only briefly notice the principal events connected with it.

The two saints and their companions journeyed from Auxerre direct to Paris. As they journeyed, miracles abounded, and the record of their travel is simply a record of supernatural manifestations. At Metrodorum, the present Nauterre, St. Germanus met and blessed the little Genevieve, and predicted the sanctity of the future patroness of Paris. Her fair young face, for she was then but seven years of age, seemed to him radiant as that of an angel ; and by her own desire he received her vows, and consecrated her young life irrevocably to the service of Heaven.

While at sea a terrible storm was evoked by diabolic malice, and Germanus was loudly called upon to save the sinking ship. A few words of prayer, and a few drops of oil sprinkled on the raging waters, in the name of the Most Holy Trinity, produced an instantaneous calm. Evil spirits gave notice of their approach by the medium of the possessed, and the faithful everywhere received the bearers of gospel peace with joy. A conference, or synod, followed, where the propagators of error were allowed to state their case, which was fully and convincingly refuted by the Gallican bishops. St. Germanus preached wherever he went, and we cannot doubt that he was assisted by St. Patrick, who must have had special gifts of convincing eloquence.

The triumph of truth was confirmed, and, if possible, enhanced by a miracle. An official who held a high post in the Roman service, brought his little daughter to the bishops. She was blind, and he asked that she might be cured. The bishops who had been led astray by Pelagianism were present, but they declined to attempt the miracle, and joined with the multitude in asking St. Germanus to obtain this favor from God. It will be remembered that the saint always carried a little box of relics with him; this he applied to the child's eyes, invoking the name of the Most Holy Trinity, and the cure was granted instantaneously. We can scarcely wonder at the devotion of St. Patrick to the relics of the saints, when he was thus a witness of so many marvels; and that he, like the master from whom he learned his CANONS, should have brought with him on his mission a similar store of holy treasures.

After the conference, or synod, the saints proceeded to St. Albans, to honor the relics of the first English martyr. Here St. Germanus deposited some of the relics of the Apostles, which he had brought with him, that, as Constantius has touchingly observed, he might thus unite the bones of those who, in distant parts of the earth, had lived the same saintly life. And truly the action was at once explanatory and emblematic of the great Catholic doctrine of the Communion of Saints, which teaches us that time and space form no barrier to heavenly intercourse—that we may be assisted as effectually, nay, even more so, by the saint who died a thousand years ago, as by those who are most willing and best able to help us on earth to-day.

Nor were there wanting heretics then, as now, who professed to honor God the more by dishonoring the noblest work of God—a saintly soul. The ground whereon St. Alban had been martyred was still stained with his blood. St. Germanus, like a true apostle, took with him only one treasure from the English shores, and this was a handful of the dust reddened with the martyr's blood. This he carefully enshrined at Auxerre on his return, where he built a church in honor of St. Alban. Already the heretic Vigilantius had condemned the Church's devotion to those who had attained beatitude, and had compared it in bitter words to Gentile rites, mocking those who could so reverence a little dust. But he was answered, and though the answer has remained on record some thousand years and more, the same objection continues to be repeated :—"We do not adore," replied St. Jerome, "even the sun and the moon, or the angels, much less the relics of martyrs; but we do honor the relics of martyrs in order to adore Him for whom they are martyrs." No doubt, if Vigilantius and those who agreed with him had lived in apostolic times, they would have condemned St. Paul for allowing handkerchiefs and aprons to touch his body that they might be used as relics, and they would have condemned the people who so used them. But to those who are favored by God with the gift of working miracles, or have been favored by a miraculous cure, the contempt and disbelief of thousands is a matter scarcely worth a thought.

It was while in Britain that St. Germanus met with the only accident which caused him any bodily suffering or illness. He met with a serious injury in the foot, and was obliged to remain stationary for some time. He resided in a thatched cottage, and was here miraculously saved from fire, and afterwards miraculously cured. For the further details of his mission, and an account of the famous Alleluiatic Victory, the reader must be referred to the Life of the Saint.[6]

The Gallican bishops returned to Auxerre in about a year, and it was then that St. Patrick commenced his immediate preparation for his Irish mission. St. Germanus returned in 430. It was late in that year, or early in 431, that St. Patrick set out for Rome to re-

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[6] *Saint.*—See Tillemont, Ecc. Hist., vol. xiv. p. 50. Also a very beautiful English Life of St. German, republished recently by Kelly, 8 Grafton-street, Dublin. It is one of the series edited by Dr. Newman before his conversion.

St. Patrick Preaching at Tara.

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ceive jurisdiction and mission for his Irish apostolate from the Holy See. It is strange with what eagerness those who have separated themselves from the Catholic Church attempt to explain away or deny this visit; yet there are few details in the saint's life given on better authority. The reader shall judge for himself on this subject.

The first, and perhaps the most important evidence, from its unquestioned antiquity, is that contained in the Tripartite. Here we have a detailed account of the saint's journey to Rome:—

> "When Patrick heard this thing [i.e., the failure of the mission of St. Palladius], and knew that it was for him God designed the apostleship of Erinn, he went subsequently to Rome to receive *grade;* and it was Celestinus, Abbot of Rome, who read *grada* (orders, degrees) over him; Germanus and Amatho, king of the Romans, being present."[7]

Some folios are missing from the Irish version of the Tripartite, but Colgan's translation is admitted to be essentially accurate, and we can supply further details from that source.

In compliance with the admonition of the angel, and the command of God, he determined to visit the seat of Peter, the head of our faith, and the fountain of all apostolicity, and through such authority to strengthen and consecrate his apostleship and his journey. On disclosing his idea to his master, St. Germanus, he not only approved of his holy intention, but assigned him Segetius the Priest, his own vicar in spiritual matters, as a companion on his journey, and as a witness of his holy conversation.[8]

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[7] *Present.*—This extract is from Mr. Hennessy's translation of the Irish version of the Tripartite, from which, unfortunately, some folios are missing.

Another extract on the same subject can scarcely fail to interest the reader and to satisfy the most sceptical:—

> "Patrick having set out for Rome, after visiting the shrines of the apostles with devout veneration, found favor with Pope Celestine, who was the forty-fifth from St. Peter. This Pope, as the conversion of nations belongs by right to the successors of St. Peter (cum successori Petri jure incumbat conversio gentium), had already sent the illustrious Deacon Palladius, with the apostolic number of twelve companions, to preach and announce the word of God to the Irish."[9]

In the annotations of Tirechan, contained in that part of the Book of Armagh which, as Dr. Graves has remarked, was evidently becoming illegible when the present copy was made from it, more than a thousand years ago, we find the following express testimony to the Roman mission of our saint:—

> "In the thirteenth year of the Emperor Theodosius, the Bishop Patrick was sent by Celestine, Bishop and Pope of Rome, to instruct the Irish. Bishop Palladius was first sent, who was also called Patrick by a second name, and he was martyred among the Scots,

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[8] *Conversation.*—Colgan, p. 122. It is difficult to give an English translation which shall clearly convey the spirit and letter of the original; hence, we append an extract: "Angelicis monitis, divinoque acquiescens mandato Patricius, statuit sedem Petri fidei nostræ magistrum, et omnis apostulatus fontem adire; ejusque apostolicâ authoritate, suum iter et Apostolatum roborare et consecrare."

[9] *Irish.*—Colgan, p. 123.

as the old saints have said. Then the second Patrick was sent by the angel of God, Victor, and by Pope Celestine; all Ireland believed, and nearly all were baptized by him."

In the *Vita Quarta,* attributed to St. Eileran the Wise, who died in A.D. 664, the Roman mission of St. Patrick is also attested thus :—

> "St. Germanus sent the blessed Patrick to Rome, that thus he might receive the sanction (licentia) of the Bishop of the Apostolic See to go forth and preach, for so order requireth (sic enim ordo exigebat), and Patrick, having come to Rome, was honorably received by the holy Pope Celestine; and relics of the saints being given to him, he was sent into Ireland by the same Pope."[1]

Perhaps the simplest and best evidence on this subject is that of the saint himself. In the Life of St. Patrick by Probus, he records the following prayer of St. Patrick :—"O Lord Jesus Christ . . . conduct me now, I beseech Thee, to the See of the Holy Roman Church, that receiving there the mission to preach with confidence, the Irish tribes may become Christian through me."

In truth, St. Patrick could not have undertaken such a mission without the express sanction of the See of Rome, and without obtaining jurisdiction from the then reigning Pontiff, so that even if the various writers of his Life had not alluded to the subject, there could be no question raised about it by those who were even cursorily acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of the period. Happily, however, as the subject is one of great interest, and which, for controversial reasons, it is important to prove beyond cavil, we can give extraneous evidence that the accounts of the early Irish biographers of St. Patrick were substantially correct. St. Eric, or Hericus, of Auxerre, the biographer of St. Germanus, is an independent and credible authority. He writes thus of the connection between St. Germanus and St. Patrick, and the Roman mission of the latter :—

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[1] *Pope.*—Colgan, p. 39. It was unworthy of Dr. Todd, both intellectually and morally, to try and discredit the Roman mission of St. Patrick, with all this evidence before him. He admits the authority of the three Lives for any purely indifferent matter, but when the supernatural, or Catholic doctrines are advanced he discredits them. So much influence has prejudice even on the most gifted intellects.

> "And as Germanus saw him magnanimous in religion, eminent for virtue, strenuous in the sacred ministry, and thinking it unfit that so strong a husbandman (robustissimum agricolam) should be inactive in the culture of the harvest of the Lord, he sent him to holy Celestine, the Pope of the city of Rome, accompanied by his own priest, Segetius, who might bear testimony to his ecclesiastical probity at the Apostolic See. Being thus approved by its judgment, supported by its authority, and strengthened by its blessing, he journeyed to Ireland, and being given to that people as their chosen apostle, he enlightened the whole nation then by his preaching and miracles, as he continues to do at the present day, and will so for ever continue to do, by the wonderful privileges of his apostolate."[2]

In 822 Bishop Marcus wrote his *Historia Brittonum*, in which he introduces a short sketch of the Life of our apostle, which, we cannot doubt, was taken carefully from the most authentic sources then extant. In this he says :—

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[2] *Apostolate*—Bollandists, Julii vii. See also, for a careful and scholarly collection of all the authorities on this subject, *Essays on the Early Irish Church*, by Monsignor Moran, p. 22-38.

> "Under divine guidance Patrick was instructed in the Sacred Scriptures, and then he went to Rome, and remained there a long time studying, and being filled with the Holy Ghost, learning the Holy Scriptures and the Sacred Mysteries. And whilst he was there applying himself to these pursuits, Palladius was sent by Pope Celestine as first bishop to convert the Irish to Christ; but God, by some storms and signs, prevented his success; and no one can receive aught on earth unless it be given to him from above. This Palladius, returning from Ireland to Britain, died there in the land of the Picts. The death of Bishop Palladius being known, the patricians Theodosius and Valentinian being the Roman rulers, Patrick was sent by Pope Celestine, the angel of God, Victor, accompanying, guiding, and assisting him, and by Bishop Germanus, to convert the Irish to the belief in the Holy Trinity."

Further evidence might still be adduced, but enough has been said to satisfy those who are not incapable of being satisfied, for other additional evidence would not have additional weight.

We can well picture to ourselves Patrick at the shrine of Peter. We can imagine the devotion with which he knelt before the aged Pontiff, to whom the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven had been confided. *Tu es Petrus* he would exclaim, perhaps from depths of emotion, rather with the voice of the heart than with the voice of the tongue. Thou art Peter, O Celestine, and from thee, and thee alone, can I receive the right to exercise the powers delegated to thee from Christ through Peter.

Thou art Peter. An angel has called me, visions have been shown to me, I have seen the Lord and spoken to Him, all unworthy as I am, upon the mountains in the islands of the sea, but *Thou art Peter;* and even an angel's voice may not be obeyed unless thou dost sanction and bless the obedience; nay, even the Lord of angels Himself requires that I should obtain from thee the right to undertake the mission to which He has Himself vouchsafed to call me.

And thus, from that hour to the present day, have the faithful children of Patrick exclaimed with voice and intention, *Tu es Petrus.* Taught by Patrick the one true Catholic Faith, taught that if they would be children of Christ, they must also be children of Rome; taught, I have said, by Patrick, but I should rather have said taught by God Himself, since He it was who instituted this Holy Catholic Church;—the Irish nation, ever faithful, have never swerved for one hour from their allegiance. Temptations, sufferings, conflict, contempt, poverty, death, have been again and again their portion, but they have never ceased to exclaim *Tu es Petrus.* All the world might be in tumult around them, the horrors of earthly storms might threaten to engulf them, but they rode in the Bark of Peter, and riding thus they were protected by Peter's God. What to them was earthly loss, when they knew that they were gaining heavenly crowns? What to them were trials and persecutions, when they knew that this was none other than the King's highway of the holy cross, the Faith in which all the successors of Peter have walked? What to them was death itself, since they abode by those who had the Keys of Life, and the harsh grating of the doors of their earthly dungeons was scarcely heard in the anticipation of the opening of heaven's golden portals. And one by one as they passed to the Land of Peace, and were welcomed by their glorious apostle, how they rejoiced that they had remained true to the Faith which he taught. Heresy after heresy, schism after schism, has desolated Christendom from the time when St. Patrick came to tell of the One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism, to the Celts by the Western Sea, and the Faith which he taught alone remains unchanged. What Celestine then taught is taught by Pius to-day, and even now the faithful successors of Patrick hasten to obey the call of that most saintly of Pontiffs, and, exclaiming also *Tu es Petrus*, link together the past and the present in the golden chain of an unbroken unity of doctrine, in a magnificent sequence of varying, yet harmonious discipline, suited to each clime and century; harmonious, because springing from unity; harmonious, because manifold are the peoples contained therein without discord or division.

Chapter VI.

St. Patrick's Episcopal Consecration and Irish Mission.

THERE is some difficulty in ascertaining precisely where and by whom St. Patrick was ordained bishop. The great object in the minds of the writers of his Life appears to have been to relate his direct mission from St. Celestine, which, undoubtedly, they were bound to do. They are unanimous also in mentioning that he was given relics of the saints by the Holy Father to take with him to Ireland. This being premised, we shall now give the various accounts of his consecration as bishop, taking the Tripartite narrative first, as the most ancient authority :

> "The death of Palladius being made known, the mission preordained by God, and the conversion of the nation of the Irish, often promised by the angelic oracle, were given by the apostolic authority to Patrick: so that Pope Celestine, in the presence of St. Germanus and Amatorex, the Roman, ordained him bishop, and gave to him the name of Patrick. . . . . At the same time were ordained Auxilius, Esserinus, and some other companions of Patrick; and then the three harmonious choirs mingled their chants and rejoicings: the first of the heavenly spirits, the second of the Romans, the third of the Irish infants of the region *Caille Fochladh*, who cried out to Patrick, saying: 'All the Irish pray you, O holy priest, to come and live amongst us and liberate us.'"[3]

Here we have it distinctly stated that St. Patrick was ordained by Pope Celestine and some person called Amatorex, the Roman, and that this was done in the presence of St. Germanus.

In the Scholiast on the Hymn of St. Fiacc, it is said that :—

> "St. Patrick was consecrated in the presence of Celestine and of Theodosius, the younger, who was king of the world. It was Amatorex who consecrated him."

In the Life of the saint by Probus (*Quinta Vita*) we find the following :—

"As yet, however, Patrick had not received the episcopal degree, for he knew that Palladius, ...

"Therefore his [Palladius] disciples, who were in Britain, that is, Augustine, Benedict, and the others, hearing of the death of the chief deacon Palladius, came to St. Patrick to Euberia, and announced to him the death of Palladius. But Patrick, and those who were with him, turned aside from their journey to a certain man of wonderful sanctity, a chief bishop, named Amator, living in a neighbouring place, and there St. Patrick, knowing what things were destined for him, was exalted to the episcopal degree by the same Archbishop Amator. Also some other clerics were ordained to the office of minor degrees. But on the same day on which St. Patrick was consecrated by the sacred blessings, the canticle of the Psalmist was appropriately sung by the choir of the clerical chanters: 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech.'"[4]

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[3] *Liberate us.*—Colgan, p. 50.

This special mention of the psalm which was chanted on the day of St. Patrick's consecration, would lead us to suppose that the account was written by one who was present on the occasion. Here, however, there is no mention either of Celestine, Germanus, or the Roman emperor.

In the *Vita Secunda* St. Patrick's consecration is very briefly recorded, the writer merely saying that :—

> " Patrick also turned aside from his journey to a certain wonderful man, a chief bishop, by name Amator; and from him St. Patrick received episcopal consecration."

The whole narrative, however, is given in a series of paragraphs rather than in a continuous detail of incidents, but again, it will be observed, the name of Amator appears as the ecclesiastic who ordained St. Patrick. Marianus Scotus, an eminent Irish writer of the eleventh century, chronicles the mission of St. Patrick thus :—

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[4] *Melchisedech.*—Colgan, p. 40.

> "In the eighth year of Theodosius, Bassus and Antiochus being consuls, Palladius was ordained by Pope Celestine, and sent as first bishop to the Irish believing in Christ. After him was sent Patrick, who, being a Briton by birth, was consecrated by Pope St. Celestine, and sent to the archiepiscopate of Ireland. There, during sixty years, he confirmed his preaching by signs and miracles, and converted the whole island to the faith of Christ."

Dr. Reeves has pronounced this work to be the most elaborate historical production of the middle ages, which has always enjoyed the highest encomiums of the learned. The autograph of this chronicle, with the signature of the illustrious writer, is still preserved in the Vatican Library, the guardian of so much that is valuable to literature.

Prosper also mentions St. Celestine as the person who ordained St. Patrick, thus :—

> "Whilst that Pope [Celestine] labored to keep the Roman island [Britain] Catholic, he caused also the barbarous islands to be gathered to the fold of Christ by ordaining a bishop for the Irish."

There are four names mentioned by common consent in connection with the ordination of St. Patrick : First, Pope Celestine; second, a bishop, variously named as Amator, Amotus, Amatorex, Amathus, Amathrex, and Amatheus: it is obvious to the least critical reader that these names are synonymous; third, St. Germanus; and, fourth, the Roman emperor Theodosius. With regard to the place where he was consecrated bishop, it is called Ebmoria in the Book of Armagh, Euboria by Probus. Jocelyn and other writers infer, though they do not directly state, that the saint was made bishop by St. Celestine. The whole subject has been very carefully and critically considered in the *Ecclesiastical Record* for October, 1866, and we shall give an epitome of the opinions advanced there. The subject is obviously one still open to research and criticism.

Ussher was of opinion that St. Patrick was consecrated in Italy, though he hesitated to decide whether it was by a certain Bishop Amator, or by Pope Celestine. Ware inclined to the opinion that St. Patrick was consecrated by Celestine. Cotton expressly asserts that he was consecrated a bishop at Rome.

Colgan being of opinion that the saint was consecrated in Gaul, and in the town of Eboria, and finding that there was no town there with a name corresponding to this, he was obliged to bring forward conjectures, first, that the word might be a corruption of the ancient Bononia, now Boulogne; and, secondly, that it might refer to some town in or near the territory of Liege in Belgium, which was inhabited by the Eburones. Dr. Lanigan agreed with Colgan, but suggested that the town might be Evreux in Normandy, which was known by the name Ebroica. Dr. Todd thought that the bishop Amatorex might be an accidental sojourner in a place near Ebmoria, wherever that was, and evidently inclines to the opinion that it was in France. Some mediæval writers were of opinion that Amatorex was the well-known St. Amator of Auxerre; but clearly this was impossible, since he died before the elevation of St. Germanus to the episcopate. The similarity of name alone could have suggested this theory.

The solution of the writer in the *Ecclesiastical Record* has much to recommend it. He first points out the difficulty of finding either a bishop or a town in Gaul to correspond with the most ancient and authentic accounts. He next mentions a town in Italy and an Italian bishop, as the probable place and person where and by whom St. Patrick received episcopal consecration. We shall continue the account in the writer's own words:—

> "John of Tinmouth writes that St. Patrick 'declinavit iter ad quemdam hominem mirabilem, summum Episcopum et sanctum Amotum nomine et ab illo gradum episcopalem accepit.' Probus says that he was 'a man of wondrous sanctity, and a chief bishop;' and Maccuthenus, in the Book of Armagh, also styles him 'mirabilem hominem, summum Episcopum.'
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> "Now, it is difficult to conceive a bishop so remarkable among his contemporaries, and so famed for his sanctity, and yet uncommemorated in the many records of the French Church about the year 430. Neither in the synod then held in France, nor in the Lives of St. Germanus and of the other great ornaments of France at that time, is there found any mention of his name.
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> "But if in Gaul, neither a town can be found to correspond

with *Eboria,* as all acknowledge, nor a bishop who might answer for St. *Amator,* can such a town and such a bishop be found in Italy? We unhesitatingly answer that they can. Indeed, as to the town in which St. Patrick received the intelligence of the death of Palladius, we precisely find at the foot of the Alps an *Eboria* or *Eporia,* also styled Iporia and Eporedia, lying on the route from Ravenna (where probably St. Germanus then lived) to Gaul and Ireland. This is the modern town of Ivrea. Formerly travellers generally passed through it when journeying from Italy to Gaul. It was the route pursued by the army of Hannibal in olden times, as by the first Napoleon in the beginning of this century. What is more striking, it was the road hallowed by the relics of St. Germanus, when they were translated with solemn pomp from Ravenna to Auxerre. We learn that from Ravenna they were first conducted to Vercelli, and there the presence of the angelic choir around the saint's relics was said to have dedicated the newly built cathedral. From Vercelli to Ivrea, and thence along the Alps, the triumphal route is marked by the many churches dedicated to St. Germanus, each of which was erected on the spot where his precious relics were deposited for a little while. Thus, in the town and small diocese of Ivrea, there are at present seven chapels bearing the name of St. Germanus, and marking the route taken in this sacred procession.

"It was also this road that St. Malachy pursued when travelling to Rome; and during his short sojourn in this town he performed one of his most striking miracles, raising the son of his hospitable host to life, as is recorded by St. Bernard in his Life of this great saint of Armagh: 'Transalpinas quum venisset Iporiam civitatem Italiæ.' The memory of this miracle remains to the present day, and is mentioned in the lessons for the feast of St. Malachy, which are used in the diocese of Ivrea. We read also of another saint, St. Udalric, who made this his route when returning from Italy towards Gaul, and dying in Ivrea, is still venerated as its patron. Indeed this passage over the Alps was the most frequented down to our own times. The famous Mount St. Bernard Monastery was built for the purpose of assisting travellers on that route; and from the Life of the blessed Thaddeus O'Maher, Bishop of Cloyne in 1492, we learn that he, too, whilst journeying on this road from Rome towards Ireland, enriched Ivrea with his sacred remains.

"It is, perhaps, no small confirmation of the opinion that *Iporia* or *Ivrea* was the town thus referred to by our ancient writers, that it brings together in one harmonious whole all the elements of their, at first sight, discordant narrative. We understand at once why our apostle is said to be on his way from Pope Celestine when he received in Eboria the intelligence of the death of St. Palladius; we understand how it is that St. Patrick's consecration is so emphatically described as having been performed in a neighbouring town, *in conspectu Theodosii, in conspectu Celestini*, and, again, *in conspectu Germani.* There is nothing, indeed, to prevent these accounts from being literally true. The history of St. Germanus justifies the conjecture that he was then actually at the court of the emperor, which often journeyed to and fro from Ravenna to the imperial city Turin, the *Augusta Taurinorum* of those times. The Popes, too, are often met with, even in the scanty records of that age that have come down to us, visiting Ravenna, the head-quarters of the western empire, and other cities of North Italy.

"Thus, again, another point becomes intelligible on which our ancient writers are agreed, and which, nevertheless, was wholly inexplicable on the supposition of St. Patrick's consecration having been celebrated in Gaul, viz., that at the time of his consecration St. Celestine gave to him the name of *Patricius*, i.e., Patrick. This was a name commonly assumed in Italy in the fifth century, as Gibbon assures us. Now, the Book of Hymns, in its Scholia on St. Fiacc, attests that 'Patricius was his name at his degrees (*i.e.*, his highest order or consecration), and it was Celestine, the comarb of Peter, who gave it to him' (ap. Todd, *St. Patrick*, page 363; and Colgan, *Trias Thaumat.*, page 4). The holy Bishop Marcus, in his notice of St. Patrick, also mentions this fact: when consecrated, he says, by Amatheorex, he received the name Patrick, for before that he was called *Maun.* Ussher mentions the chroniclers, Florence of Wigorn, Ralph of Chester, and Henry of Marleburgh, as referring to Pope Celestine this change of our apostle's name. The *Vita Tripartita* also attests it: 'St. Celestine ordained him bishop in the presence of St. Germanus and Amatorex, the Roman, and gave him the name Patricius,' and adds, what is wholly inexplicable in all the Gaulish theories: 'Sanctus ergo Patricius voledicens Domino Apostolico suscepto itinere versus Hiberniam venit ad fines Britanniæ.'

"Some one will, perhaps, say that there was no saint at that time in the north of Italy whose name corresponds with Amator or Amatheorex, remarkable for his learning and sanctity. We reply that there was at this very time the great St. Maximus ruling the see of Turin, which city, in a straight course, is not more distant than a few miles from Ivrea. The name Maximus in the old Celtic form would be precisely Amator, and the transition from that to the various Latinised names given above is easily explained. St. Maximus, Bishop of Turin, flourished as early as 425, as Gennadius assures us, and he was still bishop of that see in 451, in which year he assisted at and subscribed the Acts of the Synod of Milan.

"His fame for learning and eloquence, and still more for sanctity, justifies the epithets which are added to his name in the ancient Lives of St. Patrick, and even the title Romanus, which they sometimes add, has reference, perhaps, to the tradition mentioned in the Life of St. Maximus, that he was a native of Rome, and a near relative of the great Pontiff, St. Leo.

"From all this we may conclude that St. Patrick, when he received intelligence of the death of St. Palladius, was still in close relation with the Pope Celestine, as also with the emperor and St. Germanus; that the town Eboria, at which he had arrived when that intelligence was brought to him, is no other than the modern

Ivrea, hallowed by the memory of two other ornaments of the Church—St. Malachy and the blessed Thaddeus, and, in fine, that it was from the great Doctor of Turin, the illustrious St. Maximus, that our apostle received his episcopal consecration."[5]

St. Patrick has himself left us some details of great interest regarding this important period of his life. Then, as now, the most rigid inquiries were made as to the previous life of those who were about to be advanced to the priesthood, and such caution was expressly and most justly used in regard to those who were to receive the awful responsibility of ruling the Church of God.

It would appear from St. Patrick's Confession that he had committed some fault in his boyhood, which, with all his humility, he could only attribute to his ignorance. This was brought against him as a reason why he should not be consecrated bishop, and he felt the charge and the humiliation very deeply. No doubt it was just one of those special trials which God in His infinite wisdom not unfrequently appoints for the most favored souls. He had himself made this fault known before he was made a deacon, and it seemed to him no little aggravation of the trial that his own acknowledgment should be brought against him after a lapse of thirty years. So great was the anguish he endured that he declares he was tempted to fall away both for time and for eternity.[6] Yet he thanks God for having thus corrected him, and made his trial a means of fitting him better for the great work to which he was called.

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[5] *Consecration.*—Article in the Irish Ec. Record, Oct. 1866, pp. 16-18. By the Rev. Monsignor Moran. It should be observed that the expressions which might be taken as assertions of Pope Celestine's presence at the consecration of the saint do not necessarily require this interpretation. The words "ordinatus episcopus a Papa Celestino," as Malmesbury and others write, may not mean more than that he was appointed bishop of the Irish by that Pope. If these expressions were used in regard to an ordinary prelate, the literal meaning would of course be the one intended by the writer.

Again he is consoled by a heavenly vision. The trial was short, though its anguish was keen; and he tells us that, on the very night of the day on which he was thus charged with his boyish fault, he saw a heavenly vision and writing upon the wall, and he heard a divine voice, from which he learned that what had afflicted him had also touched the Heart of Jesus, for the word "we" was used to show that what afflicted Patrick afflicted Christ also—to show the blessed union of the saint with the Lord of Saints—to show, perchance, that when even good men afflicted their brethren, as, alas! they will sometimes do, that they also grieve their common Lord, to whom each is precious as the apple of an eye.[7]

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[6] *Eternity.*—"Utique in illo die fortiter impulsus sum ut caderem hic et in æternum."

[7] *Eye.*—There is some obscurity in the passage in which St. Patrick relates this vision. After mentioning the writing which he saw opposite to him, he adds that he heard a divine response which said: "We have seen with displeasure the face of a *designatus* without name"—"Male vidimus faciem designati nudato nomine." Several conjectures have been made to explain these words. It is quite clear from the context that St. Patrick understood the words to have been said by our Divine Lord, for he enlarges on the word *vidimus*, and adds: "He did not say thus, 'thou hast seen,' but 'we have seen,' as if He therein joined Himself with me, as He hath said: 'He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye.'" [Zach. i. 8]. The word *designatus* was applied by the Romans to those priests who selected the victim for sacrifice, and perhaps the words implied that the person who accused St. Patrick was as it were a designatus choosing the saint as a sacrifice. The

There can be no doubt as to the time of St. Patrick's arrival in Ireland, or of the circumstances connected with it. The date of his arrival, A.D. 432, is proved by a concurrence of events—it is assigned by historians as well as by hagiographers. Both Colgan, Ussher, and Lanigan are agreed upon this subject, however they may differ upon other points. The Life of St. Patrick in the *Leabhar Breac* records our apostle's mission thus :—

> "The ninth year of Theodosius, king of the world, the first year of the episcopacy of Sixtus, coarb of Peter, and the fourth year of the reign of Leoghairé. Ætius and Valerius were the two consuls of that year; it was in this year Xystus assumed the supremacy of Rome after Celestine. This was the fourth year of the reign of Laeghairé."

An ancient proverbial quatrain preserved in a treatise on the Brehon Laws confirms this statement :—

"Patrick baptized with glory,
In the time of Theodosius ;
He preached the Gospel, without falsehood,
To the worthy people of the sons of Uaile."

In the same tract the coming of the saint is further recorded thus :—

> "The coming of Patrick into Ireland to propagate baptism and faith, in the ninth year of the reign of Theodosius, and in the fourth year of Laeghairé, son of Nial of the Nine Hostages."

Bollandists think that it was an allusion to some book written against the mission of St. Patrick, but this seems most improbable. The word designatus has been translated the "elect," and the word bishop supplied conjecturally before it, in a very excellent translation of the Confession by a Protestant clergyman.

The arrival and mission of St. Patrick is recorded by the Four Masters: St. Patrick was ordained to the episcopacy by the holy Pope Celestine, the first who commissioned him to come to Ireland and preach, and give to the Irish the precepts of faith and religion. In the Annals of Innisfallen, Patrick came from Rome bishop into Ireland, and devoutly preached here the faith of Christ. In the Annals of Ulster—in the year 432 Patrick came to Ireland, in the ninth year of Theodosius, the younger, and first of the episcopacy of Sixtus. Sixtus was the forty-second Bishop of Rome, as Bede, and Marcellinus, and Fridra, reckon in their chronicles. This was in the twelfth year of Laeghairé, son of Nial.

Petrie has described the *Leabhar Breac* as "the oldest and best Irish manuscript relating to Irish Church history now preserved, or which, perhaps, the Irish ever possessed."[8] We have already given a brief extract from this important document, and we now append the full account given therein of the saint's mission :—

"We ought to know at what time Patrick, the holy bishop and chief instructor of the Irish, began to come to Ireland to preach and baptize, and to resuscitate the dead, and to cure all diseases, and to banish all the demons from Ireland, and to sanctify and consecrate, and to ordain and bless, and to contest and triumph; for the Apostle says: 'I have fought a good fight,' etc. The year therefore that Patrick came to Ireland was the four hundred and thirty-third from the Incarnation, in the ninth year of the reign of Theodosius, king of the world, and in the first year of the episcopacy of Sixtus, the coarb (*i.e.* successor) of Peter, and in the fourth year of the reign of Laeghairé Mac Niall at Tara, and in the sixtieth year of his own age; and for sixty years he baptized and instructed the men of Erinn, as Fiacc says :—

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[8] *Possessed.*—Essay on Tara, p. 85.

> 'He preached for three score years
> The crucifixion of Christ to the tribes of the Feni.'

And here is the character given by Heleran of Patrick, at the time when he brought an account of him to Clonard :—

> 'Meek and great was the son of Calphurn,
> A vine-branch laden with fruit.' . . . .

Palladius was sent by Pope Celestine with a gospel for Patrick to preach it to the Irish. This was the four hundred and first year from the crucifixion of Christ. In the year after this Patrick went to preach in Ireland, Ætius and Valerius being consuls. It was in this year Sixtus resumed the supremacy of Rome after Celestine, and it was the fourth of the reign of Laeghairé, son of Niall, at Tara."

Indeed, the only objections which have been made to the clear statements of our annals as to the year of St. Patrick's arrival in Ireland, have come from persons who wished to uphold some special theory, and found it necessary to dispute the date in order to make their view of other matters consistent.[9]

When St. Patrick had received the Papal authorization for his mission, he hastened to fulfil it with the untiring speed of holy zeal. Again we find some touching and beautiful legends of the circumstances which attended his voyage and arrival in Ireland. The miraculous transit of the leper has already been mentioned; perhaps, besides the deep impression which such a miracle would make, it was intended to show that Patrick had come to the most wretched and the most sinful, and that those who might be rejected by man would not be rejected by him—the servant of the great Master who came to seek and save the outcast ones. As the vessel in which he sailed came near the Irish coast, the saint was permitted to behold the demon foes by whom his mission would be opposed. They appeared to surround the island, as if to defend it against his approach. But the powers of darkness were unable to do more than show their malice; the all-powerful sign of the cross dispelled their angry hosts; and the saint informed those who were with him of their presence and their defeat.

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[9] *Consistent.*—Dr. Lanigan says, "It would be a waste of time to adduce proofs of this being the true date."—*Ec. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 209. Ussher writes : "There is no discrepancy amongst Irish writers as to the year of St. Patrick's mission into Ireland."—*Primordia*, p. 880. Those who wish for further information on this subject are referred once more to Monsignor Moran's *Essays on the Early Irish Church.*

There are two sites, each of which claims the honor of being the place where St. Patrick landed. According to one account, he touched at Inver Dea, the mouth of the present Vartry river, on the strand near the town of Wicklow. Here, it is said, he was repulsed by a chief named Nathi, and he re-embarked and sailed northwards. Probus says:—

> "Then [after he had obtained the authorization of the Holy See] Patrick, the venerable priest of the Lord, took ship and came into Britain, and avoiding any delay, with the utmost speed and a prosperous passage he entered our sea in the name of the Holy Trinity."

A digression then follows on the vices and general government of Laeghairé; and the writer continues:—

> "The holy Patrick, the bishop, with his ship laden with spiritual treasure, that is, with the armour of holy preaching (sanctæ prædicationis), is borne into the wished for port of the region of Evolein, which on that account is celebrated amongst us. . . . Gradually he directed his course to that pagan king Milcho, to whom formerly he had been sold a captive, carrying to him the price of his release in merchandise, both heavenly and earthly, that he might free from eternal captivity the man by whom he had formerly been kept in earthly bondage."[1]

It is evident from this that Probus was not aware of any tradition of St. Patrick's having landed further south. The Tripartite is the great authority for the saint's visit to Leinster; and his arrival is recorded thus:—

> "When Patrick came from Rome, where he arrived was at *Inbher Dea*, in Leinster. Nathi, son of Garrahan, came also against him."

In the *Vita Secunda*, it is simply recorded that St. Patrick landed at the "port of the same river Dea," probably alluding to that at which Palladius had landed. The *Vita Tertia* and Jocelyn agree with the Tripartite, and, indeed, the authority of the latter is sufficient to make it more than probable that their account is substantially correct. It should also be remembered that it was probable the saint would make for the nearest port, and land there, instead of proceeding at once to Dalariada, though, no doubt, he intended to visit that part of Ireland as soon as possible.

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[1] *Bondage.*—Colgan, Trias Thaum., p. 125.

The place where the saint landed, according to these accounts, was the territory of Cualann, and should have been thus named by Probus. It is probable, however, that Evolein is a misprint, as there are many in Colgan's work.[2]

A remarkable and significant miracle occurred when the saint landed in Wicklow. He had applied to some fishermen, who were drawing in their nets, to give him a few fish. But they refused; and to the uncharitableness of their refusal added words of injury and contempt. Like his Divine Master, who had cursed the barren fig-tree, not because He had failed to obtain what He sought, but as an example and warning to sinners, Patrick also cursed the river, and henceforth the churlish sailors were obliged to seek for fish elsewhere. The miracle was, undoubtedly, one specially fitted to convert these rude and barbarous men, and to show them that there was a God who ruled the elements which the pagan Irish worshipped; and that the priests of this God did and could exercise miraculous control even over the lowest of God's creatures.[3]

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[2] *Work.*—The present barony of Rathdown, in the north of the county Wicklow, corresponds to the ancient *Cualann*. The name is still preserved in that of Glencullen, a valley near Bray. The Sugar-loaf mountain was anciently called *Sliabh-Cualann*.

[3] *Creatures.*—Dr. Todd has commented, I had almost said bitterly, on this miracle. It does not seem to have occurred to him that, in condemning St. Patrick as uncharitable, he was also condemning our Divine Lord, who

The author of the *Vita Secunda,* which, in the main, agrees with the Book of Armagh, informs us that St. Patrick made one convert in Wicklow notwithstanding the opposition of Nathi. According to this account, Sinell, son of Finncadh, was converted and baptized by the saint. But the same Lives also mention, what, indeed, is the generally received opinion, that Dicho was the first person converted and baptized by him in Ireland. It is quite possible, as Colgan has suggested, that both accounts may be true, and that Sinell may have been the first convert in the south, and Dicho in the north.

Dr. Todd has observed that this Sinell was of the race of the kings of Leinster, of the clan Hy-Garchon, and a cousin of the Nathi who repelled St. Patrick. In the list of St. Patrick's household, as given by the *Four Masters* (of which more hereafter), Sinell is registered as the saint's bell-ringer ; in another authority, quoted by O'Donovan, he is called St. Patrick's door-keeper. It is quite possible that this fervent convert may have followed our apostle, and have held these two offices.

There is a small island on the coast near Dublin, and close to Skerries, which still bears the name of St. Patrick's Island ; the parish in which it is included is called Holm Patrick. It is said that the saint stopped at an island on the east as he journeyed northward, and this, no doubt,

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cursed the barren fig-tree. It is not a little remarkable, though it is only what might be expected, that the miracles of the saints so closely resemble those of the Lord of Saints, and that persons who object to the former, we must hope unconsciously, condemn the latter.

is the one which still bears his name. In the Annotations of Tirechan, contained in the Book of Armagh, it is said that St. Patrick came also to the islands of Maccuchor attended by a large staff of ecclesiastics.[4] This may have been the name of the Skerries islands at that period. But the word Macchucor signifies the islands of the sons or descendants of Corr, and the appellation belongs properly to the islands of Arran. Hence it is most probable that Tirechan refers to some later period, when they may have been visited by St. Patrick. We must again remark that early biographers thought much more of inserting every circumstance in the history of the saints whose Lives they wrote than of critical accuracy in their details as to time and place.[5]

It is also recorded that the saint sent some of his companions to *Inbher-n-Ainge,* the mouth of the Nanny Water, to seek for provisions, and that as they failed to find a supply, here also the river was cursed. Probus does not mention these incidents. He merely records the arrival of Patrick and those who were with him at an island called Milchon.[6] The Tripartite account is clear and satisfactory. Here we find it recorded that:—

> "Patrick went afterwards from *Innis Patrick,* past *Conaille* and past the court of Ulster, until he stopped at Inver Brena. He

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[4] *Ecclesiastics.*—"Venit vero Patricius cum Gallis ad insolas Maccuchor et insola orientali quæ dicitur insola Patricii."

[5] *Place.*—Jocelyn mentions the landing of the saint in a small island near the coast, which is called to this day St. Patrick's Island: "Quæ non longè à terrâ distans, insula S. Patricii usque in præsens nominatur."—Colgan, p. 71.

[6] *Milchon.*—"Hodie Milchon vocatur."—Colgan, p. 49.

went afterwards to *Inbher Slani*, where the clerics had their ships, and they went ashore to put off their fatigue and to rest; so that there it was the swine-herd of Dichu, son of Trichim, found them, where Sabhall Patrick is to-day. When he saw the divines and the clerics he thought they were *ladrones* or thieves, and he went to tell his lord, whereupon Dichu came and set his dog at the clerics. Then it was that Patrick uttered the prophetic verse, '*Ne tradas bestis . . . et canis obmutuit.*' When Dichu saw Patrick he became gentle, and he believed, and Patrick baptized him, so that he was the first in Ulster who received faith and baptism from Patrick. Then it was that Dichu presented the Sabhall to Patrick —*Patricius dixit :*—

'The blessing of God on Dichu,
Who gave to me the Sabhall;
He shall be hereafter
Heavenly, joyous, glorious.

'The blessing of God on Dichu,
Dichu with full folds (flocks);
No one of his sept or kindred
Shall die except after a long life.' "

It will be observed here that the author of the Tripartite mentions two places in connection with St. Patrick's landing in Ulster. These were Inbher-Brena and Inver-Slani: he "stopped" at *Inver-Brena*, he "went afterwards" to *Inbher-Slani*. Thus, if we can identify *Inbher-Brena*, we at once find the site where St. Patrick landed in Ulster.

Conaille Muirtheimhne, which we are told St. Patrick "passed," was a territory comprising that part of the county Louth extending from the *Cuailgne* (Cooley) mountains to the Boyne. Thus we must pass far northward for the site. Happily the identifications have been made with great clearness and success. Two places have been mentioned as the probable locality indicated by the words *Inver Brena,* these are Dundrum Bay and Strangford Lough. Harris, Ware, and Lynch concurred in favor of the former; Dr. Lanigan was the first, we believe, to suggest the latter. It was obvious, however, that much depended upon the identification of Inver-Slani, and that the places should be found near each other. Harris said that a river Slain fell into the north end of the Bay of Dundrum. Dr. Lanigan declares that he cannot find any trace of such a river.[7] Those writers who favor the view that Dundrum Bay was the landing-place of the saint support their arguments by local tradition. The inhabitants of the parish of Ballykindar point out a nook in Middle Ballykindar where they say that St. Patrick landed. There is a holy well there called after the saint, and the ruins of a little church. Dundrum Bay is also called Holy Bay in a very ancient unpublished map in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. But the contra argument is, that there is no site in or near this locality which has ever been known to bear a name at all similar to Brena.

There is, however, very strong evidence in favor of Strangford Lough. The Four Masters have the following record under the year 2,546 A.M.: "An inundation of the sea over the land at Brena in this year, which was the seventh later eruption that occurred in the time of Parthalon, and this is named Loch Cuan."

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[7] *River.*—Ec. Hist., vol. i., p. 214.

Dr. O'Donovan observes: "This is called Fretum Brennesse in the Second and Fourth Lives of St. Patrick published by Colgan (see Trias. Thaum. pp. 14, 19, 39). It was evidently the ancient name of the mouth of Strangford Lough in the county of Down, as the lake formed by the inundation was Loch Cuan, which is still the Irish name of Strangford Lough."

An apparent accident has led to the discovery of the river *Slani.* The circumstances are too long to detail here, but the result has been the complete identification of a river which enters Strangford Lough at Ringbane, the mouth of which is not two miles distant from *Sabhal* (Saul), where the saint met Dichu. This river is still called the Slany by the people of the district. Thus, the exact site of the landing of our saint and his companions has been ascertained beyond question.[8]

Dichu, the saint's first convert, was son of Trichem, of the race of Fiatach Finn, monarch of Ireland. His festival was held at Saul on the 29th November. The Irish calendar records six brothers of Dichu: Laeghaire of Deen, Ailill of Magh-bile, now Movilla, Duirthech of Aendrium, now Island Magee, Eoghan and Niall, both of Cillcleitha, now Killcleif, and Ross (who met St. Patrick at Brethon, or Bright) of Dundalethglass, now Downpatrick. St. Jarleth, third Bishop of Armagh, who was appointed by St. Patrick himself, was son of Trien, brother of Trichem, and consequently cousin to St. Dichu.

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[8] *Question.*—See a very interesting paper called "An inquiry into the true landing-place of St. Patrick in Ulster," by Mr. J. W. Hanna, privately printed. He remarks that in the Hymn of St. Fiacc there is mention made of a well or fountain named Slan, thus:

> "In Slan, in the territory of *Benna Bairche*, hunger and thirst possessed him not."

In the gloss on the word Slan, it is said to be at Saul. The word itself signifies health, and the well appears to have been given this name because a leper was cured by the use of its waters. *Benna Bairche*, or "the peaks of Bairche," was the ancient name of the Mourne mountains. They had obtained their distinctive appellation from Bairche, the shepherd of Ros, King of Ulster, who herded the king's cattle there in the third century.

All the annalists agree in the details of St. Patrick's visit to his old master Milcho. He left his boat with Dichu on the river Slani, and hastened on his mission of mercy and forgiveness. What countless recollections must have crowded upon his memory, as he traversed each well-known site! Full thirty years had elapsed since his flight and the angelical vision which had made that flight so memorable; yet the place was little changed; even yet the natural features of that part of Dalaradia are scarcely altered. The very name of the stately basaltic hill, now called Slemish, and then *Sliabh Mis,* bears the same sound; while its outward appearance remains the same.

As the saint turned to gaze on the woods where he had tended Milcho's flocks, he saw the house of his master surrounded with flames, and on approaching nearer he learned that the chief, who had heard of his arrival and its object, had set his house and all his worldly possessions on fire, and then cast himself into the flames to perish with them. Pride would not allow him to submit to his former slave; and he must have had some apprehension that an interview with Patrick would result in his submission, voluntarily or involuntarily, to his spiritual rule. It is quite possible, also, that he had heard of the supernatural powers exercised by the saint; he little knew that these powers were only exercised in judgment on rare occasions, in order that such judgments might prepare the way for incomparably greater mercies.

It is said that St. Patrick predicted the temporal fall of Milcho's family, and that none of his sons should succeed him in his little kingdom. But a better portion was in store for at least three members of his family: his son, Gnasacht, was subsequently ordained Bishop of Granard,[9] and two of his daughters consecrated their virginity to the King of virgins in the neighboring monastery of Clon-Bronaigh. The saint's prediction that the children of Milcho should not succeed him, and that they should always be in subjection, has been thoroughly misunderstood. Even Dr. Lanigan appears perplexed how to reconcile these circumstances. But surely the difficulty is purely imaginary. We find many instances in Scripture and in the Lives of the Saints, where punishment was averted, or after a time withdrawn, when those who had suffered from it repented sincerely; and surely the cloister and the episcopacy was still subjection, though the devotion of those who consecrated themselves thus to God obtained for them the happy exchange from temporal slavery[1] to the sweet and peaceful servitude of Christ.

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[9] *Granard.*—"Martyrology of Donegal," 24 Jan.

We must remember the various times, places, and circumstances, in which St. Patrick

"Discoursed of the things to be
When time gives way to eternity."

He could not speak to all alike; each required a different address, and went through a different process of conviction. Well might the poet add :—

"While he spoke, men say that the highest tide
On the shore beside Colpa ceased to sink ;
And they say the white deer by Mulla's side
O'er the green margin bending forbore to drink ;
That the Brandon eagle forgot to soar ;
That no leaf stirred in the wood by Lee ;
Such stupor hung the island o'er,
For none might guess what the end would be."[2]

To understand perfectly the mission of St. Patrick and his acts, we must also understand something of the customs, habits, and dispositions of those whom he evangelized. Differences of character require differences of treatment, both individually and nationally.

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[1] *Slavery.*—"Nemo de filiis ejus sedebit rex super sedem regni ejus a generatione in generationem, insuper et semen ejus serviret in sempiternum."—*Book of Armagh.* There is the remains of a large rath, of cyclopean construction, in the townland of Killycarn, parish of Brury, and barony of Lower Antrim, which is said to have been one of the residences of Milcho.—*See* Ordnance Maps, 28-29.

[2] *Be.*—"Innisfail, and other poems," by Aubrey de Vere.

A people easily impressed through the senses, required such teaching as should make a vivid impression on their senses. Even in the life of our divine Lord we find that He acted at different times with sternness and with gentleness, with mercy and severity. In one place water was turned into wine for the satisfaction of a few guests at a wedding; in another place a whole drove of swine were dashed to pieces, and the swineherds put to the loss of much valuable property. Again, we find Him who is the Eternal Wisdom receiving a fallen sinner with words of gentleness, if not of consolation; while on another occasion he could use a scourge of cords to drive out the intruders from His temple, and let who would pick up their merchandize.

We find similar differences of action in the lives of saints; and where men are called to the high and glorious office of being the apostle of a nation, such differences will be more manifest, because more necessary.

Patrick returned without delay to his faithful convert at Saul. The Tripartite says:

> "He turned *deisel* (right-hand-wise), and went back again into the territory of Uladh, until he arrived at Magh-inis to Dichu, son of Trichim, and he remained there for a long time disseminating faith, so that he brought all the Ulidians with the net of the Gospel to the harbor of life."

The saint had arrived in Ireland in the autumn of the year 432; he remained during the winter with Dichu, preaching in the surrounding districts with wonderful success. Many details full of interest are related of his missionary work during this memorable winter. Again we find that, like the Apostles, he labored not only by the exterior works of an evangelist, but also by the far more difficult and self-denying austerities of a saint. And thus it was that his words proved so efficacious. His actions were as eloquent as his speech; he had and he exercised that sublime charity which gives even its very life for the brethren. If he taught others to pray, he also excelled them in prayers. "Hymns,[2] and the Apocalypse, and the thrice fifty Psalms, he was wont to sing." And "from the praise of God he ceased not." If he taught others to practise mortification, he was the first to give the example; for even the bitter cold of winter could not prevent him from passing the night in the frozen rivers, while by day "he preached upon the hills."

While in the territory of Benna-Bairche with Dichu, we are told in the Hymn of St. Fiacc that he sang each night a hundred psalms to adore the King of angels. His bed was on a stone, and a rock his pillow, and for all covering he wore only a wet sackcloth, for he would not allow his body to be in warmth; and then we are informed that he wrought great miracles, that he healed the lame and the lepers, and that he restored the dead to life. And we marvel not that it should be so, since Christ Himself had promised these powers to His successors, since Patrick had so faithfully subdued and kept under his body, that he might well merit to obtain a more than ordinary power of relieving the spiritual and temporal necessities of others.

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[2] *Hymns.*—This word is glossed thus: "*Immuim, i.e.* the hymn of Ambrose or Audite." We frequently read in the Lives of the Saints of their having practised similar mortifications, and notably that of remaining for a considerable time in half-frozen ponds or rivers. St. John Climacus relates the austerities of the monks of the desert in his Ladder of Perfection, and specially mentions exposure to heat and cold.

Jocelyn gives the fullest details of the events which occurred during the winter of 432-3. Probus and the Tripartite pass over this period of the saint's history very briefly. One miracle related by the former deserves special record. Dichu had a brother named Rius, who opposed the mission of the saint as ardently as it was forwarded by Dichu. He was an aged man, and it would appear that he had lost the use of his limbs. St. Patrick asked him if he would believe in the Christian faith if Christ restored him to health and vigor. Better informed, it would appear, than some so-called Christians from whence the apostle received power, the man replied, "If thou canst through Christ perform on me such a miracle, forthwith will I believe in Him." Then St. Patrick prayed to Christ, and laying his hands upon Rius, he blessed him, and the aged and infirm man obtained once more the vigor of manhood. But another miracle followed. The saint, after his convert had been baptized, and had brought many into the fold, asked him whether he would wish still to remain on earth, or to depart immediately to the God of love, whose power had been so lately exercised on his behalf. Rius chose heaven instead of earth; and receiving the sacraments of the Church from the Apostle of Erinn, he commended his spirit to the Lord, and was taken to eternal rest.[3]

The famous monastery of Saul was founded at this time. The site whereon it was built was given to St. Patrick by Dichu. It is probable that it was originally a large barn, where the saint preached until a more suitable building could be erected. This church was called in Irish *Saball Padruic*, which was Latinised *Horreum Patricii*. The author of the *Vita Tertia* and Jocelyn state that Dichu asked St. Patrick to allow the church to be erected north and south, instead of east and west, as was usual, and that he complied with this request.[4]

It was also at this period that St. Mocha or Mochae received the grace of conversion. This circumstance is related in the Tripartite, but not by Probus. Jocelyn also gives full details. As the saint journeyed towards *Durlus*, the present Bright, he saw a youth herding cattle, and preached to him, no doubt by some special inspiration. The young man at once obeyed the divine call, and, no doubt, received with it the special graces needed for the ministry. He was baptized and ordained priest, having learned all that was necessary with a rapidity which could only be attributed to a supernatural gift. The saint gave him a copy of the Gospels and some relics, but the Tripartite also mentions a *bachall* or staff which was given to him by God. A fuller account of this mystical staff is given by Jocelyn. The Tripartite account runs thus: "And he gave him also, another time, a *bachall* which had been given them by God; viz., its head into Patrick's bosom, and its end in Mochae's bosom." Jocelyn says that a year after Mochae's conversion, while he and Patrick were conversing together on holy things, a staff fell from heaven between them, and the head thereof rested upon the bosom of Patrick, and the end thereof on the bosom of Mochae.[5]

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[3] *Rest.*—Colgan, p. 125.

[4] *Request.*—Jocelyn gives a mystical interpretation, which he honestly states to be his own conjecture, as to the reason for this departure from the accustomed usage. Dr. Reeves suggests that the name *Sabhal* or *Horreum* was a technical term for a church possessing some peculiarity, such as a deviation from the ordinary rule of position, and mentions several churches called *Sabhal;* but there is no ground for this conjecture, for the word *Sabhal* [pron. Saul] means a barn; hence the origin of the name is obvious. Reeves' "Down and Connor," pp. 40 and 120. Dr. Todd, in referring to the account of Dichu's grant of the Sabhal, states, that it "has been foisted into the Acts of St. Patrick in later times;" and also there says, "We are told [of it] in the later Lives." *Memoir*, p. 409. Another evidence how prejudice distorts truth. Dr. Todd must surely have known that this grant is mentioned in *all* the Lives, early and late, and notably in the Tripartite, the best authenticated and earliest of all.

Immediately after the festival of Christmas St. Patrick prepared for the most important event in his mission. He determined to assail paganism in its stronghold, and to effect, by one bold and decisive action, the conversion of multitudes. His residence in the north of Ireland had doubtless been of considerable value in reviving his knowledge of the language and customs of the people. His companions, also, would have had time to become sufficiently familiar with the Celtic tongue to assist more efficiently in the great work. The blessing of God had already crowned his labors in Dalaradia with wonderful success, and he might well hope for a still greater harvest in the future.

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[5] *Mochae.*—Colgan, p. 125. Reeves' "Down and Connor," pp. 188-9. Mochae was a grandson of Milchos, and subsequently Abbot of Aondruim, now Mohee Island, so called from Mochae, its patron saint. Mochae was also called Coelan. He died A.D. 497. In the Life of St. Finnian he is spoken of thus: "Et misit eum [St. Finanum] ad venerabilem senem Cœlanum Noendrumensem Abbatem, et ut corporis illius ac animæ curam habaret diligenter commendavit."

His monastery was very famous both for the learning and sanctity of its members. St. Finnian of Moville, and St. Colman of Dromore, were both educated there. Jocelyn says that the staff was called the *Flying Staff*, and was preserved in the church. A somewhat similar incident is related in the Life of St. Agnes of Montepulciano, p. 50. It is said that she also received a small cross from heaven, which was long preserved as a relic in her convent.

The Paschal season was approaching, for Easter fell early in the year of grace, 433. It was a time at which the Church looked for special graces; it was a time at which the powers of darkness were believed to be more than ever subject to the powers of light. There were glorious triumphs celebrated in those early festivals. The Red Sea had been, as it were, passed victoriously, and as the overthrow of ancient idolaters was commemorated, might it not well be suggested that the same God was powerful to cut down the idols of a later age. The powers of evil might seem to have conquered for a moment in the darkness of the Passion, but the light and glory of the Resurrection showed how powerless were their mightiest efforts. There was to be a resurrection for ancient Erinn also, and a new spring-tide of faith and love for the ardent Celt—what more appropriate time, spiritually or temporally, could be chosen?

St. Patrick showing the People the Book of the Four Gospels.

The devout biographers of our saint, writing in an age when piety was not scorned as weakness, or faith in the supernatural as credulity, have given, as might be expected, glowing and eloquent accounts of this great event. "The Pasch," writes Probus, "was approaching." It was to be celebrated for the first time in Erinn, and as the Son of God and His disciples agreed together to celebrate the Pasch, so did Patrick also consult with his companions, where they should first celebrate the Paschal time in the nation to which God had sent them.[6]

The writer of the Tripartite says :—

> "As the solemnity of Easter approached, then Patrick considered that there was no place more suitable to celebrate the high solemnity of the year, *i.e.*, the Easter, than in *Magh Bregh*,[7] the place where the head of the idolatry and druidism of Erinn was, viz., in *Teamhair* [Tara]. They afterwards bade farewell to Dichu, son of Trichim, and put their vessels on the sea, and they proceeded until they anchored in *Inbher Colpa.*[8] They left their vessels in the *Inbhre*, and went by land until they reached *Ferta-fer-fec*,[9] and Patrick's tent was fixed in this place, and he lit the Easter fire."

Two circumstances are mentioned as having occurred during the saint's journey to Tara. One of those is the conversion of St. Benignus, one of the most celebrated of his converts; the other event was the foundation of the church of Trim. When St. Patrick and his companions arrived at the mouth of the river Boyne, he left his nephew or disciple Lomman in charge of the vessel in which they had sailed, and proceeded by land, probably with the view of preaching on his journey. The first place where he rested, probably at or in the neighborhood of the site now occupied by the town of Drogheda, he was received by a man named Seschnen, and passed the night with him. The son of his host, attached to the saint by that holy fascination which good men exercise unconsciously, cast flowers over him. His parents desired him to refrain from this mark of respect lest he should awaken their guest, who was weary with his journey. But Patrick had heard their conversation, and was, no doubt, interiorly urged to claim the young *Benen* for his Creator's service. The boy was baptized immediately, and henceforth followed the saint, to whom he was bound by more than ordinary ties of devotion,[1] and eventually succeeded him as Archbishop of Armagh.

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[6] *Them.*—Colgan, *Quinta Vita*, p. 48. "Et consilium Patricius et discipuli ejus, ubi prim hoc ipsum Pascha in gentibus ad quas illos misit Deus celebrarent."

[7] *Magh Bregh.*—A plain in the east of Meath. The name was afterwards applied to the country lying between the Liffey and the Boyne.—*Book of Rights*, p. 11.

[8] *Inbher Colpa.*—The mouth of the Boyne.

[9] *Ferta-fer-fec.*—*i.e.*, the graves of the men of Feg or Fiacc, now Slane.—Four Masters, at A.D. 51 2.

According to the *Vita Tertia*, which gives the fullest details, Benignus insisted on going with St. Patrick, whom he called his true father, and clung to him so entreatingly that the saint took him up in the chariot, in which, according to this Life also, he travelled. It should be remembered that St. Patrick probably arrived in Ireland in the summer of 432; he went with little delay to the north; and even if it be supposed that he did not prepare for his visit to Tara until after Christmas, there would be ample time for the events recited in the Book of Armagh concerning the foundation of the church of Trim. According to the Tripartite, Lomman was left at the mouth of the Boyne to take care of the vessel in which the saint had sailed from Strangford Lough. He was to "take care of the ships during the forty nights of Lent." If St. Patrick wished to preach to the people on his journey, we cannot doubt that he may have delayed for many weeks wherever he was well received. It is next told that he desired Lomman to row his vessel against the Boyne until he would arrive at the place where Ath-Truim (Trim) is to-day. But it is by no means clear whether St. Patrick desired Lomman to row down the stream at the end of forty days, or whether he returned to him and gave the command.[2] These details, however, are immaterial.

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[1] *Devotion.*—The anecdote of his strewing the saint's couch with flowers is told in the Tripartite. There this interview is made to take place before St. Patrick's visit to Dichu, but, as we have already remarked, the sequence of the narrative in the early part of this most valuable compilation, is very irregular. In the *Tertia Vita* fuller details are given, which are evidently the ground of Jocelyn's narrative. But the incident of the flowers is only mentioned in the Tripartite.—Colgan, *Vita Tertia*, p. 24, and *Sexta Vita*, p. 73, and the *Book of Armagh.*

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[2] *Command.*—The Book of Armagh says that he remained another period of forty days. Jocelyn follows this narrative. With regard to the whole narrative, there is nothing improbable, or even unlikely. Why, then, should it have excited the ire of Dr. Todd? Surely his *Memoir* should have been entitled: "A narrative of events recorded as having happened to St. Patrick, few of which are true." The story, he says, was "avowedly of late origin"

Lomman arrived at Trim "against the stream, under the guidance of the Lord," at the door of *aras Feidilmidh* [the house of Feidilmidh], or, as the Tripartite has it, at the *dun* of Fedhlimidh, the son of Laeghaire Mac Neill. In the morning Fortchern, Fedhlimidh's son, found him with "his gospels before him, and he wondered at the precepts he heard." Then the mother came to seek her son, who had tarried so long listening to the message of peace, and she also heard it and believed it. She was "of the Britons, and welcomed the clerics;" her name was Scoth, and she was daughter of the King of Britain. When she had heard, she sought for her husband, and told him all things that had happened to herself and her son. Like the other Irish chieftains, the good Fedhlimidh received the missionaries joyfully, and "forthwith believed" (statingue credidit), with all his family. The Celt seldom gives himself to any undertaking with half-heartedness. He must be an enthusiastic loyalist or a furious rebel; he must be all for good, or, alas! and that

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(p. 413, *n.*); and then he coolly quotes from the original in the Book of Armagh to prove his opinion, "serotinis temporibus inventa;" yet he himself translates these very words fairly and correctly at p. 257, thus: "Here begin some few other things *discovered at later times.*" Now no ordinary scholar could be at a loss to know the meaning of the word *inventa.* Such criticisms are worse than unfair; and only respect for the memory of the dead can prevent one from calling them dishonest. The writer of the Book of Armagh narrates some things discovered at later times. The author of the *Memoir* tries to make his readers believe that this writer considered them "avowedly of late origin." If all history were treated in this way, and new discoveries of historical events were to be cast aside as modern inventions, because the documents had not been discovered until a century or two after the events to which they referred, we might give up literary criticism altogether.

but rarely, all for evil; and this national characteristic is notably manifest in the lives of St. Patrick's converts. They gave themselves without a thought; they gave their possessions without reserve; and that this devotion was no mere evanescent feeling, has been proved by long centuries of fidelity and suffering.

According to the account in the Book of Armagh, *Scoth*, or, as she is there called, *Scothnoe*, was the mother of Fedhlimidh, and consequently grandmother of Fortchern. Lomman also was "of the Britons;" his father is called Gollit, and St. Patrick's sister, Darerca, is said to have been his mother. Thus they were able to converse in the British tongue, in which Fedhlimidh saluted Lomman. Immediately after the baptism of the former, he devoted all his territory, possessions, substance, and race to Patrick, and Lomman, and Fortchern his son, unto the day of judgment (usque in diem judicii). He then crossed the Boyne to *Cloin Lagen*, leaving Lomman and his son at the Fort of Trim. Here they remained until Patrick came to them, and built a church with them. When St. Patrick's visit took place is not stated, but it is probable that it was sometime after his visit to Tara.

The Four Masters thus recorded these events:—

> "The age of Christ 432, the fourth year of Laeghaire. Patrick came to Ireland this year, and proceeded to baptize and bless the Irish, men, women, sons, and daughters, except a few who did not consent to receive baptism from him, as his Life relates. Ath Trim was founded by Patrick, it having been granted by Fedhlim,

son of Laeghaire, son of Niall, to God, and to him, Lornan, and Fortchern. Flann Mainistrech cecinit :[3]—

Patrick, abbot of all Ireland, son of Calphrann, son of Fotaide,
Son of Deisse, not fit to be dispraised, son of Cormac Mor, son of
Lebrinth,

. . . .

Cochinas was his modest mother ; Nemthor[4] his native town ;
Of numbers, not small his share, which Patrick redeemed from
sorrow."

There can be no doubt that the saint had companions with him when he came to Ireland, and that he was accompanied by these persons and by some of his converts when he visited Tara. Before we relate the great and important events which occurred there, we must give the names of those who were considered the special disciples of the saint, and some of whom, at least, were with him at Tara.

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[3] *Cecinit.*—Flann of the Monastery. He was abbot of *Mainister-Buithe*, now Monasterboice, in the county Louth, and died December, 1056.

[4] *Nemthor.*—Four Masters, vol. i., p. 131. Since the first Part of this work was issued, Mr. P. J. Kennedy, author of "Legendary Fictions of the Celts" (Macmillan & Co., London), and other valuable works, has called my attention to the occurrence of the word *Nevtur* in the Black Book of Caermarthen. This book was written, or rather compiled, in the twelfth century, by the religious of a priory near the old Welsh city from which it takes its name. It contains several of the old poems attributed to Taliessen. In the first poem a dialogue occurs between Merlin and Taliessen, in which the name Nemthur occurs thus :—

"Before two men in Nevtur will they land,
Before Errith and Gurrith, on a pale white horse."

The original is :

"Rae deuur ineutur ytirran,
Rae errith a gurrith y ar welugan."

Mr. Skene, the editor of this work, observes, in a note, vol. ii., p. 321, "Neutur or Nevtur is probably the same place mentioned by Fiech, in his Life of St. Patrick, written in the eighth century, as Nemthur or Nevtur. It is identified by his scholiast with Alclyde or Dumbarton." This appears to be the only trace of the word which has been found, independently of its use in the Lives of the saint. It is clear that the reference is to a *seaport town*, from the expression, "in Nevtur will they land."

In the Four Masters, the most important and the most carefully compiled of our ancient annals, we find the following account of St. Patrick's disciples :—

“ The age of Christ, 448, the twentieth year of Laeghaire,
The family[5] of Patrick of the prayers, who had good Latin,
I remember; no feeble court [were they] their order, and their names.
Sechnall,[6] his bishop, without fault; Mochta;[7] after him his great
Bishop Erc,[8] his sweet-spoken judge; his champion Bishop Maccaeirthinn;
Benen,[9] his psalmist, and Coemhan,[1] his chamberlain;
Sinell,[2] his bell-ringer; and Aithcen,[3] his true cook;
The priest Mescan,[4] without evil, his friend and his brewer;

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[5] *Family.*—A list of the principal persons of St. Patrick's household is given in the *Tripartite* (Colgan, p. 167), and also in the Book of Lecan.

[6] *Sechnall.*—St. Sechnall or Secundinus, nephew of the saint, and author of the Hymn in his honor. His history has already been related, *ante*, p. 68.

[7] *Mochta.*—St. Mochta, whose conversion has also been recorded.

[8] *Erc.*—The first Bishop of Slane. He is termed in the Tripartite “Cancellarius.”

[9] *Benen.*—His conversion has just been recorded.

[1] *Coemhan.*—Not easily identified. He is called Coemhan of Kilready.

[2] *Sinell.*—He is called Sinell of Killairis, his Ostiarius. In the Tripartite he is called Sinell of Kildare.

[3] *Aithcen.*—The patron saint of the church of Badoney, in the valley of Gleann-Aichle, near Strabane, county Tyrone.

[4] *Mescan.*—He is called Sanctus Meschanus de Domnach juxta Fochmuine fluvium, Cerviciarius (Colgan, p. 88). Dr. O'Donovan, in his notes on this portion of the Four Masters, supplies the word [Mescain] from the prose list in the Book of Lecan. I wish especially to call the attention of the reader to the fact, that whenever Dr. O'Donovan quotes the Tripartite, he quotes it as St. Evin's work, thus: “Evinus, as edited by Colgan,” “Evinus names them as follows.” This is high authority for the belief that we may certainly attribute the Tripartite Life to St. Evin. St. Mescan's church was

The priest Bescna,[5] sweet his verses, the chaplain of the son of Alprann.
His three smiths,[6] expert at shaping, Macecht,[7] Laebhan, and Fortchern;
His three artificers,[8] of great endowment, Aesbuite, Tairill, and Tasach.
His three embroiderers,[9] not despicable, Lupaid, Erca, and Cruimthiris.
Odhran,[1] his charioteer without blemish; Rodan,[2] son of Braga, his shepherd.

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situated near the river Fochmhuine, now the Faughan, county Londonderry; but the site has not been identified.

[5] *Bescna.*—His church, Domhnach-Dula, was in the plain of Magh-dula, county Londonderry, through which the river Moyola flows.

[6] *Smiths.*—The Tripartite only mentions two smiths, St. Macecht and St. Fortchern, but Dr. O'Donovan thinks the omission was a blunder of Colgan's, and corrects his text by the prose list in the Book of Lecan. Colgan, however, may have had other authorities which he preferred to follow. I have availed myself of Dr. O'Donovan's notes on this passage in the Four Masters, but I have also consulted every other available authority.

[7] *Macecht.*—He was of Domhnach Arnoin, and the maker of the famous *Finn-faidheach*, or sweet-sounding bell, used by the saint, which is still in existence. Laebhan, according to Colgan, had his church in the present diocese of Clonfert; it was called Cill Loebhain, and is probably the church now designated Killian. Fortchern, whose father founded the church of Trim, has already been mentioned. He had a second church at Cill-Fortchern, in Idrone, county Carlow.

[8] *Artificers.*—In the Tripartite they are called Sanctus Essa, Sanctus Bitens, ac Sanctus Tassa. Only the last has been accurately identified. His history is well known. He was a native of Rathcolptha, now Raholp, near Down. St. Tassach is mentioned in the notes of St. Fiacc's Hymn as having been the first who adorned the famous Staff of Jesus with a suitable covering. He also administered the last sacraments to his holy master, as we shall record more fully hereafter. Colgan thinks that Essa should be Ossa or Ossan, as St. Patrick had a disciple of that name, whose memory was venerated at Trim.

[9] *Embroiderers.*—Colgan has Tigrida for Erca. Lupaid was the saint's sister, already mentioned; Erc was the daughter of Dairi, who granted Armagh to the saint. Of Cruimthiris it is only recorded that she was of royal birth, and lived a solitary life.

[1] *Odhran.*—He will also be mentioned hereafter as having saved St. Patrick's life. He was of Disert-Odhran, in Hy-Falgy.

[2] *Rodan.*—Not identified.

Ippis,[3] Tigris, and Erca, and Liamhain, with Eibearlta;
For them Patrick exceeded in wonders, for them he was truly miraculous.
Carninch[4] was the priest that baptized him; German his tutor without blemish.
The priest Maisach, of great endowment, was his man for supplying wood.
His sister's son was Bauban, of fame; Martin, his mother's brother;
Most sapient was the youth Mochonnoe[5], his hospitaller.
Cribri[6] and Lasri of mantles, beautiful daughters of Gleaghrann;
Macraith the wise, and Erc, he prophesied in his three wills.
Brogan,[7] the scribe of his school; the priest Logha,[8] his helmsman,
It is not a thing unsung,—and Machin,[9] his true fosterson;
Good the man whose great family they were, to whom God gave a crozier without sorrow;
Chiefs with whom the bells are heard, a good family was the family of Patrick.

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[3] *Ippis.*—These are said to be the names of five sisters of the saint.

[4] *Carninch.*—In the copy of Flann's poem preserved in the Book of Lecan the reading is Gornias.

[5] *Mochonnoe.*—The Tripartite mentions two hospitallers, Catanus and Ocanotus. The Book of Trim has Caslan and Brogan. Mochonnoe lived about 492, according to Colgan, and founded the monastery of Gullen, in the King's County. He is said to have been of Welsh extraction. Lanigan makes him later.—*Ec. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 424. St. Cadan or Catanus is venerated in the parish of Tamlaghtard, and barony of Reenaght, county Londonderry.

[6] *Cribri and Lasri.*—They were the daughters of Glerannus, son of Cumincus, and lived at the church of Kill-Forchann, near Killala.

[7] *Brogan.*—A nephew of St. Patrick.

[8] *Logha.*—The same as Lugna, whose tombstone has already been mentioned.

[9] *Machin.*—St. Mochin of Endrom, in Loch Cuan; he was baptized by St. Patrick, who gave him a gospel and a reliquary. In the copy of Flann's poem many other names and offices are mentioned. There can be no doubt that some of these offices were exercised by the persons who are mentioned as holding them, but St. Patrick's mode of life was too simple to admit of his having a numerous retinue or any kind of state.

May the Trinity, which is powerful over all, distribute to us the
boon of great love;
The being who, moved by soft Latin, redeemed by Patrick's prayer."

In order to understand this account of St. Patrick's household, it should be remembered that the Irish kings and chieftains had officers who were regularly appointed to fulfil certain duties, or who held their offices by right of inheritance. Thus the biographers of the saint would naturally assign to his immediate followers the occupations which they might believe most suitable to each, or which, as in the case of St. Tassach, there is no doubt that they fulfilled. The only persons who are named as having accompanied the saint from Rome, are Auxilius and Iserninus, who are said to have been ordained priests when he was consecrated bishop.

The famous Laeghaire was holding his court at Tara when St. Patrick arrived in that neighborhood. The Tripartite says that

> "This was the time in which the great festival of the Gentiles, i.e. the *Fes of Tara*, was usually celebrated. The kings and princes and chieftains were wont to come to Laeghaire Mac Neill to Tara, to celebrate this festival. The druids and the magicians were also wont to come to prophesy to them. The fire of every hearth in Erinn was usually extinguished on that night, and it was commanded by the king that no fire should be lighted in Erinn before the fire of Tara; and neither gold nor silver would be accepted from anyone who would light it, but he should suffer death for it."

There have been some warm discussions as to the precise object of this festival. Dr. Petrie and Dr. O'Connor considered that it was the Beltinne, but Dr.

O'Donovan has proved that there is no authority for this opinion, because the Beltinne was always lighted on the hill of Usneach, in Westmeath; and further, it is not stated to have been the Beltinne fire in any of the Lives of the saint.[1] Dr. O'Donovan's opinion is of so much value, that we prefer giving it in his own words :—

> "The probability is that the fire lighted at Teamhair, on Easter eve, A.D. 433, was not the *Bealltaine*, but some other fire; and it is stated in the Second Life of St. Patrick published by Colgan, that it was the Feis Teamhrach, or Feast of Teamhair, that Laeghaire and his satraps were celebrating on this occasion; while the author of the Life of St. Patrick in the Book of Lismore asserts that Laeghaire was then celebrating the festival of his own nativity, which appears to have been the truth, and if so it was not the regular septennial *Feis*, which met after *Samhain*, but one convened to celebrate the king's own birth-day."[2]

There can be little doubt that this is the true account of the convention at Tara. It should be observed, however, that no time has been specified for the lighting of these Bealtinne fires in any of our annals, and that the ground for dating it on the 1st of May is, that this day is universally called *La Bealltaine* in Irish. Even granting this to be the date of the festival, it is quite possible that an arbitrary and proud monarch, such as all history represents Laeghaire to have been, might have celebrated the Bealtinne on his birth-day, and for the time being antedated the usual period.

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[1] *Saint.*—For O'Connor's opinions see *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* vol. i. For Petrie's, "Essay on Tara."

[2] *Day.*—"Book of Rights." Introduction, p. 50-51.

It was Easter eve, and Patrick had kindled his Paschal fire upon the Hill of Slane. The author of the Tripartite says he was not aware of the royal prohibition against what he had done, and adds graphically, "And if he knew it, it would not prevent him." The Paschal fire illuminated all Magh-Bregh, even as the fire of divine love was so soon to illumine the western isle from shore to shore. The king and his chieftains saw the light flashing over the plain, and he demanded who had dared to violate his commands. His druids, better informed than himself, replied, "that they knew who had made this fire, and if it were not extinguished before morning it would never be extinguished; and that the man who had kindled it would surpass kings and princes." Well might the old pagan tremble for his throne, and burn with indignation at the apparent insult.

"That is not how it shall be," he exclaimed, "but we will go until we slay the man who lighted the fire." It was the old boast which the angels have heard, and smiled at, not once, but often, before and since the days of Laeghaire Mac Neil. We will conquer, we will subdue—who shall dare to resist us? Who are these men that they should oppose us? Yes! but there was One mightier than these men, against whose power Laeghaire's wrath fell harmless as the rivulet, as the fall of a pebble upon a mountain of granite.

His druids, full of dreams of magic and incantations, warned him not to enter the house where Patrick was.

He respected their advice, and when his chariots had dashed across the plain he alighted in front of the Ferta. Here he seated himself in state, surrounded by his attendants, and Patrick was "whispered out" to him. As the saint came forth, he saw the horses and chariots in which the king and his companions had arrived, and his thoughts turned from this display of earthly greatness to the Power which ruled over all, and then, says the Tripartite, he sang the prophetic stanza—[3]

> "Hi in curribus et hi in eirus [equis]
> Nos, autem, in nomine Domini Dei nostri ma."

As he entered the place where the king and his attendants were awaiting him, grim, silent, and stern, none saluted him, and none dared to rise—for Laeghaire had strictly commanded them to remain seated—save one only, "whose heart was touched by divine grace:" this man was called Erc, the son of Diga, and he rose up and saluted the saint respectfully.

A strange scene followed. The king asked St. Patrick many questions; the druids contended with him, and insolently denounced his preaching, especially the doctrine of the Trinity. These rude men, accustomed to decide arguments by blows rather than by words, required some extraordinary evidence of the power of this God, of whom they had never heard before, and whom they were little inclined to reverence. The names of two of the king's druids are mentioned, Lochru and

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[3] *Stanza.*—Colgan reads *invocabimus* after *nostri.* Trias Th. p. 126.

Lucat Mael; the former was especially obdurate and blasphemous in his language, and the saint prayed that he might be lifted out and die, even as St. Peter had obtained the death of Simon Magus. In an instant, Lochru was raised up into the air, and then dashed upon the ground, where he died, falling upon a stone.[4] The king, like Pharaoh, was only hardened still more by this miracle, and commanded his people to seize St. Patrick. But the saint, for all defence, entoned the psalm *Exurgat Deus*—Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered, &c. Then an earthquake shook the place, a mysterious darkness surrounded the pagans, and a storm arose which terrified the horses so that they dashed across the plain, and the chariots were overturned. The men who had followed Lochru fell upon each other in the confusion, mistaking their friends for Patrick's companions. The king, at last, terrified, but not convinced, made a "false peace" with the saint; and his queen, who had accompanied him, knelt at his feet for his blessing.

Laeghaire, however, was still meditating treachery. He wished to kill the man whom he could not silence, but God had revealed the intended treachery to the saint. In order to accomplish his wicked purpose, Laeghaire asked him to return with him to Tara, "that he might believe for him before the men of Erinn." In the meantime, he had desired men to be lying in ambush between *Ferta-fer-feic* [Slane] and that place. The saint set out, accompanied by eight companions and the young Benignus. But God cast "a garment of invisibility [dicheltair] around them, so that not one of them was seen." As the Gentiles watched for them, they saw only eight wild deer, and who fled towards the mountains, and a young fawn after them.[5]

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[4] *Stone.*—Tirechan says that he had seen this stone. If we remember the early date of his writing in the Book of Armagh, it will show that this account was no modern interpolation.

On the following day, Easter Sunday, Laeghaire held high festival at Tara. Possibly, he thought himself safe from further trouble, as he had not heard anything more of St. Patrick. But the saint had his Easter Mass to say, and we may well imagine with what fervor he offered the adorable sacrifice for the people to whom he had devoted his life. Even in the Easter joys he could not forget his mission; and, as evening closed, while the chiefs, magi, and bards kept revel in old Tara's banquet hall, the grave and terrible apostle appeared suddenly before them, the doors being closed.[6]

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[5] *Them.*—Colgan, *Quinta Vita*, p. 51. This is also recorded in the Tripartite, and in the Book of Armagh. Indeed, the account is almost verbally similar in each.

[6] *Closed.*—Dr. Todd has treated the whole account of St. Patrick's visit to Tara with unconcealed contempt. One part he stigmatizes as a "manifest imitation of Daniel's explanation of Nebuchadnezzar's image." Another part, he says, is "intended to imitate the contest of Moses with the magi of Pharaoh." Because these Catholic writers, like good Catholics, and especially like religious to whom the language of Scripture is peculiarly familiar, write in this style, he thinks they must necessarily be guilty of the miserable crime of writing what they knew to be absolutely false. According to him the whole narrative "is reduced to the single fact, that St. Patrick, at some period of his missionary labors, appeared in the court of King Laeghaire." But Dr. Todd has *not* told us, if all the rest of the narrative is false, on what grounds he proves this one part of it to be true, and why he

Again we are told that one only of the assembled guests paid him any honor. As he appeared before the astonished courtiers, Dubhtach Mac Lugair, the king's chief bard, rose up to receive him, and he also obtained the grace of conversion to the Faith. The poet was attended by a youth named Fiacc, of whom we have already given some account.

The druid, or magus, Luchat Mael, now proposed to enter into a trial of his powers against the powers possessed by St. Patrick. We cannot fail to see, in the whole history of this eventful Easter, marked indications of the workings of a Providence at once full of wisdom and of authority. These men, who had until then worshipped the elements, were to learn that there was a God who controlled these elements, and thus to be taught that there was an almighty Creator of all things. These magi had exercised certain powers by their incantations; they had to learn that these powers were under the absolute control of a God of whom they had

believes the *Lorica* or Hymn of St. Patrick to be genuine on the same authority. This very line of argument is brought against the Scripture narrative by modern sceptics, and they also "reduce" the whole account of the Exodus to the "simple fact" that such an event may have happened, while denying absolutely as "impossible" all the miraculous circumstances which attended it. With regard to the miracle of the "closed doors," such occurrences are comparatively frequent in the Lives of the Saints. We read in the life of St. Anthony of Padua, that he was seen several times in different places at the same moment. Once, while he was guardian of the convent of Limoges in Aquitaine, he was preaching the Passion in the cathedral on the night of Maunday Thursday. His religious were at the same time singing matins in their choir. When it was time to read the lesson which should have come to his turn, he suddenly appeared, and having sung it, again vanished, although, during this interval, he was not perceived to be absent from the pulpit, or to have discontinued his discourse.—*St. Francis and the Franciscans*, p. 154.

never even heard. They were also to learn, that whatever might be effected by the powers of darkness were evils to be avoided, not benefits to be sought for. This, and much more, did St. Patrick teach the chieftains of old Erinn at Tara on this Easter Day.

The magus first attempted to poison St. Patrick; no doubt, it seemed to him the easiest way to avoid all chance of a defeat. But the saint, like St. Benedict,[7] was divinely warned of his danger, and he blessed the vessel of ale, so that the poison fell from it, and the ale became congealed like ice. Then, blessing it once more, he restored it to its natural state. Luchat Mael then proposed that the "hosts" should go out into the open plain, and that he should show there what he could do. St. Patrick agreed to the proposal, and when they came forth, and a vast multitude had assembled, the druid "began the druidic poetry and the demoniacal arts, until the snow fell so that it would reach the girdles of men; et viderunt omnes, and they wondered greatly."[8]

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[7] *St. Benedict.*—The monks of the monastery of Vico Varo, attracted by his fame, had asked him to be their superior. He refused at first, but at length yielded to their importunity. They were not prepared, however, for the strictness of his rule, and at last attempted to poison him. Like St. Patrick, he made the sign of the cross upon the vessel, which instantly broke as if a stone had fallen upon it.—Butler's *Lives of Saints.*

[8] *Greatly.*—The power of the devil to effect supernatural wonders is abundantly evident both from Scripture and the Lives of the Saints. We give one instance out of many. It is related in the Life of the recently canonized St. Paul of the Cross, that when he was preaching out of doors at Santafiora, a sudden and most violent storm came on, which he at once dispelled by blessing the air with his crucifix. He told the people that the storm had been caused by the devil.—*Life of St. Paul of the Cross*, p. 69.

St. Patrick then asked him to remove the snow, but the magus replied that he could not do so until the next day. Then the saint, fired with a holy indignation, exclaimed : "By my debhro,[9] in evil is thy power, and not in good ;" and turning towards the four points of the heavens he blessed the plain, and the snow disappeared. The druid now brought darkness over the plain, but was unable to remove it. Patrick once more prayed to the Lord, and the sun shone forth. Various other trials followed, and it was at last agreed that a trial by fire should decide the question.

St. Patrick offered to allow one of his people to be shut up in a house with the magus, and then to let the building be fired ; provided one of the Celtic magi also remained in the building and stood the same test. It was further agreed that the worshipper of heathen gods should be clothed in the casula or tunic of the saint, and the Christian in the tunic of the druid. St. Patrick chose the young Benen, fresh from the baptismal waters, and thus purified from sin ; Luchat Mael, with a heroism worthy of a better cause, was his own champion. A hut was then erected, and at one side filled with dry faggots, in the midst of which Benen or Benignus was placed, and covered with the druid's tunic ; the other side was filled with green wood, and there the magus stood, covered with the tunic of the saint. A light was then applied to the hut, while the great multitude watched outside for the result, with eager faces and beating hearts. The triumph of Faith was soon proclaimed. It was indeed nothing new for the God who had created the elements, to make them obedient to the will of the creatures who were obedient to His will. Again and again fire had refused to do its natural office when Christians were subjected to the flames in the arenas of pagan Rome; and now a similar marvel was manifested. That portion of the house which should have burned most rapidly under ordinary circumstances, was not consumed,—the fair young acolyte Benignus came forth unharmed, but the mantle of the magus, with which he was surrounded, was burned to ashes. The side of the hut where the magus had rashly ventured to place himself, was entirely consumed; he was burned to death, but the tunic of the saint, with which he was surrounded, bore no trace of fire.[1]

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[9] *Debhro.*—This word is translated by O'Donovan, in his supplement to O'Reilly's Dictionary (in voce *Modebroth*), as my God Judge, or God of Judgment (from Cormac's Glossary).

The only effect which this miracle had upon the king was to increase his hatred of the apostle and his doctrines. And such, indeed, is usually the result, while, as in this instance, special graces have been offered and rejected. If those are blessed who believe without seeing, how fearful must be the condition of those to whom "signs and wonders" are manifested, and who still refuse to believe.

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[1] *Fire.*—This is mentioned in the Tripartite (Colgan, p. 127), by Probus (Colgan, p. 51), by Jocelyn (Colgan, p. 75), and the other Lives. Indeed the incidents connected with the saint's visit to Tara are most fully detailed by all. It is observable that the trial by water, as proposed by Laeghaire, is mentioned in the Book of Armagh, though not in the Tripartite, which in other respects coincides so clearly with the former. We read in the Life of St. Francis of Assissi that he offered to undergo a somewhat similar test when in Egypt.

In the Life of St. Patrick as related by Probus (*Quinta Vita*), a curious and significant circumstance is mentioned. It is said that the king first proposed a trial by water, and suggested that the books of both parties should be thrown into the water, and declared that he would adore him whose books should come out unhurt. The magus objected to this test, saying that he "would not go to the judgment of water with him (Patrick), for he had water for a god." Probus observes that he had heard of St. Patrick's baptisms; hence his fear of this test. There are several noteworthy subjects in connection with this part of the ancient Lives. It is evident that the Catholic doctrine of baptism was fully taught by St. Patrick. The magus would not have had so much fear of his use of water if the saint had treated the sacramental use of it as a mere ceremony. It is also remarkable that the "books" (*libros vestros*) should be spoken of by Laeghaire in the plural number. Evidently the writers of the Lives believed that the Irish had books as well as the saint. The words quoted above are found in the *Vita S. Patricii* contained in the Book of Armagh also.

The king, terrified by the prodigies he beheld, simulated a conversion which the rest of his life proved to have been insincere. It is related also that St. Patrick predicted the extinction of Laeghaire's family, and that some terrible judgment, probably a sudden pestilence, fell upon the people, by which thousands perished.

As St. Patrick journeyed to Tara on Easter morning he composed a hymn, some portions of which are still repeated at bed-time by the Irish-speaking peasantry, so true have they been to the memory of their great apostle. This remarkable composition was sometimes called the *Feth Fiadha,* or instruction of the deer, in consequence of the escape of the saint and his companions when they appeared to Laeghaire like deer fleeing to the mountains.

The hymn is, however, more generally known as the *Lorica* of St. Patrick. The name of Lorica was given to such compositions because they were used as a spiritual breastplate or corslet, to protect those who recited them from spiritual or temporal dangers. They were, in fact, used as prayers. The Lorica of St. Patrick is a composition of singular poetic beauty, and of such ardent devotion as one might well believe our great apostle to have possessed. Thus it was that he invoked the divine protection as he traversed the vast plain of Magh Breagh; thus it was that he appealed to the Lord of all things that those creatures of Fire and Cold, of Wind and Water, might be made to serve him in the great work which he was about to undertake.

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[2] *Undertake.*—This hymn has been translated by Dr. O'Donovan and Dr. Petrie, and published in the Essay on Tara by the latter. It was also translated with great care by the eminent Celtic scholar, Mr. Whitley Stokes,

ST. PATRICK'S LORICA.

I bind to myself to-day
  The strong virtue of the Invocation of the Trinity,
  The Faith of the Trinity in unity,
  The Creator of the elements.

I bind to myself to-day
  The virtue of the Incarnation of Christ with His Baptism,
  The virtue of His crucifixion with His burial,
  The virtue of His Resurrection with His Ascension,
  The virtue of His coming to the sentence of judgment.

I bind to myself to-day
  The virtue of the love of seraphim,
  In the obedience of angels,
  In the hope of resurrection into reward,
  In prayers of Patriarchs,
  In predictions of Prophets,
  In preaching of Apostles,
  In faith of Confessors,
  In purity of holy Virgins,
  In deeds of righteous men.

I bind to myself to-day
  The power of Heaven,

who pointed out the mistake made by O'Donovan in translating the word *Atomring*, with which the hymn commences, as an obsolete form of the dative of Temur or Tara, and rendering it "at Tara." The word is a verb; *ad-dom-ring;* composed thus: *ad-ring*, adjungo, with the infixed pronoun *dom*, to me, and the verb *ring*, to join. To a Catholic the meaning is at once apparent; the saint invokes, or prays for, the help (*virtute*) virtue of the Blessed Trinity; the angels, and the saints in his great undertaking. In the well-known *Litany of Jesus* the virtue of our Divine Lord's Incarnation, Life, Passion, and Death are invoked in a similar manner. The latest translation of the *Lorica* is that made by Mr. Crowe for the "Kilkenny Archeological Journal," October, 1869.

The light of the sun,[3]
The whiteness of snow,
The force of fire,
The flashing of lightning,
The swiftness of wind,
The depth of sea,
The stability of earth,
The hardness of rocks.

I bind to myself to-day
The power of God to guide me,
The might of God to uphold me,
The wisdom of God to teach me,
The eye of God to watch over me,
The ear of God to hear me,
The word of God to give me speech,
The hand of God to protect me,
The way of God to lie before me,
The shield of God to shelter me,
The host of God to defend me,
Against the snares of demons,
Against the temptations of vices,
Against the lusts of nature,
Against every man who meditates injury to me,
Whether far or near,
Whether few or with many.

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[3] *Sun.*—Some singular misapprehensions have been made about this verse. It has been thought that the saint invoked the power of the sun as he had invoked the power or virtue of the angels, apostles, and virgins. But, apart from the fact that no Catholic missionary who had come to convert a nation from idolatry could be supposed to be himself a worshipper of false gods, the obvious meaning is that he had, as indeed he proved, full power over these elements, and he bound them to himself on that occasion to serve him as might be necessary for his Master's work.

I have invoked all these virtues
Against every hostile savage power
Directed against my body and my soul,
Against the incantations of false prophets,
Against the black laws of heathenism,
Against the false laws of heresy,
Against the deceits of idolatry,
Against the spells of women, and smiths, and druids,
Against all knowledge which blinds the soul of man.

Christ protect me to-day
Against poison, against burning,
Against drowning, against wound,
That I may receive abundant reward.

Christ with me, Christ before me,
Christ behind me, Christ within me,
Christ beneath me, Christ above me,
Christ at my right, Christ at my left,
Christ in the fort,
Christ in the chariot seat,
Christ in the poop,[4]
Christ in the heart of every man who thinks of me,
Christ in the mouth of every man who speaks to me,
Christ in every eye that sees me,
Christ in every ear that hears me.

I bind to myself to-day
The strong virtue of an invocation of the Trinity,
The faith of the Trinity in unity,
The Creator of elements.

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[4] *Poop.*—(*i.e.*) When travelling by water.

Domini est salus,
Domini est salus,
Christi est salus,
Salus tua Domine sit semper nobiscum.[5]

Dr. Todd has well observed that the Hymn of St. Patrick "notices no doctrine or practice of the Church that is not known to have existed before the fifth century." This observation is another remarkable evidence how educational prejudice blinds men to truth. No one can doubt that Dr. Todd intended by this remark to convey the idea that the Hymn did not contain any Catholic doctrines, for he is fain to believe that such doctrines are modern. But Dr. Todd's observation is literally true, though in a far different sense to that which he intended to convey thereby. It does *not* "notice any doctrine or practice which had not existed before the fifth century."

It commences with an invocation of the adorable Trinity, the Three in One, co-equal and co-eternal. This doctrine had been impugned by the Arians, and was defined by the Ecumenical Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325, and consequently before the fifth century. St. Patrick accepted its definition, as the Catholic world did then, and does now. But the Arians refused to sign

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[6] *Nobiscum.*—The last four lines are in Latin, as given above. Dr. Todd has observed a coincidence of expression between the latter part of the *Lorica* of St. Patrick and a passage in Bishop Andrewes' Devotions. It is more than probable that the Protestant bishop copied from St. Ignatius, and there is a most singular and marked similarity between the well-known prayer *Anima mea* of that saint and a part of St. Patrick's hymn.

the Nicene creed then; and how many members of the Church to which Dr. Todd belonged are there now who really believe the Divinity of Christ—who would, with St. Patrick, invoke the "virtue of the Crucifixion," and say boldly, God has died for me?

Next we find St. Patrick invoking the virtue or power of the seraphim, the prayers of the fathers, the purity of virgins, and the good deeds of the faithful generally; a practice which was unquestionably in use before the fifth century, as the very tombs of the martyrs in the catacombs of Rome testify to this day. And then we find him placing the virtue of these holy men and their good works between him and the ever restless powers of evil, and concluding with the repetition of his invocation of the Trinity—the keystone of our faith. And thus it is that Catholic litanies, and even the Sacrifice of the Mass, commence with the invocation of the Three in One, and conclude with the Three in One also, whose divine assistance is implored either in prayers or blessings.

When Tirechan wrote his Annotations on the Life of our saint in the Book of Armagh, this Hymn was believed to have been composed by St. Patrick. Indeed, its authority has not been questioned. Tirechan informs us that in his time four honors were paid to St. Patrick in all the monasteries and churches in Ireland—another evidence of the antiquity of the *Lorica.* The first of these honors was that the saint's festival was kept for three days and three nights as if Patrick himself had been present; secondly, there was a proper preface for his Mass; thirdly, his Hymn was sung for the whole time; and, fourthly, his Irish Hymn was sung always. The latter is undoubtedly the *Lorica* which he composed in Irish, and of which we have given a translation. His Hymn was the Latin Hymn composed in his honor by St. Sechnall or Secundinus, which will be given at the end of the present volume.[6]

Dr. Petrie has made a suggestion about the *Lorica*, which is founded on a most curious misapprehension. He thinks, because St. Patrick prays in it to be protected against "women, smiths, and druids," that the composition was not considered orthodox, and hence was passed over by Colgan and others. But Dr. Petrie forgot that St. Paul, whose orthodoxy he, at least, would never have questioned, had already declared that the Christian should be armed against many spiritual foes, and that our wrestling is not only against flesh and blood, but is also against "principalities and powers," and the "spirits of wickedness in the high places." We have already explained Dr. Todd's mistake in supposing that St. Patrick invoked the elements.

The first Part of the Tripartite concludes with the prophecy of St. Patrick that none of Laeghaire's children should succeed him on his throne. But justice was ever tempered by mercy, even when the spirit of the times required that stern judgments should be passed on those who rejected the message of peace. Laegeaire's queen begged that the child then in her womb should be exempted from the malediction of her husband's race, and her petition was granted. Lugaidh ascended the throne in A.D. 479, according to the Four Masters, and died in A.D. 508. His death is briefly and not very clearly alluded to in the Tripartite, but no other event of his history is specified there. In the Book of Lecan there is a paragraph about him in which it is said that St. Patrick came to Ireland in his reign; but it is now generally admitted that the paragraph refers to Laeghaire, and that the transcriber must have written the name of the son in mistake for the name of the father.

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[6] *Volume.*—Tirechan writes of the feast of St. Patrick as the "solempnitas dormitationis ejus in medio veris," to distinguish it from other festivals of the saint. The third and fourth honors were :—

> iii Ymnum ejus per totum tempus cantare.
> iiii Canticum ejus Scotticum semper canere.

Colgan probably had never seen this Hymn, as he only alludes to it in his list of St. Patrick's writings.

"These miracles," says the writer of the Tripartite, "live to this day. These are the miracles which the divines of Erinn knew, and which they put under a thread of narrative." The writer of St. Patrick's *Memoir* says, that the account of Lugaidh's exemption from the malediction of his race is inserted in the Tripartite to account for the fact of Lugaidh's having reigned after his father. Yet there is no appearance whatever of its having been an interpolation, and no proof that it is except Dr. Todd's conjecture; and then, arguing on his own conjecture, he states that "this mode of meeting the difficulty can scarcely be considered satisfactory." Surely it may be retorted that this mode of selecting certain circumstances as true, and rejecting other circumstances as false, without any reason whatever, is not satisfactory either.

There can be little doubt that Laeghaire died a pagan. He was overawed for a time by the miracles which St. Patrick performed; but even the miracles of Christ failed to convince many who beheld them. Yet they could not deny the power thus made visible to them, and fear produced a temporary submission. The year before Laeghaire's death he had attempted to enforce the Boromean tribute, and he was taken prisoner by the Leinster men, at a place called Ath-dara, a ford on the river Barrow. Here he was obliged to take the usual oath of the ancient Irish Celt, and to swear by the sun, and the wind, and the elements, that he would never again come against them. The following year he broke his oath, and renewed the war. He died soon after, apparently by a stroke of lightning, or some such visitation, for the pagan annalists declared that the "sun and the wind killed him" because he had violated his oath.[7]

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[7] *Oath.*—Once more I am obliged, with great regret, to refer to Dr. Todd's *Memoir.* He most unjustly charges the "Franciscan friars," who wrote the Annals of the Four Masters, with "paganism," for representing the sun and wind to have taken vengeance upon Laeghaire. Yet even in the very sentence in which he makes the charge he disproves it unconsciously, by saying that "this is the language *copied,*" &c. One should have thought that the most ordinary intellect would have seen that people do not necessarily believe what they "copy." No one would have been more severe on the same friars than this writer if they had not "copied," and copied faithfully, every reliable document they could get.

Even the fashion of his burial proved what an inveterate pagan he died. He was buried, by his own desire, on the ramparts of Tara, in his "armor of valor," with his face turned southwards, towards the Leinster men, as if he were fighting with them.

St. Patrick's great object appears to have been to meet the people at public places, where multitudes were assembled; and this in a country where the population was so scattered, and where so much work had to be accomplished, is one of the many evidences of his great wisdom. It was with this object in view that he proceeded to Aonach Tailtenn, now Telltown, in the county Meath, on Easter Monday.[8] An annual fair was held here, at which multitudes assembled, to assist at, or to be entertained by the games. This town is situated mid-way between Navan and Kells, and, according to an ancient tradition, in pagan times all marriages were celebrated here. The tradition, however, wants historical evidence, and probably had its origin from the number of matrimonial engagements contracted at the public festivals held here.

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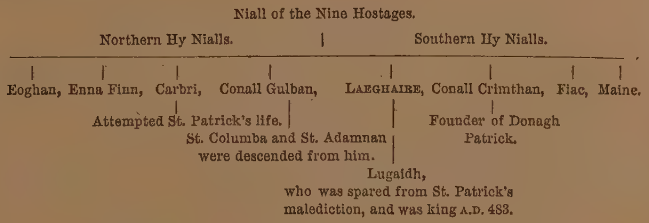
[8] *Monday.*—Tripartite. "Prima feria venit Patricius ad Taltenam." The sentence is given in Latin in the Irish manuscript. Lanigan observes—"That this was Easter Monday is clear from a passage lower down, which, after the account given of the saint's transactions with Carbri and Conall, runs thus: 'Paschæ quoque clausula finita, prima feria exiit,' &c. These two passages appeared as quotations from some old Latin work, and are therefore entitled to a certain degree of credit."—*Ec. Hist.* vol. i., p. 236. Good Dr. Lanigan probably was entirely unacquainted with ancient Irish MSS., and hence did not know that what he conjectured to be a quotation was a usual fashion of writing at that period. All our ancient Irish MSS. are interspersed with Latin sentences.

St. Patrick now visited two of Laeghaire's brothers, Carbri and Conall. The famous Niall of the Nine Hostages had eight sons, four of whom were the progenitors of the Northern Hy Nialls, the other four of the Southern Hy Nialls. Their genealogical table is given below, as it will be a matter of interest in connection with our record of St. Patrick's missionary labors :—


Niall of the Nine Hostages.
Northern Hy Nialls.
Southern Hy Nialls.
Eoghan,
Enna Finn,
Carbri,
Conall Gulban,
LAEGHAIRE,
Conall Crimthan,
Fiac,
Maine.
Attempted St. Patrick's life.
St. Columba and St. Adamnan were descended from him.
Founder of Donagh Patrick.
Lugaidh, who was spared from St. Patrick's malediction, and was king A.D. 483.

Carbri attempted, or at least wished, for it is not clear whether the attempt was made or not, to kill St. Patrick and his followers, by throwing them into the river *Sele*, now the Blackwater, in Meath. For this crime the saint pronounced a solemn malediction on him, and, as a punishment, deprived the river of its salmon. Such judgments were of absolute necessity in an age of violence, and where striking examples were needed to produce an impression on the multitude. Patrick then proceeded to Conall Crimthan, whose residence was at Donagh Patrick, and here he was favorably received, and the site of a church was granted to him.

It was on the Easter Wednesday of this memorable week, that what was called St. Patrick's Baptism took place, the festival of which was kept anciently on the 5th of April. Those who are familiar with the ecclesiastical history of the early Church, will remember that Easter week was specially chosen as a time for public baptism. The neophytes were clothed in white garments; the paschal rejoicings, and the memory of Christ's resurrection, by the virtue of which we also are raised to a new life in the waters of regeneration, made the season peculiarly appropriate. Even if we had not reliable tradition for the fact, we might well suppose that St. Patrick would wish to have a public and solemn administration of the Sacrament of Baptism. He had probably baptized but few of his converts publicly, and only those whom he knew were enlightened and prepared by some very special grace. These, we may believe, helped him to instruct those who had received his teaching at Tara and at Telltown; and some thousands of those thus assembled were now to receive the grace of regeneration.

In the waters of the historic Boyne the first public baptisms were celebrated in ancient Erinn.

The 5th of April, A.D. 433, fell upon a Wednesday, according to the calculation of Dr. Lanigan; that it fell somewhere about this date there can be no question. Thus, we have the very day, and, almost to a certainty, the very date of this great event. It is probable that the baptism took place not far from the present town of Kells.[9]

Before we proceed further with the Life of St. Patrick, it must be remembered that from this date there is considerable difficulty in following the regular sequence of events. Can I be pardoned for once more calling attention to the fact that the writers of the Lives of the Saints, whether Celtic or Saxon, Roman or Frank, were incomparably more anxious to give details of their good works, and the miracles attributed to them, than to afford their readers a critical analysis of their lives?

How great was the pains which they took to be accurate in their statements, is acknowledged even by their enemies. They believed that the saints were endowed with "power from on high" to work miracles; hence they did not find it necessary to refer them to "natural causes," or to question them. This is especially the case with the Life of St. Patrick written by Probus. He has divided his work into two parts. The first part contains a well connected narrative of St. Patrick's life, from his birth to this memorable Easter week. It is quite evident that he considered this the culminating event of his apostleship, as well he might. The King of Erinn, though not converted to the Faith, had at least been so far subdued as to submit exteriorly to the power of the apostle. His queen had followed his example, and obtained even for her unborn child an exemption from malediction. The chief bard of the nation was an earnest convert; his example could not fail to influence multitudes; and the two principal magi of the land—the men who had hitherto been accredited with supernatural power, and revered as the teachers of the nation in their comparatively pure worship of fire and elements—they also had fallen beneath the power of these very elements, making it evident that their gods could not protect them.

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[9] *Kells.*—Usher, quoting from the Book of Sligo, mentions "the three Wednesdays of Patrick, his birth, baptism, and death." The baptism was, undoubtedly, not his own, but the first public celebration of that sacrament which was commemorated in the early Irish Church.

It is true that the great majority of the people were still pagan. But St. Patrick, with consummate—should we not rather say with heavenly—wisdom, had commenced boldly by preaching to the ard-righ, the princes, and the chiefs, knowing that through their influence and example the multitude could be most easily reached. Henceforth, wherever he journeyed on his apostolic mission, the fame of his success, the prestige of his miracles, and the submission of the rulers, would obtain for him at least a patient hearing.

Probus apparently thought that in his second book it would only be necessary to collect together the principal incidents of the missionary life of our glorious saint. He concludes the first book thus:—

> "These things being accomplished [*his ita gestis*], the holy Patrick, according to the precept of our Lord Jesus Christ, resolving to teach all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, departed from Themoria [Tara], and preached

everywhere throughout Ireland ; the Lord co-operating with him, and confirming his words by the signs following.[1]

The second book then commences, and is headed, *Of the Miracles and Death of St. Patrick.*

The writer begins by stating that he purposes herein to relate the miracles and death of our "Father, St. Patrick," and with God's assistance to compile his little work. Various miracles and circumstances of the life of the saint, are then recorded with a rare and touching simplicity. These we shall also record presently.

The narrative of the Tripartite is also irregular, but there is some attempt at relating the regular order of events ; and, on the whole, it may be taken as a guide for the biography of our saint. A folio of the original MS. is missing, but Colgan's translation is so faithful, that the loss can easily be supplied from his version. The arrangement of the Life of St. Patrick in the Book of Armagh closely resembles the Life by Probus ; and, no doubt, was the model on which the latter was written. Here, also, we find the very same paragraph as that which we have translated above from Probus; and Miarchu-Maccutheni also states, after relating the important events of Easter week at Tara, that St. Patrick went forth to preach according to the precept of our divine Lord, and that his words were confirmed by the signs which followed. He then also proceeds to give an account of these "signs." Jocelyn, the last writer of a Life of our saint, has continued his narrative without any division of books; and, apparently, after relating St. Patrick's visit to Tara, has related his miracles without much regard to chronological order.

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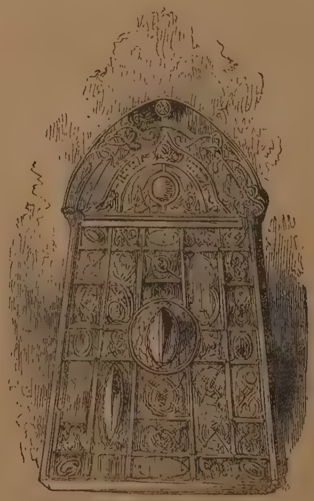
[1] *Following.*—Colgan, p. 51.

The First Life in Colgan is the hymn of St. Fiacc, which is rather a panegyric than a biography. The Second Life [Vita Secunda] concludes abruptly with St. Patrick's visit to Tara; and I am strongly of opinion, that some history of St. Patrick was written during his lifetime, and that this history was used as the basis of the first part of the Life by Probus, and the Tripartite.



COVER OF ST. PATRICK'S BELL.

Chapter VII.

Saint Patrick blesses the plain of Tara.

CONALL presented his house at Rath-Airthic to St. Patrick for a church, and the saint in return gave some special blessing to this part of the plain of Tara, so that "none should be slain there." At the conclusion of Easter week, the saint left Conall, and on the first *feria*, i.e., the Monday after Low Sunday, he went to a place called the *Ford of the Two Tribes*, which Colgan says was in Meath. Here he placed three of his disciples, and a nun—a devout woman, whose innocence and purity is said to have given her a singular power over the animal creation. A church was then founded at *Druim Chorcorthri*,[2] where St. Patrick placed his nephew, Diarmid, the son of Restitutus.

Again we find mention of St. Patrick's altar stone, as an object of miraculous intervention, and a subject of special veneration. After St. Patrick's visit to Lower Kells, he returned to Conall, who was one of his most beloved disciples. Here he left his altar stone as a special mark of his favor to the good prince. But, as he promised, from thence "the stone of the altar, moving through the air, without any person touching it, followed him to the place where the cross is now (*ubi nunc crux*), at the mill near the river."[3] The saint, however, brought the stone back, and placed it again at *Domhnach-patric*, where he fixed it, and left it "importable," predicting that many miracles should be performed there by the power of Christ, the true corner-stone. He also declared that a special judgment should befall any person who should attempt to move the altar stone, or who should violate the sanctuary which he established in that church.

In A.D. 722, Cinaeth, the son of Irgalach, King of Tara, slew a person who had fled here for protection, and the stone emitted three streams of pure blood,

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[2] *Druim Chorcorthri*, now Drumconrath, the barony of Lower Slane, county Meath. Archdall, "Mon. Hib.," p. 532, observes that Chorcothrai is a small territory not far from Tara, but gives no clue to the exact locality. The name, however, is preserved in the townland of Corcarna, parish of Moylogue, and barony of Lower Kells, some four or five miles west of Drumconra.

[3] *River.*—Colgan, p. 130. This portion of the Tripartite is missing from the original Irish MS., which wants several folios.

The Vision of the Synod of Clerics.

which ceased not to flow until reparation had been made for the sacrilege.[4]

St. Patrick founded a great number of churches at this time, but as the names and particulars are given in the translation of the Tripartite, it will not be necessary to give them here.

When relating the particulars of the conversion and baptism of Erc, the son of Digo, Tirechan mentions some curious and singular details. St. Patrick inquired of his convert why he had risen up when all the rest remained seated, and Erc, or Hercus, as he is called in the Book of Armagh, replied, "Why, I know not—I see sparks of fire going up from thy lips to my lips." Then the saint asked, "Wilt thou receive the baptism of the Lord, which I have with me?" He answered, "I will receive it." Then they went to the fountain Loigles, or the *Calf of the Cities*,[5] a well within the fort or enclosure of Tara, and here the saint "opened his book," and baptized Erc and many thousand men.

A court had assembled to see the new ceremony; some of them mocked, and others conversed together as men would at a public meeting in which they felt more curiosity than devotion. Patrick overheard the conversation of two of the chieftains, who stood near him; one was inquiring from whence the other had come, and the one who was thus questioned replied: "I am Endeus, son of Amalgaid, son of Fiacha, son of Eochaidh, from the western regions, from the plain of Domnon, and from the wood of Fochlut."

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[4] *Sacrilege.*—This is also told by Lynch, "Cambrensis Eversus," vol. ii., p. 25. It would fix the date of the transcription of this copy of the Tripartite after 722. It should be observed also that the writer mentions the cross which had been placed where the altar stone stopped.

[5] *Cities.*—From *Laog*, a calf, and *Les*, a fort, or city.

The wood of Fochlut! What recollections were aroused by the name! It was from this wood, from the western sea, that Patrick had heard the voices of the Celtic children yet unborn, who called him to come and help them. He had come, and we may well imagine that he "rejoiced greatly," as Tirechan records, when he heard these words.

The saint had, no doubt, intended to visit this part of Ireland as soon as possible, and now a special opportunity seemed offered to him. He turned to Endeus at once, and said: "I will go with thee if I be alive, for the Lord hath said unto me to go." Endeus, however, made some objection; he probably knew that some of the Irish princes were unfavorably disposed towards Patrick, and he feared his own safety if he accompanied him. But the saint assured him that he had come to Tara on his account, even as Joseph was providentially sent before the children of Israel into Egypt, and that his safety would be insured by having him for his companion. Endeus consented, but requested that Patrick would baptize his son, who was of tender years, saying that he and his brother would not "believe" until they went to their own country, because they feared being mocked as Erc had been.

St. Patrick baptized Conall and "pronounced a blessing upon him." The boy was confided then by the saint to the care of Cethire,[6] the bishop, who brought him up. It is probable, however, that this was not done until St. Patrick came to Tirawley.

Amalgaidh[7] had eight sons by his wife Tresi, sister of Ængus Mac Nadfraich, King of Munster, and seven sons by another wife, Erca, daughter of Eochaidh, King of Leinster. With such a family it is a matter of little surprise that contentions arose about property. Endeus was the eldest son, and he had gone to Tara with his six brothers to get some dispute settled there by the Ard-righ. It would appear, that after his interview with St. Patrick, he had asked his intervention also, and that the king and the saint concurred in desiring the brothers to divide the property between them, but to recognize the claim of Endeus to the chieftainship. But Endeus promptly offered his portion as well as his sons "to the God of Patrick, and to Patrick." "For this reason," concludes Tirechan, "some say that we are the servants of Patrick to the present day." From these words, it appears probable that Tirechan himself was a descendant of this family; but nothing definite is known of him except that he was the disciple of St. Ultan of Ardbraccan.

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[6] *Cethire.*—Commemorated in the Martyrology of Donegal on the 16th June.

[7] *Amalgaidh* (pronounced Awley). The barony of Tirawley, in the county Mayo, takes its name from him. Dr. Todd, in despite of Tirechan's plain statement to the contrary, says that St. Patrick "must" have met Endeus after the year 449, because Amalgaidh died in that year, and it is "difficult to imagine" that any dispute could have taken place in his lifetime. Perhaps it would be wisest not to imagine at all. A cursory acquaintance with Irish history proves that a *casus belli* was seldom wanted either for public or private feuds. Tirechan expressly states that St. Patrick visited Fochlut in the "second Easter"—"*Pasca secunda;*" and the Tripartite says that Amalgaidh *was* baptized by St. Patrick, with his sons. So much for Dr. Todd's "imagination."

It is noteworthy that the same authority informs us of an agreement made by St. Patrick with the sons of Amalgaidh, for his safe conduct to their country. "He paid," says Tirechan, "a sum of money in gold and silver, equal to the price of fifteen souls of men, as he himself in his writings declares [ut in scriptione sua affirmat], that no violent men might hinder them in their passage across all Ireland." This is a clear allusion to the passage in St. Patrick's Confession, where he says that "he gave presents to the kings, besides the cost of keeping their sons who walked with me, in order that they should not seize me with my companions. . . . And I think I paid them the price of not less than fifteen men," &c.

As this passage is not in the copy of the Confession contained in the Book of Armagh, it is a valuable corroboration of the Confession as given by other authorities, and of the value of Tirechan's annals.[8]

But the saint had a great work to accomplish before his departure from Tara. The seat of government was, as might be expected, not far from the chief druidical establishment in the country. Tiernmas had introduced the worship of idols, as early as B.C. 1620; and it was then that the great idol Crom Cruach was set up for public veneration. The very name of the plain in which it stood, Magh Slecht, or the plain of adoration, showed that even the site was connected with the idolatry practised there. This, indeed, is expressly stated by the Four Masters, who also record that Tiernmas died there, with three-fourths of the men of Erin about him, on the night of Samhain[9] precisely.

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[8] *Annals.*—Dr. Todd has the following note in reference to this subject. "The foregoing passage is not in the Book of Armagh; but as it is so plainly referred to by Tirechan, it must have been in his copy of the Confession in the seventh century, when the original autograph was in existence. We must, therefore, be cautious in rejecting the evidence of what I have, for convenience' sake, called the 'interpolations,' that is, the passages not in the Book of Armagh."—"Memoir," p. 446, n. 6. What a pity that Dr. Todd was not always equally cautious!

According to the Dinnsenchus, this was the principal idol of all the colonies who settled in Ireland from time to time, and they were wont to offer to it the firstlings of animals and other gifts. The plain of Magh Slecht was situated in the present county Cavan, and in the barony of Tullyhaw; and here St. Patrick journeyed to destroy this famous idol; a bold deed and a brave one, yet it was all-important. He had proved to the Celt that his God was the master of the elements, which they worshipped and feared; he needed also that he should prove his power over the idols which they had believed all-powerful for centuries.

It is by no means certain what was the form or exact appearance of the Crom Cruach. The name signifies the bent or stooping monument. It is called the Cenn

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[9] *Samhain*.—All Hallows' Eve—so called by the Irish to the present day. It is compounded of *Sam* summer, and *hain*, end.—*Four Masters*, vol i., p. 43.

Cruach in the Tripartite—and there it is said that it was made of gold and silver, and that it was surrounded by twelve other idols, formed of bronze. Dr. Todd evidently inclines to the idea that it was a pillar stone, which is by no means improbable. A stone was long preserved at Clogher which had been dedicated to an idol called Kermand Kelstach, which was covered with plates of gold. The celebrated *Lia Fail*, or stone of destiny, if not exactly worshipped as an idol, was certainly held in considerable veneration; and tradition avers that there was a certain rock near the present town of Kilmacthomas, called *Cloch-Lobhrais*, which used to give forth oracular responses in pagan times.

The destruction of the Crom Cruach is thus related in the Tripartite :—

> "Patrick, after that, went over the water to Magh Slecht, where stood the chief idol of Erinn, i.e., Cenn Cruaich, ornamented with gold and with silver, and twelve other idols, ornamented with brass, around him. When Patrick saw the idol from the water which is named *Guthard* [loud voice] (i.e., he elevated his voice), and when he approached near the idol, he raised his arm to lay the Staff of Jesus on him, and it did not reach him. He went back from his attempt upon his right side, for it was to the south his face was; and the mark of the Staff lives in his side still, although the Staff did not leave Patrick's hand; and the earth swallowed the other twelve idols to their heads, and they are in that condition, in commemoration of the miracle. And he called upon all the people cum rege Laeghaire; they it was that adored the idol. And all the people saw him (i.e., the demon), and they demanded their dying if Patrick had not sent him to hell."

A great battle took place on this very plain in 1256, and the site has been described so carefully and accurately that Mr. O'Curry remarks :—

> "It is fully clear, that, if any man fairly acquainted with our ancient native documents, and practised in the excavation of the ruined monuments of antiquity so thickly scattered over the face of our country—if, I say, such a man were to go with this article in his hand, and an extract from the Life of St. Patrick, he may, perhaps, discover the identical *Crom Cruach* himself with his twelve buried satellites, where they fell and were interred when struck down by St. Patrick with his crozier, the *Bachall Iosa,* or sacred Staff of Jesus."

This idol was also called *Crom-dubh,* and it is remarkable that the next Sunday before All Saints is called by Irish-speaking people Cromduff Sunday. It is more than probable that the day was so named in commemoration of St. Patrick's destruction of the idol. This is precisely the date at which it is most probable that the miracle of its destruction occurred; and as the great festival of the idol was held on the 1st of November, it is likely that he would have effected its overthrow before that event. Such a miracle would be long remembered by the people, and they would naturally remember the day on which it occurred by some such significant appellation.

St. Patrick having now accomplished his great work in Meath and the adjacent districts, prepared for his journey to that western shore which he had so long desired to visit. It is probable that the saint travelled in a straight line across the country, either from the plain of Magh Slecht, where he had destroyed the idol, or from Tara, which he may have revisited before leaving that part of Ireland for his distant mission. The Tripartite states that he went over *Snamh-da-en*, where he forded the Shannon miraculously, and that his charioteer, Buadmael, died, and was buried here immediately after his landing. It is remarkable, and a matter of great interest both to the archæologist and the hagiographer, how accurately nearly every site mentioned in the ancient Lives of St. Patrick can be identified. There is, in fact, a coincidence and coherence of narrative and known facts of topography and history, which render the details of the Life of St. Patrick of the most unquestionable authenticity.

Snamh-da-en[1] was the ancient name of that part of the Shannon which lies between Clonmacnoise and Clonburren. Thus we can point out the very part of that noble river where the saint crossed. At Cill Buaidh he founded a church, probably on or near the site of the present church of Killemry, to the west of Lough Ree. The saint then proceeded to *Magh-nai*, a plain in the county Roscommon, wishing, as usual, to proceed direct to Cruachan,[2] the ancient palace of the kings of Connaught. This plain was situated between the towns of Roscommon, Elphin, Castlerea, and Strokestown. Here he was met by two brothers who were druids, Mael and Caplait, and who were said to have fostered two daughters of King Laeghaire, Ethna the Fair, and Fethlema the Ruddy. Those druids tried to exercise their magical arts, and brought darkness over the plain, which was dispelled by the saint. He then visited Elphin and other places in Connaught, where he founded churches. As these foundations are recorded fully in the Tripartite, it will be unnecessary to mention them here.

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[1] *Snamh-da-en.*—The swimming or passage of the two birds. See O'Donovan, "Hy-Many," p. 5.

[2] *Cruachan.*—Top. Poems, p. xxxiii.

There was a well or fountain, called Clebach,[3] on the slope of the royal fort or palace of Cruachan, where the women were accustomed to bathe at sunrise: when Ethna and Fethlema arrived at this place one morning, they found the saint there with a "synod of clerics with white garments and their books before them."[4] The maidens were amazed at what they deemed a heavenly apparition; and one, more courageous than the rest, began to question the saint:—whence, she asked, had they come? Were they *sidhes*,[5] or gods of the earth, or a phantasm?

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[3] *Clebach.*—This word signifies a fox or wolf. There is still a well at the Rath, which is surrounded by a double fosse. For details of this most curious and interesting remain, see O'Donovan's note under the year 1223.

[4] *Them.*—So in the Book of Armagh and the Tripartite. But Probus expressly says that Patrick had three bishops and many clerics with him. (See Colgan, pp. 53, 54: in our copy of Colgan, 54 is misprinted 58.)

[5] *Sidhe.*—This was the name given by the Irish to fairies who inhabited the hills. It is doubtful whether the word is cognate with the Latin root *sedes*, or with the Celtic *side*, a blast. The conversation between Laeghaire's daughters and St. Patrick will be given in full in the translation of the Tripartite.

Then they inquired where the God of these strange men lived? was he beautiful? was he rich? and then they asked whether he was in the elements which they worshipped, "in the sea or in rivers, in mountains or in valleys?" But last of all they asked, how is He to be loved, and how is He to be found?

The saint was not slow to reply to their eager questioning. He told them of the one true God, more powerful than all, more beautiful than all. He it was who had created these elements, who was the God of heaven, and earth, and seas, and rivers; the Life of all things—the Light of all things—the ever blessed Three in One. And then, having instructed them as fully as might be in the Church's Creed, he added, with that inimitable grace, in which saintly souls so often excel: "But I desire to unite you to the Heavenly King, inasmuch as you are the daughters of an earthly king."

Then the virgins implored the saint to teach them how to believe in this Heavenly King, that they "might see Him face to face."

"And Patrick said: 'Believe ye that by baptism you put off the sins of your father and your mother?' They answered, 'We believe.'

"'Believe ye in repentance after sin?' 'We believe.'

"'Believe ye in life after death? Believe ye the Resurrection at the Day of Judgment?' 'We believe.'

"'Believe ye the unity of the Church?'[6] 'We believe.'"

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[6] *Church.*—This is from Dr. Todd's translation of the original as it stands in the Book of Armagh. In the Irish version of the Tripartite this question is omitted. It is observable, however, that Probus has it (*Quinta Vita*—Colgan, p. 58, *recte* 54): "Creditis unitatem sanctæ Ecclesiæ?"

Then, writes the ancient chronicler, Patrick baptized them, and put a white garment upon their heads, and they "asked to see the face of Christ." So great was the fervor of these young and noble converts, that nothing but the Beatific Vision could satisfy them. Most blessed ones, pray for us also, that we, too, with you, may see the face of Christ ere long!

But Patrick told them they must pass through the dark portals of death before they entered the gates of Life, and that they must also "receive the Sacrifice, if they would see their Lord." They answered, "Give us the Sacrifice, that we may behold the Son our Spouse." How many holy virgins have asked and obtained this same grace, both before and since! and, though it has not been granted to many to pass, as those noble ladies did, from earth to heaven, the moment after receiving the Sacrament of Love, yet such instances are known and recorded in ecclesiastical history.[7]

Then the holy maidens were laid to rest together, as was indeed most fitting, in one bed, and covered with one garment. And their friends wept for them, even while they rejoiced, virgins, following the Virgin Lamb, in white raiment, in the heavenly kingdom. When the days of mourning [*ululationis*] for the king's daughters were accomplished, they were buried near the well Clebach, where they had first seen the saint. The grave was made according to the pagan custom like a *Ferta*, but, adds Tirechan, with us it is called Reliquiæ, that is, the remains of the virgins. Nor can we doubt that the ground was consecrated wherein these holy relics were placed, for the writer states expressly that the *Ferta*, with the bones of the holy virgins, was granted to Patrick and to his heirs for ever, and that he built a church of earth near the place. In doing this, indeed, he would only follow the usual custom of the Holy Catholic Church, which ever loved to offer the Adorable Sacrifice in or near the place where the saints reposed.

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[7] *History.*—In or about the year 1277, Brother Bernard, a Dominican, died after celebrating the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, on Holy Thursday, with two of his novices, one at each side, who had served his Mass. The whole narrative is far too long to insert here, but it may be read at length in *Catholic Legends*, published by Burns and Co., London, p. 37. The fact that their death was a special favor granted to them by our Divine Lord, and foretold by Him, seems to be well authenticated. Dr. Lanigan, always inclined to be sceptical, has endeavored to explain away this passage by saying that probably it only referred to the religious profession of the virgins (*Ec. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 241); but this is obviously impossible.

How few ever give a thought to the memory of the virgins as they pass the old rath of the Heremonian chieftains! Yet there is scarcely a spot throughout the whole of Ireland which is not consecrated by some saintly memorial. Here some great miracle was performed, there some church was founded by Patrick himself; in this place he preahced to thousands, in that river he baptized thousands. Why do not our people

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[4] *Reposed.*—The Tripartite says, "And *Sen-domhnagh* of *Magh-ai* was presented to Patrick in æternum." And others say the relics of the maidens were brought to *Ard-Macha*, and there they await the resurrection, *et ibi resurrectionem expectant.* The plain of Magh-ai, now Mochaine, extended from the town of Roscommon to the barony of Boyle, and from the bridge of Cloonfree, near Strokestown, to Castlerea.—*Book of Rights*, p. 104.

treasure up these holy memories? Why are they not taught them, and reminded of them? Better the memory of holy deeds and saintly lives, than the angry memories, too long cherished, of oppression and wrong.

It will be remembered that St. Patrick went to Connaught in the "second Easter." So it is probable that the death of these holy virgins took place between Easter and Whitsuntide. The two magi were converted, and the circumstances attending their conversion led to the use of a proverb, *Calvus is like Caplait*, because the one was shaven after the other. St. Patrick remained seven years in Connaught, according to Tirechan, and the author of the Tripartite. It would be useless to give a list of the churches which he founded there, in the present part of this work, as it will be given fully, with careful identifications of each site, in the translation of the Tripartite. There are, however, some points of interest and importance, which shall be noticed here. Not the least remarkable of these is the visit of the saint to the wood of Fochlut, near the present town of Killala. It will be remembered how deeply moved he had been by even the very mention of the name, while at the court of King Laeghaire at Tara; how great, then, his emotion must have been when he beheld the very site, and walked in the wood from which he had been called "to come over and help the Irish Celt." As he approached the place he was met by two virgins, the daughters of a chieftain named Gleran, who are said to have been the very children whose voices he had heard in Gaul. Their names were Crebrea and Laissair, and St. Patrick, after giving them the veil, placed them over a religious house which he founded. Their relics were preserved at the church of Kil-fhorclann, on the banks of the Moy, about a mile west of Cross-patrick.[9]

This being accomplished, the saint proceeded to the place where the clan Amalgaidh usually assembled, in order to fulfil his promise to Endeus, and assist in dividing the inheritance. Here his preaching was crowned with wonderful success, and assisted by wonderful miracles. One of these miracles was the resuscitation of a sister of Aengus named Feidelm, who had died some time before. The prince had promised to believe if Patrick would restore her to life. As soon as the saint arrived at *Forrach-nec-Amalghaidh*,[1] he went with Conall to the grave by the lower road to *Cill-Alaidh.* Aengus, however, went by the upper road, but his reason for so doing is not mentioned. When the saint had reached the grave, he resuscitated the woman, who was pregnant. After her baptism she preached to the people of the "pains of hell and the rewards of heaven," and brought her brother with tears to believe "for God and Patrick." He, then, also received the Sacrament of Regeneration, and 12,000 people were baptized on that day in the well of *Aen-Adharrac.*[2] Here St. Patrick left St. Manchen to govern the church which he founded.

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[9] *Cross-patrick.*—The Tripartite says: "It was they that called upon Patrick from their mother's womb, when he was in the islands of the Tyrrhene Sea." They are patronesses in *Cill-Forglainn*, to the west of *Muaidh.*

[1] *Forrach-nec-Amalghaidh.*—The assembly grounds of the tribe of Amalgaidh. Dr. O'Donovan has identified the site. It is in the present parish of Ballisakeery, near the mouth of the Moy, between Ballina and Killala. The name even is yet to be found in the townland of Farragh, in that parish, and there are two hills in the neighborhood, either of which may have been the very site whereon St. Patrick preached to the princes and people of Tirawley on this occasion. One hill is called *Mulloch Fharraidh*, the Hill of the Assembly; the other *Cnoc-a-tirrol*, the Hill of the Meeting.

Probus records St. Patrick's visit to *Cruachan Aighle*[3] as having taken place immediately after these events. The Tripartite says Patrick went to *Cruachan Aighle* on the Saturday of Whitsuntide, but the event is mentioned quite apart from the circumstances related above. Jocelyn has not attempted any very regular sequence in his history, and the account comes near the end of the Life, but he says St. Patrick passed the Lent on this mountain. Tirechan, in the Book of Armagh, mentions St. Patrick's visit to *Cruachan Aighle* immediately after the baptism and death of Ethna and Fethlema. All the accounts of this remarkable and important period of his history are, however, substantially the same; indeed it is not a little remarkable that so many authors, writing under such different circumstances, in different countries, and at different periods, should have coincided so accurately in every detail. This one circumstance in itself is strong confirmatory evidence of the authenticity of what they have related.

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[2] *Aen-Adharrac.*—The one-horned hill. In the Book of Armagh the well is called *Tober-en adare.* A remarkable instance of the power to resuscitate the dead, granted by God to the saints, is mentioned in the Life of St. Colette, where we are told that she restored a nun to life who had been dead for several days, and was lying in her coffin in the church when the miracle took place. A picture was long preserved at Poligny, where the miracle occurred.—"St. Clare, St. Colette, and the Poor Clares," pp. 229-233.

[3] *Cruachan Aighle.*—The Hill of the Eagle, now Croagh Patrick, or Patrick's Hill, in the south-west of the county Mayo. There is a singular and very beautiful family likeness in the lives of the saints. Thus we find in the Life of St. Francis of Assisi that he spent a "Lent" on the mountains of Alvernia, before the Feast of St. Michael, in the year 1224, where our Divine Lord appeared to him several times, and promised special favors for his order.—"St. Francis and the Franciscans," p. 190.

It is probable the Tripartite gives the most correct account of the time during which St. Patrick kept his forty days and nights of fasting and vigil upon this mountain. If he visited Tirawley during the second Easter after his arrival in Ireland, as we gather from the Book of Armagh, he would have been occupied until Pentecost with his mission there. He may then well have desired some weeks of retirement for prayer and special penitential exercises, which, after the sacraments, are the great source of strength for the Catholic missionary. His humility, also, may have made him wish to retire for a time from those who had witnessed his wonderful miracles, and who might ignorantly refer them to his power, instead of to the power of God.

Alone upon the mountain, the saint watched and prayed and wept for forty days and forty nights. How many graces and blessings may we owe even now to the intercession of our great apostle during that period of penance and intercession! At its close, the demons came to torment him, in the shape of birds, whose black forms kept from him the light of heaven and the sight of earth. He prayed, saying the Psalms of holy David, in which the maledictions of heaven were invoked upon the powers of darkness. Then he rang his bell—the bell which he appears to have carried with him everywhere, and which, no doubt, was specially blessed,

> "To drive all demons from the upper air."

Then he threw the bell[4] amongst them in holy anger, so that a piece was broken from it. But God, for His own wise purposes, permitted all these efforts to fail, perhaps to show the saint that no efforts, however holy, could avail against the powers of darkness, as long as God was pleased to permit that he should be tried by them. Patrick now began to weep so abundantly that the front of his *casula* was wet, and then the angel came to him. Thus also do the angels come to us—not, indeed, always in visible form, as they appeared to our great apostle and father, but not less surely and truly, when God's providence rescues us from the danger which has caused us also many fears and many anxious hours.

The angel was probably Victor, who so constantly attended the saint, and appeared to him on so many occasions. He cleaned the casula, and brought white birds about the mountain, and they sang "sweet melodies"[5] for the apostle, now freed from the attacks of the powers of darkness. The trial had been borne, the victory was attained, the reward was about to follow. In the Lives of the Saints we find many similar circumstances: after a period of prayer and penance in which the body has suffered, spiritual favors follow, and the soul, the true life, gains a thousand-fold, even in this world, of nearness to God, and of special tokens of His divine approbation. How could it be otherwise, when such persons have but followed the example of the Son in whom He was well pleased?

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[4] *Bell.*—This is called in the Tripartite *Bernan Brighte*, Brigid's gapped bell. Probus does not mention this, nor does he give any details of St. Patrick's visit to *Cruachan Aighle*.

[5] *Melodies.*—Thus, also, in the Life of St. Francis of Assisi, we are told frequently how the birds surrounded him, and sang for him. There are some marked resemblances between the Lives of St. Patrick and St. Francis; and

A conversation between St. Patrick and the angel is recorded in the Tripartite, which reminds us of Jacob's declaration to the angel: "*I will not let thee go unless thou bless me*;[6] and of the conversation between St. Francis of Assisi and his guardian angel, as recorded in the annals of the Order. St. Patrick, like St. Francis, asked for souls, and so great, so ardent, so consuming was

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it is also observable that the Franciscans have been *specially* devoted to recording both the history and hagiography of Ireland. The Four Masters were Franciscan friars; Colgan was a Franciscan friar; and many of the Irish annals were compiled by Franciscans.

[6] *Me.—Gen.* xxxii., 25.—As the conversation between the angel and St. Patrick will be given in the Tripartite in full, it has not been considered necessary to insert it here. Since the first part of this work was issued, a very absurd theory has been ventilated by a person, to whose position, for the credit of Catholicity, I will not even allude. It is that the Lives of St. Patrick were made up by students, who wrote essays on this and Irish history generally, and who, when they could not get sufficient material for their essay, invented a miracle. All I can say is, that they were wonderfully gifted. No doubt, anyone could invent a miracle; but how does it happen that all these inventions hang so well together; that places and dates and public events all coincide; that they are confirmed by modern research; and what becomes of the veracity of the compilers of these Lives, who used these "essays." I am pained that any Irishman should have propounded such a theory; I am grieved that it was proposed for the acceptance of a large audience of young men.

his desire for the salvation of his adopted country, that he could not easily be satisfied. It was on this occasion that he obtained for his faithful ones the privilege of releasing "seven every Thursday, and twelve every Saturday, from pains;" and that Erinn should be covered by the sea seven years before the Day of Judgment. Then he was promised special graces for all those who should recite his hymn daily, and that he should at the Day of Judgment save "seven persons for every hair in his *casula;*" and that on the "day when the twelve royal seats shall be on Mount Sion, and the four rivers of fire shall be about the mount, and when the three peoples shall be there, namely, the people of heaven, and the people of earth, and the people of hell, that he should be judge over the men of Erinn on that day." When St. Patrick made this request, the angel went to heaven until the evening, and then he returned to the saint to tell him that his prayer was granted, and to command him to ring his sweet-sounding bell, and kneel down and bless the people of Erinn.

After St. Patrick's descent from the mountain, he visited the country of the *Corco-Themne*, where he founded four churches, and baptized many thousand persons. He also visited a well called *Tobar-Finn-maighe,*[7] where the pagans believed that a god had his residence. This well was covered with an immense stone which the saint removed, and thus destroyed the devotion which the people had for it.

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[7] *Tobar-Finnmaighe.*—Lanigan ("Ec. History," vol. i., p. 227) says that this was in Mayo, but gives no authority. In the Book of Armagh, *Finn-Magh*, or the White Plain, is said expressly to be in Hy-Many, which shows that he was wrong. Dr. O'Donovan has identified the district in the barony of Athlone, County Roscommon. The history of St. Patrick's visit to the well is given very fully in the Book of Armagh.

The veneration which the saint had and always manifested for the cross is specially dwelt upon by his early biographers. It was his custom, as it was also the custom of the early Christians, to sign himself frequently with that sacred symbol ; and, we are told, "he placed the cross of Christ over him one hundred times each day and night." It is more than probable, that the special faith in, and veneration for this pious custom which the Irish Celt has ever manifested, is inherited from our great apostle. So exact was the saint in the practice of exterior reverence to the cross, that whenever he passed a wayside cross, even if it were at some considerable distance, he at once dismounted from his horse or chariot in order to pay due respect to the symbol of our salvation.

On one occasion he passed by a cross without noticing it, but in the evening his charioteer, who had seen it, asked why he had omitted his usual custom. The saint at once rose from his dinner, and went back to the cross. While praying before it, he knew, by some exterior mark, or by a divine intimation, we are not told which, that some one had been buried there. He inquired who it was, and a voice answered him from the tomb : "I am a poor pagan, and I was buried here ; whilst living, I was injuring my soul until I died, and

I was buried here afterwards." The saint inquired why the sign of Christianity had been placed over his grave. The spirit answered: "A certain woman was in foreign lands, and her son was buried here in this country during her absence; and she came from foreign lands, and placed this cross over my grave. She thought it was over the grave of her son it was placed, for she was not able, through grief, to recognize her son's grave."[8]

The saint, after this, caused the cross to be removed to the grave of the Christian. The writer of the Tripartite then abruptly relates how, on one occasion, when Patrick's charioteer wanted his horses, and could not find them in consequence of the darkness of the night, the saint lifted up his hand, and his five fingers illuminated all the plain as if they were five torches, so that the horses were immediately found. Probus, however, gives a fuller account of this miracle, and says that it occurred on the night of Sunday, after a stormy day, during which St. Patrick had been exposed to the fury of the tempest, which came on suddenly, and inundated the whole province—the place where the saint was, however, remained dry.[9]

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[8] *Grave.*—The account of this miracle as given by Probus, differs in detail from that given in the Tripartite and the Book of Armagh.—See Colgan, p. 55.

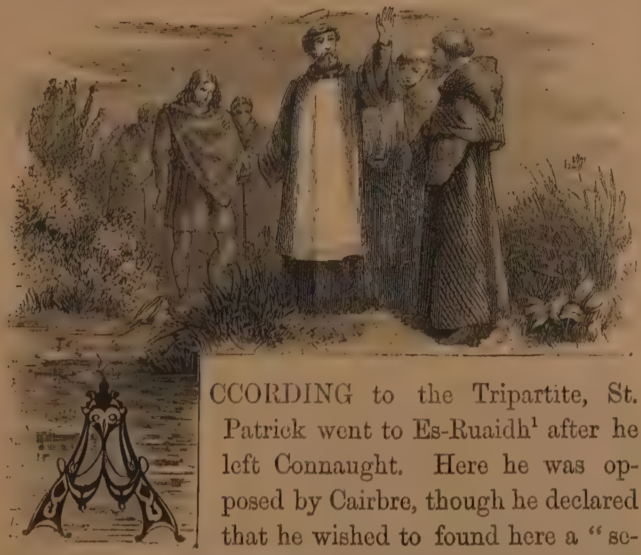
[9] *Dry.*—In the Life of St. Hilarion, we find a curious account of his having blessed some horses which were to run in the public games at Gaza. They were the property of a Christian, and their owner assured the saint that he was obliged to join in these public games on account of his office, and not from inclination. He also informed him that his pagan opponent had bewitched his horses by magical incantations, so that he was continually reproached by the non-Christian population with being unable to defeat them. Under these circumstances, the

St. Patrick remained seven years in Connaught; and then, having established Christianity in that remote region, returned, through the north of Ireland, to his old converts in Meath. The Tripartite thus concludes the narrative of his labors in that part of Ireland: "Thrice Patrick went across the Shannon into the land of Connaught. Fifty bells and fifty altar chalices and fifty altar cloths he left in the land of Connaught, each of them in his church. Seven years was he preaching to the men of Connaught, and he left them a blessing, and bade them farewell."

saint gave him water to bless the horses; the result was a triumphant victory, and the conversion of many of the pagans, who declared that "Marnas, the God of Gaza, was defeated by Christ."

Chapter VIII.

St. Patrick's Labors in Leinster.



ACCORDING to the Tripartite, St. Patrick went to Es-Ruaidh[1] after he left Connaught. Here he was opposed by Cairbre, though he declared that he wished to found here a "second Rome of Letha, with its Tiber running through it." Two of Cairbre's people were specially sent out to oppose him, but they failed, as usual, to prevent the accomplishment of his mission. The saint went afterwards between Es-Ruaidh and the sea into Crich-Conaill. Here he "fixed a stake, and said it would be an abode for seven bishops, and there *Bite,*[2] the brother's son of Aisicus, from Elphin, is." Near this place he predicted the birth of St. Columba, when blessing Conall and Fergus[3] Mac Neill. As he placed his hands upon the head of the latter he said :—

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[1] *Es-Ruaidh.*—Now Assaroe—a cataract on the river Erne, near Ballyshannon, county Donegal.

"A youth shall be born of his tribe,
Who will be a sage, a prophet, a poet."

After the saint had left a blessing on the towns, and forts, and churches, in this part of Donegal, he went to Magh Itha.

A curious and characteristic conversation is recorded to have taken place at *Fidh-mor,*[4] between St. Patrick and Eoghan, son of Nial, and ancestor of the Cinel Eoghain. He complained to the saint that his brother took precedence of him on account of his ugliness, probably in accordance with the Celtic law, which required a chieftain to be free from all personal blemish. The saint inquired what form he would wish to have; and when Eoghan expressed a desire to resemble the appearance of his "satchel-bearer," *Rioc*, of *Inis-bo-fuide*, who was St. Patrick's nephew, and son of his sister, Darerca, he covered both with the one garment at night, and in the morning Eoghan's desire was gratified. But Eoghan had another wish, and this was that his stature should be increased; this, too, he confided to the saint, who obtained for him also the increase in height which he desired. Patrick then blessed Eoghan and his sons, and journeyed on to the royal palace of *Aileach* of the Kings.

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[2] *Bite.*—This was St. Beoadh, Bishop of Ardcarne, in the county Roscommon. He was nephew of St. Asicus, Bishop of Elphin.

[3] *Fergus.*—Son of Conall Gulban ; he was married to Erca, daughter of Loarn Mor, by whom he had a son Felim, the father of St. Columba. In relating this circumstance Dr. Lanigan throws a doubt upon the Tripartite, saying—"If we are to believe the Tripartite." I have been blamed for a want of respect to Dr. Lanigan's memory and services in calling attention to these things ; but surely it is the first duty of a writer to explain, as far as may be, the mistakes of those who have written on the same subject. The remark was indeed only made by one person, strongly prejudiced against the present writer's view of St. Patrick's Life ; but as others may possibly also misapprehend our criticisms, it has seemed advisable to explain them. Predictions are frequently found in the Lives of the Saints, and only an unwise prejudice could induce anyone to discredit the Tripartite narrative because this prediction is contained in it.

[4] *Fidh-mor.*—Now Veagh ; it lies between the church of Donaghmore, of *Magh Itha,* and the royal palace of Aileach. I fear that those who are sceptical about miracles will question this incident. A somewhat similar occurrence is related in the Life of St. Colette, which at least may prevent it from being attributed to the "imagination" of St. Patrick's biographers, or relegated to the invention of a "student." We are told, in the Life of St. Colette,

I am prepared for scorn—I am prepared for laughter, not only from those who utterly disbelieve in the power which God has delegated to His saints, by which He has enabled them to work miracles, but even from those whose faith should teach them better things. It mat-

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that when she was fourteen years of age, her stature was so remarkably diminutive, that her father taunted her with it on many occasions, and declared she would be of no use in their little household. After one of these painful scenes, the young saint, deeply grieved at her real or supposed incapacity to help her parents, resolved to make a pilgrimage to a chapel dedicated to our Blessed Lady, and to ask the favor of an increase in stature. Her prayer was heard, and she obtained, during the night, a miraculous growth; and, in addition, a special dignity and majestic sweetness in her whole carriage which remained her special characteristic through life.—"St. Clare, St. Colette, and the Poor Clares," p. 186.

ters little. Truth is not less truth because it is disbelieved by many. A miracle is none the less true because modern scepticism finds in it some special subject of criticism—some special reason why it "could not" have happened. I have already said so much on the subject of miracles in the introductory chapters, that I am unwilling to enter upon the subject again. No amount of argument will convince a man against his will. Those who have not received the gift of faith are excusable; and there are metaphysical difficulties connected with the whole subject of evidence, which would need more space to explain than can be given here. To others, who are pleased to discredit the miracles recorded in the Life of St. Patrick, and who, nevertheless, would not, perhaps I should say dare not, altogether deny the possibility of a miracle, I can only say—if a miracle can, by the power of God, occur at any time or in any place, why reject the miracles recorded in the Life of St. Patrick? There is no miracle in the Life of St. Patrick for which we may not find a parallel in the life of some other saint. If you discredit the one, you must also, in common consistency, discredit the other.

It should, however, be well and clearly understood, that miracles which have not received the special seal of the Church's approbation, by acceptance for canonization, are to be received as true or rejected as false on the ordinary evidence of human testimony. Now, it may be said by those who believe a miracle is possible, that some of the miracles related in the Lives of our saint may be true and others may not. It may be so, but I admit that I cannot see where the distinction is to be drawn. All are recorded on precisely the same historical testimony—all are supported by precisely the same historical evidence. Deny one miracle, and you have no reason or rational ground for believing the rest. The process of "natural selection" will not avail here. But though it would be impossible to make any line of demarcation, and select certain miracles as true, and reject others as false, it does not therefore follow that any single miracle must, of necessity, be true. All that we can say is, that such miracles are recorded; that, as miracles do occur by God's permission, these may have occurred; and, again, let me earnestly request attention to the important fact, that *there is not a single miracle recorded as having been performed by St. Patrick, for which you may not find a parallel in the life of some other saint.* Hence, the theory that the miracles attributed to St. Patrick are to be discredited, *because* they were frequent, or because they were extraordinary, at once falls to the ground.[5]

There is also a peculiar fitness in these miracles. We need go no further than the one at present under consideration to prove this. What more likely to impress the Cinel Eoghan, than a miracle which showed respect for their prince, regard for their laws, and which was at the same time a supernatural intervention, of which they could not fail to be continually reminded? These brave and rude, but earnest men, with a cultivation peculiarly their own, with the deepest reverence for nobility of appearance, were best influenced by precisely such a miracle as this.

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[5] *Ground.*—I am almost ashamed of so frequently returning to this subject; but it seems of urgent necessity—a recent writer having suggested that the legends of the Irish saints should be "related as Livy does the legends of Roman history." Thus would a German infidel relate what he would call the "legends" of the life of our Divine Lord. We do not doubt that this theory was put forward thoughtlessly; but it is, nevertheless, injurious to a true Catholic treatment of the lives of the saints.

The sons of Eoghan were all destined by Providence to future greatness; and their personal knowledge of such a miracle could not fail to react powerfully for the future advancement of Christianity.

If we had not evidence in the lives of other saints of similar miracles having occurred, this miracle might be relegated to the same class as the legends told by Livy of Roman history; it might be explained away, and all the supernatural element, which some writers would term chaff, might be threshed out, and what such persons would call the wheat of common sense left behind. But we dare not pursue such a course, lest, in the process of sifting, we might unhappily find the pure wheat of truth had been cast aside by the pride of intellect, or an unworthy desire not to shock prejudice by stating boldly our belief in the supernatural. Nor can I for a moment admit that such a course is the wisest, even from a consideration of expediency. Protestant readers are far more likely to respect those who adhere firmly to their principles, and will honor the moral courage of those who boldly admit, even in this age of scepticism, that they believe miracles have happened and do happen, and who do not find it necessary to apologize for them, or to explain them away. Honesty is the best policy, in theology and in literature, as well as in social life. A temporizing policy has, we believe, proved no gain in the way of convincing Protestants of Catholic truth: it has unhappily done no little evil in undermining the faith of Catholics; and many a youth of promise and of early piety becomes a sceptic in after life, because his respect for his faith has been lowered by the injudicious, though unintentional, questioning of miracles, which he has heard from those who, perhaps, scarcely mean all that they have thoughtlessly said.

St. Patrick's next journey, according to the Tripartite, was to Aileach of the Kings.[6] This was the fortified residence of the Northern Hy-Nial kings. Here he prophesied that kingship and pre-eminence should be over Erinn from Aileach, and the prophecy was amply fulfilled. The Northern Hy-Nials held sway over the country for centuries; and the chieftains of this race were the most powerful opposers of foreign invasion until the flight of the Earl of Tyrone.

The saint then visited Magh-dala,[7] where he built seven churches. From thence he proceeded to Tir-Eoghan of the Islands,[8] where he built a hermitage.

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[6] *Aileach of the Kings.*—The remains of this celebrated fort are near the present town of Londonderry. For drawings and description, see the Ordnance Memoir of Templemore.

[7] *Magh-dala.*—The name is still preserved in the river Moyola, which falls into Lough Neagh.

[8] *Tir-Eoghan of the Islands.*—Now Inishowen.

At Bredach he met "the three Deachnans, the sons of Patrick's sister, in the country of Ailell, son of Eoghan, and he ordained Oengus, son of Ailell, in that place, and he remained there on Sunday—Domhnach-bile is its name."

That the custom of erecting seven churches in the same neighborhood was prevalent in Ireland from the time of St. Patrick to the seventh or eighth century, there can be no question. Hence it is difficult to see why Dr. Lanigan should seek to throw discredit on the frequent mention of the erection of seven churches by St. Patrick in various places. It is to be regretted, that an able writer and a pious ecclesiastic should have expended so much argument, and used such contemptuous terms, in alluding to this matter.[9]

If, indeed, it could be proved that it was not customary in ancient Erinn to erect seven churches in the same neighborhood, it would be a sufficient argument against the recurrence of the statement. If these churches were originally erected of costly material, it might be objected that no wealth could effect the erection of such buildings in seven weeks, and here there is no question of a miracle. But the burden of proof lies on the other side. We have too many authentic remains of groups of churches in sevens to allow a denial that many more such groups may have been erected ; and it is well known that the material of which these earlier churches were built, and their extremely small dimensions, were such as to allow of their being erected in a few days. There are, however, and there always will be, a certain class of persons whom no argument can convince, and who are afflicted with a certain moral disease of prejudice, which makes argument, however convincing, simply valueless to them.

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[9] *Matter.*—I have already alluded to the remarks made by one person as to the present writer's criticism of Dr. Lanigan. I should be deeply grieved if anyone, whose opinion was worth consideration, should take a similar view; however, I think few are likely to do so. Any person accustomed to historical investigations, would simply characterize a writer as utterly incapable of compiling an ordinary narrative of facts who did not thoroughly investigate every point connected with his subject, and show the errors of former writers. The question lies simply between telling the truth, or propagating error out of respect to the memory of the dead; the latter course would seem to the present writer the more disrespectful, as it would imply that the dead had wilfully misrepresented facts, instead of doing so merely through inadvertence. In the present instance Dr. Lanigan writes thus: "Not to dwell on some stuff about seven churches said to have been founded in that neighborhood by St. Patrick in as many weeks," &c.—"Ec. Hist.," vol. i. p. 265. Yet Dr. Reeves, who has translated the passage where these churches are mentioned, from the Tripartite, gives identifications of the sites, and names of the saint's disciples to whom the churches belonged.

The saint next visited the districts of Dal-Araidhe and Dal-Riada. Here he baptized a posthumous child, to whom a druid had given the name of Olcan,[1] and who was afterwards a bishop.

Erc's twelve sons welcomed St. Patrick in their district; and Fergus promised that he would offer some land for the use of the church if he was preferred before his brothers. Patrick predicted that he would be king eventually, though at that time he was less esteemed than his brethren. The Tripartite expressly mentions that St.

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[1] *Olcan.*—The name is the diminutive of *olc*, bad or evil. The appellation originated in the circumstances of the birth, which were said by the king to be "bad."

Patrick left many "cells and establishments in Dal-Riada;" for the names and identifications of these places we must refer the reader to the latter part of the present work.

In Dal-Araidhe he found a well at Lathrach Patraic,[2] and there Daniel, Patrick's angel and dwarf, is. The name is still preserved, almost intact, in the modern Glenavy, and is but one of a thousand instances in which the minutest details recorded by the biographers of St. Patrick have been recorded with the most scrupulous care, and an accuracy which fully stands the test of modern research. One should suppose, with such facts before them, that Catholics, at least, would cease to question the miracles of the saint recorded by the same careful and accurate writers. We believe that this questioning has simply been the result of the centuries of discredit, which discredit has accumulated undisturbed; and there are some minds so unhappily constituted, as to be unable to take a new view of an old fact, whatever proof there may be of its accuracy.

Some very interesting details of St. Patrick's visit to Dal-Riada and Dal-Araidhe are given in Tirechan's Annotations in the Book of Armagh. After he had ordained Mac Erca bishop, at Ardstraw, in the present county Tyrone, he crossed the Bann, and blessed the place where is the little cell of Cuil-Raithen.[3] When he had erected many cells, he crossed the Buas,[4] and, at Duin-Sebuirgi,[5] sat upon a rock, and consecrated Olcan bishop. He then returned into the plain of Eilrie, and erected many other churches, which the Coindiri possess.

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[2] *Lathrach Patraic*—that is, Patrick's swamp. Colgan, however, has translated it thus: "In alio ejusdem regionis loco *Lettir-phadruic* à posteritate appellato" (*Septima Vita*, p. 147). He also says, Daniel was called *Abhac*, a dwarf, from his short stature, and that from him the church was denominated *Lann-Abhaic*, the church of the dwarf, being then a parish in the diocese of Connor. It is now called *Glenavy*, the letter G having been prefixed by the English settlers. In Pope Nicholas's Taxation, A.D. 1306, it is simply called Lenneuvy. Reeves' "Down and Connor," pp. 47 and 236.

The saint at this time also revisited the scene of his early captivity on the mountain of Slemish. We must here, however, pass over many details which, however interesting, would unnecessarily increase the size of our work; but we do so with the less regret, as the reader will find them in the Tripartite. All the more important acts of the saint, however, shall be carefully recorded here.

It is not certain at what time St. Patrick consecrated a bishop for Clogher; but the details of that event are very curious, and are fully recorded. One of his companions, who appears to have attended him on all his journeys, and who is emphatically denominated his "strong man," was carrying him over a stream. He exclaimed in a fashion which indicated that he did not find it so easy a task as it had once been. St. Patrick observed that this was not usual with him. Mac Carthainn replied, that he was getting old now, that the saint had settled all his companions in churches, whilst he was still left to travel. The saint desired him to found a church sufficiently near him for intercourse, and yet not so near as to cause inconvenience. And thus the diocese of Clogher was founded, and the esteemed prelate who governs it to-day can trace his succession up to the very time of St. Patrick. It would appear that Mac Carthainn was a favorite with the saint, for he left him the *Domhnach Airgid*, which was sent to Patrick from heaven, when he was on the sea, coming to Erinn. Bishop Mac Carthainn died A.D. 506.

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[3] *Cuil-Raithen.*—The present Coleraine. Dr. Lanigan ("Ec. Hist.," vol. i., p. 267) was not acquainted with the valuable contents of the Book of Armagh, and very naturally wonders where Harris got the information given above.

[4] *Buas.*—The present river Buch.

[5] *Duin-Sebuirgi.*—Dunseverick. The whole of this passage is a clear indication that there were strictly defined territorial dioceses in Ireland when the Book of Armagh was compiled, in the eighth century, and that Coleraine was annexed to the See of Connor.

Preaching was the great means used by St. Patrick for the conversion of Ireland; and hence we find frequent mention of the places and circumstances where he poured forth that eloquence which won thousands to the Faith. The Tripartite mentions a remarkable sermon, or series of sermons, which lasted "three days and three nights," during which, such was the holy fascination exercised by the saint, that each day seemed no longer than an hour. When preaching thus near Clogher, St. Brigid fell into an ecstatic state, in which she had a vision which was afterwards interpreted by St. Patrick.

A remarkably detailed and characteristic account is given of the resuscitation of Eochaidh,[6] son of Crimthann.

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[6] *Eochaidh.*—This prince is mentioned by O'Flaherty, in tracing the history of the Orgillians from whom the three Collas were descended. O'Flaherty, book iii. ch. 76.

This prince had a daughter named Cinne. He wished her to marry a man of noble family. In the meantime she met the saint and his companions, and he, as usual, began at once to instruct her in the Christian doctrine. She listened to him, was convinced of the truth, and baptized. When her father sought her, that he might give her to the young prince in marriage, he found she now desired another alliance, and Patrick implored him to permit her to "wed the Eternal Spouse." Eochaidh had evidently some knowledge of the Faith, and yet, withal, a not unusual pagan dread of baptism. He promised to do as Patrick wished, on two conditions: if the saint would promise him heaven as a reward, and if he would promise also that he would not compel him to be baptized. The conditions seemed strangely contradictory; but Patrick, no doubt divinely inspired on this as on so many other occasions, agreed to his request. Cinne was then "united to Christ," and went to live with another holy maiden, near Clogher, where both virgins rest in peace.

Years passed on, and Eochaidh still remained amongst the unbaptized ones; but the pure and holy incense of a daughter's prayers were ascending for him day and night before the eternal throne, and he, like many another parent, was to reap the rich reward of the sacrifice which he made. At last death came to him, as it comes to all—prince and peasant, prepared and unprepared. The dying chieftain desired those who stood around him to take care that he was not buried until

St. Patrick came. Patrick was then in Ulster at Saul, his favorite retreat; and here the death of Eochaidh was made known to him by a supernatural communication. He at once set out for Clogher, and, on his arrival, found that the chief had been dead for twenty-four hours.[7] The saint desired that he might be left alone with the corpse, and, after spending some time in prayer, he commanded him to arise in the name of God. The dead man obeyed; and then, indeed, it was no longer necessary to urge him to receive the sacrament of regeneration; for he had learned, as only the dead can learn, its value and importance. He was instructed and baptized; and then he declared, as one thus restored could indeed do, the pains of hell and the bliss of heaven. Still, he was to be free in his desire. St. Patrick offered him, on the part of God, fifteen years in the "chief kingship of his country, or heaven." But the brave old chieftain knew now the difference between an earthly kingdom and a heavenly. His choice was quickly made; he could understand now why his daughter had chosen the heavenly alliance in preference to an earthly; and he declared, almost in the words of countless holy virgins, that if the sovereignty of the whole world were given to him he would renounce it, and count it as nothing in comparison of the "good things" which he had seen. Then the saint desired him to go in peace, and "journey to God." Oh! most blessed voyage—oh! most happy departure. What, indeed, else should we seek for or desire on earth, save to prepare for this journey, and to undertake it as soon as the will of our Creator shall permit?

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[7] *Hours.*—There are few canonized saints who have not at some time or other obtained the power of restoring the dead to life; but, perhaps, one of the most remarkable of those resuscitations was that performed by the instrumentality of St. Colette, at Poligny, in the early part of the fifteenth century. A religious, whose life had not been very edifying, died in that convent. "St. Colette was then at Besançon, but the departed soul appeared to her, and said that she was permitted by God to appeal to her for help, that she might be saved from eternal reprobation. Her great misery was caused by the suppression of grave faults in confession. The saint at once sent an express messenger in all haste to Poligny, desiring that the religious should not be buried until her arrival. When the messenger came, the unhappy nun was lying in her coffin, in the choir. Colette arrived on the evening of the third day, but so absorbed in ecstacy, as to appear unconscious of the crowds who thronged around her, and who, having heard of her message, expected some great event. They only dispersed when assured that the nun would not be buried until the following morning. The saint passed the night in prayer. The office was said as usual in the morning, and at its conclusion she went to the sanctuary, attended by the confessor and several of the religious. Thousands had assembled in and around the church, and there was an awful stillness of expectation. The saint, after praying before the Most Holy Sacrament, approached the bier, and commanded the dead to arise. The nun arose, and was led by the saint to the altar. She made her confession to the priest, and said the penance enjoined her with tears and sobs of anguish, which moved the awe-struck assembly to their very inmost hearts. Then she arose and told them, with a clear and firm voice, that she had owed her salvation, under God, to the merits of her holy abbess; and that an angel had protected her soul from the demons who claimed it as their lawful prey, until the miracle of her restoration to life could be accomplished. With tears and burning words she implored those who surrounded her to pray for her, since she must now return to God, to pay the heavy debt still due to his divine justice for her careless life. Then she prostrated at the feet of her superior, and, after imploring her blessing, placed herself on the funeral bier, and calmly expired."—"St. Clare, St. Colette, and the Poor Clares," pp. 230-233.

As the saint continued his journey southward, many wonderful miracles occurred. At Domhnach Maighen,[8] a man, named Victor, concealed himself, probably fearing, like many others, that he should be asked to make some sacrifice which would be painful to his natural feelings. But Divine Providence intended that he should hereafter rule the Church as a bishop, and his place of concealment was miraculously illuminated, and thus was made known to the saint. At Enach-Conglais some wicked men attempted to poison him; but the saint, aware of their design, turned the curds which contained the poison into stones. At Naas he baptized Ailill and Illan, the two sons of the king of Leinster; and then baptized Moghain and Feidelm, the daughters of the former, who consecrated their virginity to God, and were anciently venerated on the 9th of December.

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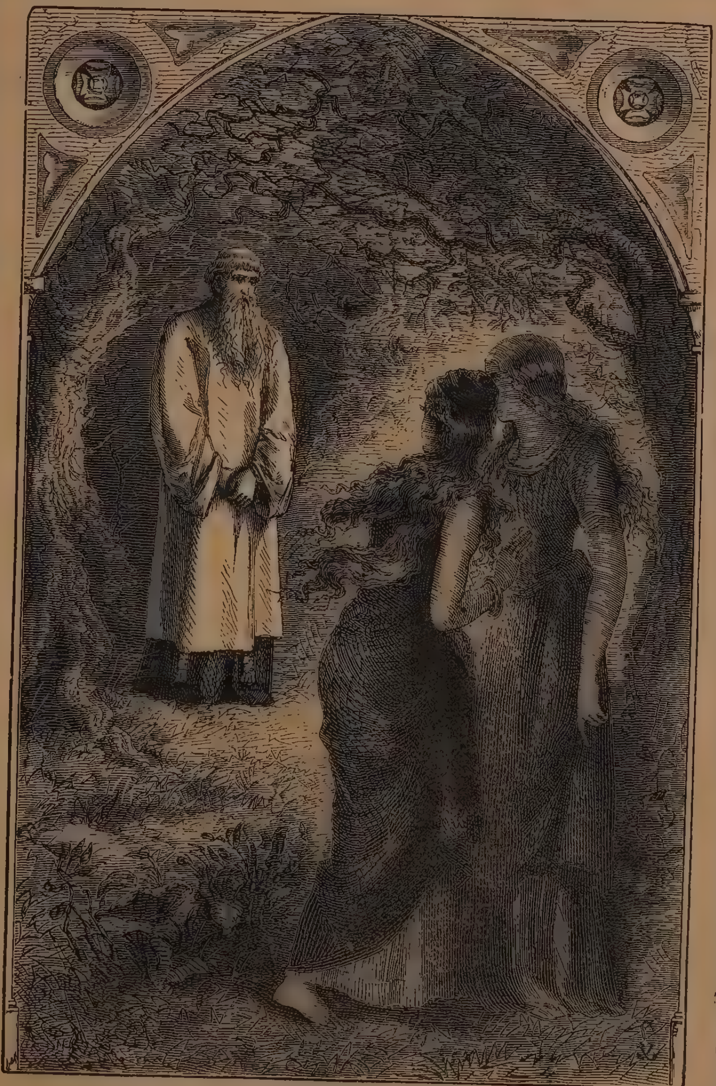
[8] *Domnach Maighen.*—For notes identifying this and the following localities, see Tripartite.

The saint then sent messengers to call the steward of the fort of Naas, who was named Fallen. He pretended to be asleep, from enmity and contempt. St. Patrick, when he heard it, exclaimed: "I should not be surprised if it were his last sleep;" and so, in truth, it was; for when the servants went to him again, they found him dead. This, and similar interpositions of Providence, which seem to some would-be critics a blot on the character of the saint, were manifestly the means of many conversions, and of great good to others. The people were awe-struck, as were the Jews when they heard of the sudden and awful death of Ananias and Saphira. The fearful end of Fallen, we are told, passed into a proverb—an evidence of its effect upon the people; and they often reverted to "Fallen's sleep in the fort of Naas." Thus, those who could not be won by divine love, were subdued by divine fear.



St. Patrick met by Virgins in the Wood of Fochlut.

It would appear that the saint went direct from Naas to Wicklow. He had visited Dricrin, who was king of the Hy-Garchon, and who had married a daughter of King Laeghaire. This prince, however, refused the saint hospitality, on the plea of his father-in-law's dislike to Patrick, an evidence that Laeghaire's conversion had not been sincere, as we have already suggested.

Another member of the family, however, received the saint willingly. His name was Cillini, and Patrick prophesied that his son should be king of the Hy-Garchon. It is remarkable, in reading the ancient records of the acts of our saint, how frequently such predictions were made. In ancient Erinn, where the succession was not hereditary, but depended upon the will of the people and the qualifications of the candidate, it was manifestly the intention that the best man, according to opinion of the age, should succeed. St. Patrick simply followed out this line of action, though in a different sense, probably to impress upon a very impressible people the one great end of his ministry, that the holiest was always the best. And as only temporal rewards could influence the opinion of the multitude, for their sakes, at least, he allowed a temporal reward to be given for a spiritual act.

St. Patrick once more turned northwards, at least as far as the plain of *Magh-Lifé*, from which the present river Liffey takes its name. Here, as usual, he built cells, or oratories, and left some of his disciples to instruct his converts. He left Usail[9] at Cil-Usaille, and Iserninus[1] and Mac Fail[2] in Cella-Ciulinn. As he went into the western Lifé, the sons of Laighis attempted to entrap him into some water-pits. As a punishment for this act of treachery, the saint declared that none of their descendants should be either a king or a bishop. This, writes the author of the Tripartite, is where Moin-Cholium[3] is to-day.

According to the Tripartite, the saint must have visited Tara at this time, as the author of that Life says, "Patrick went from Tara, until he met Dubtach Mac Ui Lugair, in Hy-Ceinnsellagh." As we have already given the history of the vocation of St. Fiacc at length, we here refer the reader to what has been already recorded.[4] The saint erected a great number of churches in this part of Ireland. From want of consideration, the writer of the Tripartite has been accused of gross exaggeration, in saying that "in thirty and forties are the churches which he [Aengus] gave to

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[9] *Usail.*—This was the Irish name for St. Auxilius. According to the Four Masters, he died August 27, A.D. 454, on which day the Calendar of the O'Clerys has, "Usaille, son of Ua Baird, Bishop of Cill-Usaille, in Leinster." His church is now called Killossy, or Killashee, and gives its name to a parish in the barony of Naas, Co. Kildare. There are no remains of the church, but there is part of a round tower with a square base.

[1] *Iserninus.*—It will be remembered that Iserninus was ordained with St. Patrick, and came to Ireland with him. He died A.D. 469. *Trias. Th.*, p. 19.

[2] *Mac Fail* was of the race of Lughaidh, king of Munster, and brother to St. Colman of Cill-Cleitghe. He succeeded Iserninus, and died of the plague, 11th June, A.D. 548. He was patron of Kilcullen, county Kildare.

[3] *Moin Cholium.*—This is now the old church of Moone, giving name to a parish and barony near Timolin, in the south of the county Kildare. See, for further details, Reeves' "Adamnan," p. 280.

[4] *Recorded.*—*Ante*, page 40-50.

Patrick in the east of Leinster." Churches in thirties or forties certainly sounds a gross exaggeration; but we should be very careful before we accuse an ancient writer of a crime which may only exist in our own imaginations. It must be remembered, that a church in the sixth century, and a church in the nineteenth century, were very different structures; a church or oratory, such as was then usual, was built roughly of wood or stone, and its size might not exceed ten feet by six. It is probable, that each family had some such church or oratory in their forts, and a priest to minister to their spiritual necessities. Hence, if churches were erected by "thirties and forties," it would only prove, what we already know, that a very great number of families were converted to the Faith by St. Patrick; and that these converts were extremely zealous, and prized very highly the privilege of assisting at the Sacrifice of the New Law, and of receiving the rites of the Church. We have, indeed, a most satisfactory evidence of this in that very part of the Tripartite which relates the erection of such a number of churches. The writer, who is generally admitted to have been St. Evin, states, that St. Patrick was "a Sunday in Domnach-mor of Magh-Reta;"[5] and that the people of the district were building a fort there. The saint sent them word that its building would be impossible, unless Mass was offered there every day.

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[5] *Domnach-mor of Magh-Reta.*—O'Donovan places Magh-Rechet, or Riada, in Leix, following Keating; but, according to the Feilire-Aengus, it is in Offaly, and is called Morett, a manor in the barony of Portnahinch, in the Queen's county, containing the church of Cuil-Beannchoir. An old map of Leix has Muret, near the border of Leix, in that part of Offaly called Clanmalier, of which the O'Dempseys were chiefs. "Book of Rights," pp. 193, 205, 210.

The saint left a blessing upon the Leinstermen also, and went through Bealach Gabhran,[6] into Ossory, where he founded many churches and establishments, and predicted that the clerics and laics of this part of Ireland should be distinguished; he left them "relics of holy men," and some of his people "in the place where Martrech is to-day in Magh-Roighne."

There was still one province in our island which had not been evangelized by the saint. He had evangelized Ulster first, and, after seven years spent in that province, he went by slow journeys, still "preaching and teaching," into the wild and beautiful districts of Connaught. As he returned from thence he naturally desired to visit his first converts, to see how they progressed, and to strengthen them in the Faith. This accomplished, he evangelized Leinster; and then, even following his usual plan of commencing his mission at the court, he journeyed to Cashel of the Kings. A notable miracle is recorded as having taken place on the night of his arrival. It would appear that, after the introduction of idol-worship into Ireland by Tiernmas, they were worshipped in other places besides the famous plain of Magh Slecht.

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[6] *Bealach Gabhran*, now Gowran, county Kilkenny.

Chapter IX.

St. Patrick in Munster.

THE Tripartite records that there were idols at Cashel, and that they were found prostrated on the morning after the arrival of the saint. He was welcomed by Aengus, son of Nadfraech, and his people, by whom he was conducted into the fort. He then baptized the sons of Nadfraech and many of the men of Munster, upon whom he invoked a special blessing. During the ceremony, St. Patrick inadvertently pierced the foot of Aengus with the point of his crozier. The brave young prince bore the pain in silence, and, when the saint inquired afterwards why he had not complained, he replied that he thought "it was the rule of Faith," or a part of the usual ceremony. Such a noble instance of devotion could not pass unrewarded, and special benedictions were bestowed upon him and upon his race.[7]

Jocelyn, in mentioning this incident, says that St. Patrick left a stone here on which the Kings of Cashel were crowned afterwards. The writer of the Tripartite : "And twenty-eight kings of the races of Alell and Aengus reigned in Cashel, ordained with the crozier, until the time of Cenngegain." This Cenngegain (Finghinne) was King of Cashel until A.D. 897 ; and this observation, evidently made by the transcriber, would fix the date of the transcription at this period precisely.

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[7] *Race.*—Dr. Todd, for some reason by no means apparent, has rejected the whole of this account, apparently because it is not mentioned in the Book of Armagh ; but there are many other circumstances not mentioned in the same compilation which he has accepted. There is, in fact, quite as much evidence for St. Patrick's visit to Cashel and the circumstances attending it as for any other event in the life of the saint. King Aengus was a well-known historical character. Cashel of the Kings was a famous fort from an early period of Irish history. The only objection given by Dr. Todd is a few lines in the Tripartite, which states that "no man shall be King of Cashel until the comarb of Saint Patrick has confirmed him." Now, this appears to be merely a remark of the writer of the Tripartite ; and when we recollect how great was the moral power which St. Patrick exercised in Ireland, there is nothing very wonderful about it. Moreover, Dr. Todd says that the passage above quoted is not to be found in Colgan's translation of the Tripartite : this is a grave mistake, and it seems most extraordinary how one so accurate as Dr. Todd could have made such a statement. Colgan has : "Nec nomen juraque obtinebit Regis, donec a meo successore coronabitur et consecrabitur." Colgan, *Septima Vita*, cap. 30, p. 156. Dr. Todd was beyond all suspicion of wilful suppression, and it seems very strange how he could have overlooked this passage. It would appear from some other circumstances also that he had not studied Colgan carefully.

As the history of Aengus is so well known, this incident affords an important and interesting data for determining the date of the saint's visit to Cashel. Aengus was killed in the battle of Cill-Osnadh, A.D. 489. Keating says that he reigned for thirty-six years, and this would place the commencement of his reign, A.D. 453; his age at the time of his death unfortunately is not known; but Usher has conjecturally fixed the date of St. Patrick's arrival in Munster, A.D. 449. Dr. Lanigan places the date A.D. 445. The truth probably lies between the two, for it is clear that only conjectural arguments can be brought forward with regard to the chronology of the principal events in the mission of the saint. Much unnecessary argument, however, has arisen in this and in other instances, in consequence of false premises being made the ground of argument. The Tripartite does not say that Aengus was King of Munster; he is merely spoken of as the son of Nadfraech, and his brother Ailill is spoken of in precisely the same terms; yet, on this simple foundation, a whole structure of controversy has been raised up, and refuted. It should first be shown that any really ancient authority had clearly stated that Aengus was King of Munster at the time of St. Patrick's visit, before any attempt is made to discredit the narrative of St. Evin.

The saint now continued his journey towards the south, until he arrived in the present county Limerick.

After passing through Aradha-Cliach,[8] he went on to Jochtar-Cuillen,[9] where he restored a child to life, who had been killed by pigs. He desired Malach Britt,[1] a Céle-De of his people, to resuscitate him; but this man had not the faith or the obedience[2] necessary for so great a work, and another gained his crown. Patrick now commanded Bishops Ibar and Ailbhe to perform the miracle, and he prayed with them. As might be expected, after such a notable event, all the people of Ui-Cuanach believed.

At Grean[3] a number of women came to the saint, and bewailed his departure, and he gave them a special blessing. Many of the most remarkable incidents in the life of the saint are connected with his visit to Limerick and its neighborhood. A very curious incident is related about the foundation of the church of Mungret, which lies about three miles south-west of the city. Lonan, son of Mac Erc, made a banquet for him on the top of Cae, a mountain in Hy-Figente.[4]

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[8] *Aradha-Cliach.*—This territory, according to O'Donovan, comprised the parish of Kilteely and the entire barony of Ui-Cuanach (Coonagh), in the east of Limerick, mentioned in the next note.

[9] *Jochtar-Cuillen.*—This is now the parish of Cullen, barony of Clanwilliam, county Limerick, formerly extending into Ui-Cuanach. Dr. O'Donovan states (Top. Poems) that Ui-Cuanach was part of Ara-Cliach.

[1] *Malach Britt.*—See note to this passage in the Tripartite.

[2] *Obedience.*—It will be remembered that St. Benedict ordered his disciple, St. Maur, to walk on the water and draw out the child Placidus. The miracle was performed, and, as Bossuet has well observed, it is difficult to say whether it should be attributed to the obedience of the disciple or the faith of the master.

[3] *Grean.*—Now the church and parish of Grean, containing the town of Pallas-green, in the baronies of Coonagh and Clanwilliam, in Limerick.

[4] *Hy-Figente.*—This territory adjoined Ara-Cliach, from which it was

A deacon, named Mantan,[5] who is described as one of Patrick's people, was assisting in the preparation of the feast, and a troop of jugglers came to the saint to ask for food, and would take no excuse. He sent them to Lonan and Mantan, but they refused to give them food, which was an act of contempt to the order of the saint, and was punished as such.

A youth now came up the mountain, attended by his mother, with a wether, which had been cooked for the banquet. The saint begged of him to give the animal to the men to save his honor, and he at once complied cheerfully, though his mother was unwilling that he should do so, fearing the king's displeasure. The whole of this scene is singularly characteristic of the times. The welcome of the saint by a banquet, the arrival of a troop of jugglers or magi,[6] their importunity, the charity of the saint, the primitive offering to the prince of the wether ready dressed, the refusal of Patrick's disciples to give the food, considering themselves wiser than their master, and the prompt rewards and punishments, all form a graphic picture of the customs and manners of past ages.

Mantan, the deacon, was informed that his church

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separated by the river Samhair, now the Morning Star. It lay in the south of the county Limerick. O'Donovan writes, under the year 1560: "It was bounded on the north by the Shannon, on the south by Slieve Luchra, on the east by the rivers Mugue and Morning Star, and on the west by Kerry. *Cae* is the mountain called Knock-cae, in the south of Ardpatrick parish, not far from Seefin."

[5] *Mantan.*—Colgan says this was the presbyter who was venerated on the 2nd March, and that his church was Cill-Mantain, near Wicklow.

[6] *Magi.*—Colgan says there were magi and druids.

would never be held in honor. Nessan was instructed by the saint, and baptized, and eventually established in the church of Mungarret. His mother was informed that she should not be buried in her son's church, and this, says the writer, came to pass, for her grave is in the west of Mungarret, and the bell of the great church is not heard in that place.

Nessan and his church were to be "honored among the nations;" and it is not a little remarkable that the Limerick people have ever manifested not only an unwavering fidelity to the true faith, but have also been amongst the most gallant defenders of the sacred deposit then bestowed upon them. They still cherish the memory of St. Patrick with tender devotion, and point proudly to the various sites in their county where memorials of the saint are found in the names, still preserved, of the places which he visited.

The north Munstermen now came in crowds in their curraghs across the Shannon, as far south as Tirglas, the present Terryglass, in the barony of Lower Ormond, where they were baptized. After the ceremony, the saint ascended the hill of Finnime, and blessed the north Munstermen who had come out in such multitudes to welcome him. An ancestor of Brian Boru, Cairthenn Finn, son of Blait, eighth in descent from Olioll Oluim, and progenitor of the O'Briens of Thomond, "believed in Christ," and Patrick baptized him in the well of Sangul. A few short lines in the Tripartite reveal to us a most interesting circumstance of the saint's own inner life. The writer explains the word Sangul, *Sain-aingel;* for he says it was a different angel from Victor who came to converse with him here. Perhaps, like the glorious St. Francesca of Rome, an angel of a higher grade was now sent to him. We read that as her life approached its close, and as her duties in the foundation of her order and her exterior cares were multiplied, that the angel who had so long and so constantly appeared to her in visible form, informed her that his charge of her had ceased, and that a yet more exalted spirit was now appointed to assist and comfort her. This was an archangel, who appeared now constantly at her side, bright and glorious, radiant with heavenly light when earth was darkest, and making all earthly light seem but as an evening twilight, faded even in the burning summer noon. Such an angel, we may believe, was the one who now came to Patrick by the well of Sangul. If any of my readers are induced to make a pilgrimage to that well in honor of Patrick and his angel, will they breathe an *Ave* in his honor for her who unworthily records his blessed life.

Here also the saint performed a notable miracle, by curing Cairthenn's son, Ecchu Baldearg (Eochy of the Red Spot), who had been born, to all appearance, hopelessly disfigured and diseased. This was the first miracle worked at the well of Sangul.[7]

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[7] *Sangul.*—Mr. Lenihan, in his admirable "History of Limerick," says, that "the holy well, stony bed, and altar of St. Patrick, are to this day existing

The saint uttered several remarkable predictions at this period; he blessed the lands and islands of the Shannon; and prophesied the birth of St. Senan of Iniscalach, and of Brennan of Hy-Alta. He then went into south Desi, and commenced the church of Ard-Patrick, in the present barony of Coshlea, county Limerick. A curious evidence that even a miracle will not convince those who are determined not to be convinced, was given here. A man, named Dervall, declared that he would believe if the saint would remove part of a mountain, so that he might see Cnoc Longa to the south over it. St. Patrick performed the miracle, but, although the man saw the mountain dissolving, he declared that "whatever wonders he might do, he would not believe it."

At Patrick's Well, near Limerick, which still retains its name and holy traditions, the prince of the Desi came late to the assembly for which Patrick was waiting. He excused himself on account of the rain, but the excuse did not satisfy the saint, who predicted that all his meetings for the future should be attended by showers. Singland "is situated in the parish of St. Patrick, about an English mile from the city of Limerick; and, in the Cromwellian and Williamite wars, was frequently the headquarters of the invading forces. It was from the heights of Singland that the canons of Ireton, in

in Singland." We take this opportunity of recommending Mr. Lenihan's valuable work to Limerick men, and, indeed, to all lovers of Irish literature and nationality. Orders from America and Australia may be sent to Maurice Lenihan, Esq., J.P., Limerick.

1651, and of William and Ginkle, forty years after, played upon the 'Black Battery,' and citadel of Limerick.

"But by far the most interesting relics of the past connected with Singland are St. Patrick's Well, and the adjacent large layer of unhewn limestone, marked with the impress of the saint's knees and body, and believed, from time immemorial, to have been St. Patrick's place of prayer, if not his very bed. Such is the tradition—constant and ample—handed down from sire to son by the citizens, both Catholic and Protestant, of Limerick. Both these unwrought monuments of St. Patrick's presence in Limerick are situated on the slope of the hill on which St. Patrick's Church once stood, and where the ancient cemetery that surrounded it still exists, and is daily used as a place of interment, though in close proximity to the beautiful new Catholic cemetery of Mount St. Laurence. Two of the Bishops of Limerick, Drs. Young and Tuohy, are buried in the same grave in St. Patrick's, though the name of Dr. Young alone is inscribed on the tombstone that covers their remains. Of the old church not a vestige now remains: all was destroyed during the Confederate wars, 1641-51.

"St. Patrick's Well is still held in the highest possible veneration by the people of Limerick; and crowds of pedestrians—men, women, and children—may be daily seen wending their way along 'Connell's *bohereen,*' which leads from world-famed Garryowen, to the 'blessed well,' either to 'pay their rounds,' or laden with vessels full of 'Patrick's-well water,' for the use of some invalid relation confined to bed at home. It is a fact, well known both to the Catholic clergy and dispensary doctors of the city, that the poor, when sick, will rarely drink anything but 'Patrick's-well water,' such is the simple faith in its efficacy, or rather in that of the prayers and intercession of its holy patron.

"The stone impressed with the saint's knees, though well polished by the knees and footsteps of fervent worshippers, is still carefully preserved; and it is highly creditable to the trustees of the 'Great Munster Fair,' opened in 1853, that, when constructing the new approaches to the fair-green, which adjoins 'St. Patrick's Church,' as the cemetery is still called, they directed their engineers to so construct one of the boundary walls as to mark, by a lateral arch indented therein, the very spot where tradition states that our saint was wont to kneel in prayer some thirteen hundred years ago; and where his footprints are, with loving belief, still pointed out. The well, which is supplied with water from several crevices in the solid rock, is covered over with a little protecting structure of very simple masonry; and is exteriorly decorated with framed prints and images, and such like offerings of the poor. Wooden cups and other drinking vessels are also left by pious votaries for the gratuitous use of other comers. An outer and special portion of the stream which flows from the well is set apart for the ablution of persons afflicted with opthalmic diseases. And the whole is shaded by a large and venerable tree, which adds considerably to the general appearance of the well and its surroundings."[8]

St. Patrick's next journey was into Muscraidhe Tire,[9] where he met three brothers, men of note, sons of Forat MacCoula, one of whom, Munechus, believed at once, and was baptized. To him special temporal blessings were promised.

It is remarkable here that a special mention is made for the first time in the Tripartite of the modelling of the Irish Church on a diocesan basis. The tribute known in the Brehon law as the Cain Patrick is said to have been now formally granted to the saint and his successors, and to have been regularly paid for many years. But this subject is one of sufficient importance to demand a separate chapter, and will be fully treated of in the concluding part of this work.

The time at last came when the mission of our apostle was accomplished in Munster, and he must leave that faithful people, to do his master's work elsewhere amongst the devoted men of Erinn. He bid them farewell, and left a blessing with them; but they could not bear to part thus from the saint, whom they had learned to revere so deeply. Patrick went to

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[8] *Surroundings.*—I am indebted to my friend, the Rev. M. Malone, of Limerick, for the interesting description given above. This learned clergyman is preparing an Ecclesiastical History of the Diocese of Limerick.

[9] *Muscraidhe Tire.*—This was the ancient name of the district now comprised in the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, in the north of the county Tipperary, and contained the churches of Cill-cheire (Kilkeary, near the town of Nenagh) and Leatraicha (Latteragh, about eight miles south of the above town); afterwards it was called Muskrykeary.

Brosna,[1] but crowds still followed him from all quarters. The very hills seemed in motion, so great was the multitude who hastened along, heedless of all difficulties, to get one more glimpse of their venerable father and their friend. When they saw him they made the mountains re-echo with their shouts of joy, and then another miracle was granted to their faith and fervor, for they beheld the resuscitation of a Munsterman who had been dead for seven-and-twenty years. A holy bishop, named Frion, who is graphically described as a son of devotion, gave a banquet to the assembled multitudes, which St. Patrick blessed, and by another miracle satisfied all who were present ; and then, once more, and for the last time on earth, he blessed the men of Munster, saying :—

"A blessing on the men of Munster.
A blessing on the land which gives them food.
A blessing on whatever is produced for its farmers.
A blessing on each chief.
A blessing on the men of Munster.
A blessing on their woods,
A blessing on their sloping plains,

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[1] *Brosna.*—Colgan was mistaken in placing Brosna in Munster. The whole text goes to show that the Munstermen followed the saint after he had left their country. There are two rivers and a small village named Brosna in the King's County ; the larger river rises at Bunbrosna, in the county Westmeath, and flows into the Shannon at Shannon Harbor ; the smaller river rises at the village of the same name, in the parish of Kilmurray, east of Shinrone, and runs a few miles north of Parsonstown, forming the boundary between the King's County and Tipperary. The village is said to derive its name from the Irish word *Brosna,* a faggot or bundle of sticks ; but the author of the Tripartite, as will be seen above, derives it from the word *Brosnugael,* an incentive or excitement.

A blessing on their glens,
A blessing on their hills.
A blessing of sand beneath their ships.
A blessing of numerous homesteads.
A blessing on their slopes and levels.
A blessing on their slieves and peaks.
A blessing."

The blessing of sand beneath their ships is very characteristic and poetical, since upon the wild coast of Kerry there are so many dangers for mariners, who may find hidden rocks where they least expect them, and where "sand beneath their ships" would be the greatest boon they could desire.

The saint now journeyed into the territory of Hy-Failge,[2] where one of the best known incidents of his life occurred. A chieftain of this tribe, named Berraidhe, boasted publicly that he intended to kill Patrick if he met him, in revenge for his destruction of the idols at Magh-Sleacht. The saint's charioteer, Odran, heard of this threat, which, according to the Tripartite, was kept secret from Patrick by his people. The faithful servant proposed to his master that he should take his place in the chariot, and, with the instinct of true charity, made it appear as if it were to be done in compliment to himself, so as to conceal his real motive from his master. St. Patrick willingly complied with his request, and Odran was slain by Berraidhe. Another member of the same family, however, would appear to have repudiated this treachery; for we are informed by the Tripartite, that the wicked Failge died at once, and "went to hell;" but that Patrick blessed Failge Ros, whose descendants were rulers of that district "for ever."

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[2] *Hy-Failge.*—Before the English invasion this territory comprised the present baronies of Offaly, county Kildare, and parts of the King's and Queen's Counties. It obtained the name from Ross Failge (Ross of the Kings), eldest son of Cathair Mor, King of Leinster, and Ard Righ of Ireland, who was slain A.D. 122. The great families of O'Conor Faly, O'Dempsey of Clanmaliere, and O'Dunn of Regan, were descended from him.—Book of Rights, pp. 193 and 216.

A little careful consideration would have prevented some serious mistakes which have been made in the relation of this incident by several writers. The name Berraidhe does not occur in the direct line of the O'Conor Faly pedigree; but he is mentioned by the Four Masters, A.D. 501, as having slain Fiachra, son of Nial, at the battle of Freamhain, now the hill of Frewin, in the townland of Wattstown, parish of Portlennon, county Westmeath. Berraidhe was probably the Bruaidhe of the O'Conor pedigree, the great grandson of Ros Failge.[3]

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[3] *Ros Failge.*—I must be pardoned for again blaming Dr. Lanigan for constantly undervaluing the authority of the Tripartite, when it does not precisely agree with his own notions. What we want in historical investigations is truth, and not favorite theories, or prejudice. He says, "It is plain that this second Failge was brought on the stage in compliment to some illustrious families," &c. It may have been plain to Dr. Lanigan, but it certainly is not plain to me. Colgan seems to have clearly seen the truth, which was that there were two Failges—one Failge Berraidhe, who tried to kill St. Patrick, the other Failge Ros, who received him willingly. Both the Tripartite and Colgan distinguish the two by name. Of course, if all historians are to be accused of prejudice because they mention certain circumstances which do not agree with our preconceived notions, we may give up history at once. There were *many* other families besides this one in which brothers took different sides, and in which one brother obtained the blessing of the saint and the other his malediction. Dr. Todd, in a note on this subject, has made a curious mistake also: he says, "The chariot, it seems, was capable of holding but one person."—

The martyrdom of Odran is mentioned in the Fourth Life, and by Jocelyn; but the other Lives have no record of it. The subject has an additional interest on account of its connection with the revision of the Brehon laws by St. Patrick and others; but this will be fully treated of elsewhere.

As the saint was journeying on the great northern road leading to Tara, he met some laborers, who were cutting down yew trees for the masts of vessels. Their hands were bleeding, and the saint inquired who they were. The men replied that they were the slaves of Trian, son of Fec, and brother to Trichem, and that their master would not allow them to sharpen their axes, in order to make their labor more severe. The saint at once blessed the axes, so that they cut easily, and then went to Trian's fort. But the chief would not listen to the saint, and so he "fasted upon him"—a curious and beautiful illustration of St. Patrick's charity, and of the universality of the functions of the Brehon law in Ireland. The creditor used to fast at the door or gate of the debtor, to compel him, from motives of common humanity, to pay his debt. The saint would appear to have claimed from Trian the debt of common charity, which he failed to pay to his slaves, and, like the apostle, to have made their cause literally his own. But

"Memoir of St. Patrick," p. 465, n. 1. Now the Tripartite plainly states that it held at least two, for Odran says to Patrick: "Long have I been your driver; let me take the chief seat for this day." From the reading of the Fourth Life (Colgan, p. 44), however, it might be inferred that there was only one seat in the chariot.

Trian was still obdurate in revenge; he treated his unfortunate dependents more cruelly than before; and at last, by a just judgment, he was drowned in his own lake, whither his horses dashed wildly, while he was driving in his chariot. His wife, however, submitted to the saint, and obtained a special blessing for herself and her offspring, and her sons, Letna and Jarled, both became bishops.[4]

But the saint's opponents did not always perish so miserably. In some cases we find that a true conversion followed the most violent persecution, and there were some, doubtless, who, like St. Paul, were actuated by a false zeal, and yet open to conviction when truth was presented to them.

Such was St. MacCuil, described at first as a wicked and irreligious man, who in the end became a bishop and a saint. The account of his conversion and the circumstances attending it are given at considerable length in the Book of Armagh, and are mentioned in nearly all the other Lives as being evidently considered a subject of considerable importance. As the saint passed through the country of the Ultonians, MacCuil at first proposed to his people to kill him, asserting that he was a false man who deceived everyone. This plan, however, was abandoned for another, with the obvious intention of testing the saint's power with God, and ascertaining whether he could indeed work the marvels which were everywhere recorded of him. We continue the narrative in the graphic words of the writer of the Book of Armagh :—

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[4] *Bishops.*—See notes to Tripartite for full identifications.

> "And they tempted the holy man; they tempted him in this way: they placed one of themselves under a cloak, feigning him to be lying in the agony of death, that they might try the saint by this kind of deception; so, on the arrival of St. Patrick with his disciples, they were having recourse, muttering prayers, and practising witchcraft and incantations: the heathen said to him, 'Behold! one of us is now sick; approach, therefore, and chant some of the incantations of your sect over him, if perchance he may be healed.'
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> "St. Patrick, knowing their stratagems and deceits, with firmness and intrepidity said, it would be no wonder if he had been sick; and his companions, uncovering the face of him that was feigning sickness, saw that he was now dead; and the heathens, amazed and astonished at such a miracle, said among themselves, 'Truly this man is from God; we have done evil in tempting him.' But St. Patrick, having turned to Maccuil, says, 'Why did you seek to tempt me?' The cruel tyrant answered, 'I am sorry for what I have done; whatever you command me I will perform; and now I deliver myself into the power of your supreme God, whom you preach;' and the saint said: 'Believe, therefore, in my God, the Lord Jesus, and confess your sins, and be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.' And he was converted in that hour, and believed in the Eternal God, and, moreover, was baptized; and then Maccuil added this, saying: 'I confess to thee, my holy lord, Patrick, that I proposed to kill you; judge, therefore, how much I owe for so great a crime!' Patrick said: 'I am not able to judge, but God will judge. Do you, therefore, depart now, unarmed, to the sea, and pass over quickly from this country, Ireland, taking nothing with you of your substance, except a small common garment, with which you may be able to cover your body,

eating nothing and drinking nothing of the fruit of this island, having a mark of your sins on your head; and when you reach the sea, bind your feet together with an iron fetter, and cast the key of it into the sea, and set out in a boat of one hide, without rudder or oar, and wherever the wind and sea shall lead you, be prepared to remain; and to whatever land Divine Providence shall carry you, be prepared to live there and obey the divine commands.'

"And Maccuil said, 'I will do as you have said; but, respecting the dead man, what shall we do?' And Patrick said, 'He shall live and rise again without pain!' And Patrick restored him to life in that hour, and he revived quite sound.

"And Maccuil departed thence very speedily to the sea. The right side of the plain of Inis is reached; having his confidence unshaken in the faith, and binding himself on the shore, casting the key into the sea, according to what was commanded to him, he then embarked in a little boat, and north wind arose and bore him to the south, and cast him on the island called Evonia; and the men of the island were converted by his doctrine.

The Tripartite narrative, although more condensed, gives precisely the same account of the occurrence, with the additional information that the man who feigned death was called Garban.

In the *Vita Quarta* the names of Coindrius and Romulus are also mentioned, and it is stated that Mac Cuil was chosen their successor. Jocelyn also records the narrative at considerable length, and he must have had special opportunities of being well acquainted with every local tradition, as well as with all important written records, for his monastery at Furniss had a celebrated filiation in the Isle of Man.

The Irish annalists record the death of St. MacCuil in the year 554, after an episcopate of sixty years; and the British Martyrology mentions many churches which were erected under his invocation.[5]

It is impossible to read the ancient records of the life of our saint without remarking his special devotion to the sanctification of the Seventh Day, and to the sign of the Cross. Another instance of his reverence for the Sabbath is related immediately after the account of Mac Cuil's conversion. Some men were building a rath at Drombo,[6] and the saint heard them at work on a Sunday. He warned them to desist, but they only mocked him. He then predicted that their labor would be useless, and his words were verified. On the same night the building was destroyed by a tempest.

Vocations to the religious life have always met with more or less opposition, not only from the irreligious, but unfortunately even from Christian parents. From incidental statements in the Lives of the saint it is evident, that a very great number of Irish maidens consecrated themselves to the divine service immediately after their conversion. Two of these holy women were seized by Eochach, son of Muredach,[7] and drowned, although the saint remonstrated earnestly with the tyrant. As a punishment, the saint threatened him with the loss of his kingdom, and said that his brother Cairroill should have heirs who would rule instead of Eochach. His wife, however, cast herself at the feet of the apostle, and obtained his blessing for herself and for her unborn child, who was eventually known as St. Domangart of holy life.

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[5] *Invocation.*—For further information on this interesting subject we refer the reader to an exhaustive article in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* for March, 1869, on the "Early Relations of Ireland with the Isle of Man," by Monsignor Moran.

[6] *Drombo.*—Colgan, p. 161, calls it the church of Druim-bo, or Collum-bovis, beside the sea. From the frequent mention of this place in the Lives it is quite plain that it was the hill between Saul and Quoile or Coyle Castle. In a field on this hill, to the north of the castle, several fragments of masonry and human remains, as of a church and cemetery, have frequently been found. It also overhangs the Coyle river, which Dr. Todd (note 2, p. 492, "Memoir of St. Patrick") truly conjectured to be the strait named Collum-bovis, in his description of St. Patrick's funeral. This hill also lies adjacent to the "Salt Lough," the scene of one of our saint's miracles, described in the Book of Armagh, and hereafter noticed.

The saint now turned back towards the men of Ross, and commenced a church in Drom-mor. Colgan calls these people the men of Fer-ross, a territory which extended into the barony of Farney, in the south of the county Monaghan. The name of this site, so full of holy interest, is still preserved in the parochial title of Maghcross and the well-known town of Carrickmacross. But while thus engaged an angel appeared to him, and told him it was not "good" for him to stay here. The saint inquired where he should go. The angel replied, towards the north, to Mara (Armagh). But it would seem as if our apostle had even yet some human inclinations, for he replied, that the *cluain* below was fairer. Thus has it happened again and again in the lives of the saints, that they are led "whither they know not," and, for reasons incomprehensible to our poor human thoughts, are made select places and sites for their work, to which naturally they had no inclination whatsoever.

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[7] *Eochach, son of Muredach.*—Muireadhach Muinderg, ninth in descent from Fiatach Finn, monarch of Ireland, reigned over Uladh twenty-eight years, and died A.D. 479, when he was succeeded by his son, Eochaidh, who died A.D. 503, after a reign of twenty-four years.—Reeves' "Down and Connor," p. 323.

The site which St. Patrick had selected was destined for another, as the heavenly messenger who guided and directed this favorite servant of God now informed him. For all reply the saint replied, "*Deo gratias ago*;" and thus do the saints ever answer the call of God—not merely with submission, but with thankfulness—not merely with resignation, but with joy. They, and they only, seek the fulfilment of the will of God, as perfectly as it is given to mortal man to do; and, His will accomplished, they have all that they desire. It is true, that they have still their own natural inclinations, their own human likings and aversions; but they have them only to triumph over them, while we have them, alas! only to yield to them. Ah! let us also say with our blessed father, Patrick, in joy and sorrow, in sickness and in health, and in what we call prosperity and adversity, *Deo gratias ago!* And why should we not give thanks with him and like him, since the fulfilling of the will of God is the perfection of our life? and if that will be fulfilled, in opposition to our own natural inclination, all the more reason why we should rejoice: to sacrifice then we can add sacrifice, and to our offerings the rarest incense. The places, or the occupations, or the friends that we may choose, may seem to us, like the *cluain* of the saint, the fair places of the earth; but we also will reply, *Deo gratias ago*, when we are called "northward"—when we are asked to forsake that which we desire.[8]

The saint journeyed through Ard-Phadraig, about a mile to the south of the present town of Louth, where he built a church. The people of Dal-Runter followed him in crowds, and he left them a special blessing. He now held frequent intercourse with St. Mochta, who had been appointed by Providence to carry out his mission in the "fair place" which the saint had desired.

The life of the saint was now drawing towards its close, and angelic visits appeared to have been more frequently vouchsafed to him. Soon he would go to live amongst the angels, and we can scarcely marvel that he was so familiar with them here. His angel now desired him to go to Rath Dare, to a rich man who had given his name to the fort, and to ask him for a site for a church. This event, and the details which accompanied its fulfilment, are related at considerable length by nearly all the writers of the Lives of our saint.

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[8] *Desire.*—Many instances might be quoted from the Lives of the saints, in which they received special directions from heaven to alter their plans, and to do what to human reason would seem most imprudent. I cannot help referring to a remarkable instance of this recorded in a work just published, "Pilgrimages in the Pyrenees and Landes," by Denys Shyne Lawlor, Esq., p. 597. We are all too much inclined to think that the age of miracles and miraculous interventions has passed by: and a work such as this, which gives details of the miracles daily performed even at the present time, and of the holy and supernatural lives of men of the present age, cannot fail to convince all except those who are wilfully sceptical.

Daire was a descendant of Colla-da-Crioch, and was distinguished as Daire Dearg, or the Red; and, from the manner in which he received St. Patrick, it is probable that he was a Christian; or, perhaps, like many pagans of that period, half convinced, and yet unwilling to make an open profession of his faith.

The saint, as desired by the angel, asked him for a site for his church, and Daire, according to the Tripartite, desired him to choose for himself. According to the Book of Armagh, he first inquired what place the saint wished for. The saint asked for the high ground or hill called *Dorsum Salicis.* But Daire refused this, and offered instead a *ferta* or rath on the plain. Here St. Patrick erected a church, and remained for some time[9] with his disciples. While thus principally occupied in giving what he probably knew were his last instructions, Daire sent a horse[1] to graze upon the church lands. The saint was always desirous of impressing strongly upon the people whom he had converted the sacredness of church property, and that gifts once offered to heaven could never be recalled. "Daire," he said, "has acted foolishly in sending brute animals to disturb the small holy place which he gave to God." The horse, however, was left for the night on the grassy field, but on the following morning, when Daire's servant came to look after it, he found it dead. The chief was enraged, none the less so because he had committed an injustice, and he commanded his people to slay Patrick. But he had to do with one who was protected by Him in whose hands are the issues of life and death, and he had hardly issued the order when he himself was seized with mortal illness.

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[9] *Some time.*—The Tripartite reading is "a long time." Colgan has "in qua multis ipse postea habitavit diebus," p. 162. The Book of Armagh has "et habitavit ibi Sanctus Patricius cum suis;" but in the next sentence has "After some time the 'eques' of Daire came," &c. Probus agrees almost verbally with the Book of Armagh (*Quinta Vita*, liber ii. cap. iii. iv. Colgan, p. 52). The weight of evidence is in favor of the saint's having remained for some time on the "low ground."

[1] *Horse.*—"Equum suum miraculum." Dr. Todd doubts whether this should be construed as the proper name of the horse or as an adjective. There seems but little question that it is an adjective. Betham ("Ant. Researches," part ii. p. 331) puzzled over the word Christianorum, and yet gives it correctly in the original at p. xii. appendix. Probus only speaks of one horse. The Tripartite says there were two horses.

His wife at once sent to recal the men who had been ordered to martyr St. Patrick, and messengers were dispatched to him in all haste, with earnest intreaties for his blessing; but the men were ordered to conceal what had happened. They came to the apostle, and asked for something to heal their master, who, they said, was ill. The saint well knew the cause, but he blessed some water and desired them to sprinkle Daire and the horse with it. The horse was restored to life, and Daire at once recovered. Still, it would appear, he had very little idea of Christian life. In gratitude for his recovery he brought St. Patrick a present of a large brazen cauldron.[2] The remainder of the narrative we shall give in the graphic words of the author of the Book of Armagh:—

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[2] *Cauldron.*—A cauldron was a royal gift. We read frequently, in the Book of Rights, of cauldrons being often given as tribute to certain kings and princes.

"Then Daire came after these things to honor St Patrick, bringing with him a wonderful brazen cauldron, from beyond seas (*eneum mirabilem transmarinum*), which held three firkins. And Daire said unto the saint, 'Lo, this cauldron is thine.' And St. Patrick said, '*Gratzacham.*' Then Daire returned to his own home and said, 'The man is a fool, for he said nothing good for a wonderful cauldron of three firkins, except *Gratzacham.*' Then Daire added, and said to his servants, 'Go and bring us back our cauldron.' They went, and said unto Patrick, 'We must take away the cauldron.' Nevertheless, this time also, St. Patrick said, '*Gratzacham,* take it.' So they took it. Then Daire asked his people, saying, 'What said the Christian when ye took away the cauldron?' But they answered, 'He said *Gratzacham* again. Daire answered, and said, '*Gratzacham* when I give, *Gratzacham* when I take away. His saying is so good that with those *Gratzachams* his cauldron shall be brought back to him.' And Daire himself went this time and brought back the cauldron to St. Patrick, saying to him, 'Thy cauldron shall remain with thee; for thou art a steady and imperturbable man. Moreover, also, that portion of land which thou didst desire before I now give thee as fully as I have it, and dwell thou there.' And this is the city which is now named Ardd-machæ.[3] And St. Patrick and Daire both went forth to view the wonderful and well-pleasing gift of the oblation; and they went up to that height of land, and they found there a roe, with her little fawn, which was lying in the place where the altar of the northern church in Ardd-machæ now is; and the companions of Patrick wished to catch the fawn and kill it. But the saint would not, nor did he permit it; nay, he himself took up the fawn, carrying it on his shoulders, and the roe, like a very pet lamb, followed him until he had laid down the fawn in another field, situated at the north side of Ardd-machæ, where to this day, as the learned say, some signs of the miracle (*signa quædam virtutis*) still remain."

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[3] *Ard-machæ.*—This word signifies the high ground or elevation of Macha. It is called Altitudo Macha, and Altimachæ, in the Book of Armagh. It is not clear whether Macha was the name of the district, or whether it was called after the celebrated Queen Macha. The high ground which Daire refused to give at first, was called *Druim-Sailech*, the ridge or hill of the sallow tree. *Gratzacham* was a corruption of *Gratias ago.* The *ferta* or place which Daire at first gave to St. Patrick, is explained by himself to be a stony rath where *da ferta* (the two graves) are.

The saint resided for some time at the *ferta* which Daire had bestowed on him, and a curious and very interesting account is given of the way in which this place was laid out, and its various measurements. The angel headed the procession, but we are only left to conjecture whether this was the angel Victor, or that other blessed spirit who had visited him in Munster and at the well of Sangul. Patrick and his people followed, and the saint held in his hand the staff of Jesus. He pronounced a blessing on all who should do God's will in this new abode, and uttered a warning to those who should transgress in it. Thus, also, did St. Francis of Assisi speak of his beloved Porziuncola—that favored spot where he also was visited by angels, and in which he gave an especial charge that none should be permitted to live who were not distinguished for holiness of life. Seven score feet were to be in the *less* (fort), twenty-seven feet in the *tigh mor* (great house), seventeen feet in the *cuille* (kitchen), and seven feet in the *aregal* (oratory[4]). According to this measurement all the churches were built afterwards. Here we have a clear proof how easy it was for the saint to have erected churches by scores, and in populous districts by thirties and forties, since they were in most instances simply oratories, where there was little more than space for the priest to offer the holy sacrifice. Those who assisted at Mass knelt outside, as many do even at the present day in Ireland.[5]

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[4] *Oratory.*—*Dom na congbala*, literally house of the churches. The use of this ancient Celtic word, says Dr. Todd ("Memoir," p. 477), is a remarkable evidence of the authenticity of this tradition.

Dr. Todd, in alluding to this passage, has observed that there can be no doubt of its great antiquity, since the terms which are used in describing the building are now obsolete, and would be unintelligible to the best Celtic scholars but for the explanation of them preserved in ancient glossaries. He continues :—

> "The arrangement described consisted of a *less*, that is to say, an earthen circular fort or enclosure, for the protection of the whole settlement; a great house, for the residence of the ecclesiastics; the *cuile* (culina), or kitchen, which was probably also the refectory; and the *aregal*, a word which has greatly puzzled our philologists, but which is probably the mediæval Latin *oraculum*, used in the sense of an oratory or place of worship. As one dimension only is given, these structures were probably circular.
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> "No remains of the buildings at the Fertæ Martyrum are now to be found. In the fifteenth century the place had become a nunnery, and so continued to the period of the Reformation, when it was suppressed, under the name of Temple-fertagh. Dr. Reeves has recently determined its exact site in the present 'Scotch-street,'

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[5] *Ireland.*—Colgan probably thought seven feet entirely too small for a church; and so he evaded the difficulty by making the *less* or fort the church. He calls it "murus ecclesia;" probably he was ignorant of the meaning of the Irish words. He calls the oratory "argyrotheca seu vasarium," p. 164. The word *less*, a fort, now written *lios*, still remains in such names as Lismore, Listowel, &c.

at a spot from which a fine view of the hill upon which the cathedral now stands can be obtained.[6]

Thus was the church of Armagh founded; and, truly, if it had not been founded upon the Rock of Truth, no human power could have preserved the One Faith therein to the present day.

There are only two theories by which Protestant antiquarians can account for the mention of those doctrines and practices which they consider innovations, in works of such high antiquity as the Tripartite Life of our saint. They either boldly assert that these statements are absolutely false, or they suppose that they were interpolated at a later period. A remarkable instance of how this kind of reasoning leads the most learned men to palpable self-contradiction is before us now. We have just given a long quotation from Dr. Todd, in which he argues strongly the authenticity and antiquity of the Tripartite. He brings forward weighty and convincing reasons to support his opinion. We turn a page, and find all this argument overthrown, with utter unconsciousness of the inconsistency of the proceeding; and what is recorded "immediately after the foundation of Armagh" is stigmatized as utterly unworthy of any attention, simply because it contains an account of St. Patrick's having been taken to Rome miraculously, and of his having obtained some relics there.

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[6] *Obtained.*—Todd's "Memoir of St. Patrick," p. 479.

The oldest Record of the Lives of the Saints has been objected to, on precisely the same ground, by modern infidelity. The infidel is willing to admit—indeed, he can hardly deny—that the narrative of the New Testament is true, so far as it is a record of the existence of certain persons ; but when he reads therein of miracles or cures worked by relics, he at once, with the most unconscious inconsistency, denies what he had admitted. In fact, he is willing to believe what agrees with his own opinions of what the saints ought to have done ; but when he finds something recorded which, in his opinion, they ought not, or could not have done, he refuses to accept the narrative. Now this is not the way to conduct historical investigations.

The Tripartite Life relates, immediately after the account of the division of the *ferta*, that an angel came to St. Patrick in Armagh, and told him that the relics of the apostles were being distributed in Rome on that day, and then he bore him away through the air. Dr. Todd has very justly estimated the preceding passage very highly on account of the great antiquity of the description. We can give a description still older, and of the authenticity of which there can be no question, to prove that veneration of relics and supernatural locomotion were no superstitions of the men of Erinn and the writers of the Lives of Patrick.

We read in the Life of St. Paul, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, that handkerchiefs and aprons were brought from his body to touch the sick, and that these relics effected not only the cure of diseases, but also drove out evil spirits. What wonder, then, if St. Patrick desired to obtain relics of the apostles from Rome, and if an angel assisted him to do so? Is it not in and by the power of the Lord of Angels alone that all miracles are worked? I know that there are some persons who admit, and who would indeed be shocked and pained if they were accused of denying the miracles of the apostles, and yet they will not believe the miracles of St. Patrick. But what reason can they give for this? Our Divine Lord expressly declared that His disciples should do "greater things" than He Himself had done, and this declaration was not limited to the apostles. Ecclesiastical history amply proves that miracles continued to be practised in the Church from the days of the apostles to the present hour. If the objection be made that the apostles were different from other men, and had spiritual powers inherent to themselves, we at once reply that this was what they themselves expressly denied. They were simply saints, and God alone can know which of all His saints may be the holiest.

Thus, we must admit that our great St. Patrick had at least Scriptural authority for venerating relics and desiring to possess them. The saints knew best how to revere the saints, and how to estimate the powers delegated to them by the King of Saints. Let us not condemn the Celtic writers of the Lives of Patrick, Brigid, and Columkille, until we have read the Lives of St. Germanus of Auxerre, of St. Benedict of Suabiaco, and of St. Antony of the Desert.

St. Germanus, one of the most celebrated prelates of the age, had at least given St. Patrick the example of preserving and venerating relics;[7] if we must blame the one, let us also blame the other; and, in common consistency, reject all ecclesiastical history as fabulous.

That portion of the Tripartite which refers to this extraordinary event is so worded as to make it difficult to understand whether the angel bore St. Patrick through the air to Rome, or whether he only took him in this supernatural manner as far as *Aonach Maca.* However this may have been, the writer states that he left Sechnall in the episcopacy, with the men of Erinn, until his return. When the saint arrived in Rome, sleep fell upon the inhabitants, and St. Patrick brought away a great quantity of relics. From this it would appear as if the saint had been, indeed, borne through the air at night to Rome, and that he had thus obtained what he so highly prized.[8]

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[7] *Relics.*—"After the death of St. Germanus, his relics were esteemed worth all other riches, and each one endeavored, out of the little the saint had to leave, to obtain something. Placidia (the empress) got the little box which enclosed the relics of the apostles and martyrs, which Germanus wore at his breast, and with which he had performed miracles. St. Peter Chrysologus took for himself the monk's hood and his hair-cloth. The other bishops divided the garments which remained."—"Life of St. German," p. 259, edited by Dr. Newman. Truly, our saint could scarcely fail to be a great lover of relics when he had been the disciple of St. Germanus.

[8] *Prized.*—Those who are not familiar with the lives of the saints are naturally very much amazed at this miraculous transit, and really credit this and the other extraordinary incidents in the lives of the saints to the invention of biographers anxious to glorify their master at the expense of

Indeed, if we accept this as the true account, it explains some apparent contradictions which have puzzled modern writers. The author of the Preface to the Hymn of St. Sechnall in the *Liber Breve*, states that St. Patrick sent him to Rome for relics, and that "these are the relics which are now in Ardmacha, in the shrine of Paul and Peter." According to Jocelyn, the angel who appeared to Patrick provided him with four chariots, as if sent from heaven ("quasi cœlitus destinatos"), for his journey; this is also mentioned, but not clearly, in the Tripartite. But Jocelyn makes no mention of the appointment of Secundinus, neither does the author of the *Vita Tertia*. The Tripartite states that the relics went back to Letha (Italy), and the advice of the Abbot of Rome was to take better care of them for the future.[9] In the gloss of the

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truth. Unless, as I have said before, we are prepared to deny *all* miracles, we cannot refuse to believe that he may have been thus carried to Rome. In the Life of Mary of Agreda a whole chapter is devoted to an account of her being carried in a similar manner from Agreda, in Spain, to America, where she instructed a number of people, and distributed rosaries amongst them. Some years after, when the province of Mexico was visited by Franciscan fathers, they found a colony of Indians, who earnestly requested to be baptized, and said that they had been instructed, some time previously, by a lady who appeared and disappeared mysteriously. After some years, when one of these missionaries returned to Spain, he found out that it was Mary of Agreda who had converted them. "Vie de la Venerable Mère Marie de Jesus," Paris, 1857, pp. 118-196. I might multiply examples of this kind from the lives of the saints. Even in our own century a similar fact is recorded of Anne Catherine Emmerich, who died in 1824. Catholics will also remember that the Church keeps a festival in honor of the removal of the Holy House of Loretto.

[9] *Future.*—It is quite clear that Colgan "doctored" the whole narrative. Probably he could hardly credit the account of the Tripartite, and, instead of translating it verbally into Latin in this part, as he had done most carefully up to this chapter, he really makes a version of his own, which does not agree

Felire or Martyrology of Aengus the Culdee, in the *Leabhar Breac*, there is a note in Latin and Irish. It runs thus: "Others say that it is at Ard Macha these relics are, ... and it was Sechnall that brought them together into Ireland." It is possible that the saint was taken to Rome miraculously the first time, and brought back the relics, and that on the second occasion he sent St. Sechnall to recover them.

While St. Patrick was absent from Armagh, at some period which is not defined, Sechnall saw two chariot horses with his people, and he said that they ought to be given to Fiacc. The saint was informed of this on his return, and ordered the horses to be yoked to the chariot, and to go to Fiacc, who was at Sletty. According to the account in the Book of Armagh, they were guided by an angel. The account of St. Sechnall's visit to Rome, in the Introduction to his Hymn in praise of St. Patrick, occurs somewhat abruptly. It is said that the saint intimated to him that his end was near, and then he wrote the Hymn. The whole narrative is so full of interest, and gives such an admirable picture of the practice and teaching of the early Irish Church, that I give the extract in full. There are some differences in the statements made as to the events which preceded the composition of the Hymn; but the following, which is from the *Leabhar Breac*, agrees in the

with any account. He speaks of Patrick's having got the relics by a "pious theft," and then adds that some say the Pope knew of it. Surely when Colgan recorded miracles of raising from the dead, and others equally wonderful, he might have recorded this also.

main with the statement of the Tripartite, and can be compared with it by the reader :—

"Vel hæc est causa [this is the cause or reason of composing the hymn], *i.e.*, from the attack that Sechnall made upon Patrick, viz [when he said], 'Patrick is a good man, except in one thing, viz., that he preaches almsgivings so little.' When Patrick heard this, he went to Sechnall, and he was in great wrath. It was when Sechnall had finished the Mass, except taking the Body of Christ, that he heard that Patrick had arrived at the place, and that he was in great wrath against Sechnall. Sechnall, therefore, leaves the oblation upon the altar, and prostrates himself to Patrick. Patrick, however, drove the chariot over him, but God raised the ground around him, hinc et inde, that he should not be injured. 'Why hast thou done so to me?' said Sechnall. 'Who, then, is the man,' said Patrick, 'who said that I did not preach, almsgiving—I am the enemy of God's testament? But God, my judge, knoweth that it is for charity that I preach it not, because there shall come after me into this island children of life, and they shall have need for its being exercised by all.' 'I did not know,' said Sechnall, 'that it was not from laxity thou didst so.' Then the angel said to Patrick: 'All these shall be thine.' They made peace then, Patrick and Sechnall. And as they were going round the cemetery, they heard a choir of angels chanting a hymn at the Offertory, in the church, and what they chanted was the hymn whose beginning is—

'Sancti venite, Christi corpus,' etc.

So that, from that time to the present, that hymn is chanted in Erinn when the Body of Christ is received.

"And Patrick, after this, sent Sechnall to Rome for portions of the relics of Paul and Peter and other martyrs, in consequence of the accusation he had made against him. And these are the relics which are now in Ardmacha, in the shrine of Paul and Peter.

Now, when Sechnall had finished this hymn, he went to show it to Patrick; and when he had reached Patrick, he said to him: 'I have composed a hymn in honor of a certain child of life. I wish that thou wouldst listen to it.' Patrick answered: 'I welcome the praise of a man of the people of God.' But the beginning that Sechnall gave to the hymn was, 'Beata Christi custodit,' in order that Patrick should not know in whose honor the hymn was made until he had finished it. But when Sechnall repeated, 'Maximus namque in regno cœlorum,' Patrick moved from place to place, and said: 'How can a man be greatest in the kingdom of heaven?' Sechnall said: 'Pro positivo est hic; or, it is because he excelled great numbers of his own race.' 'The answer is good,' said Patrick.

"When Sechnall had finished reciting the hymn, there came then a man and a woman, having food with them, to Patrick, viz., cheese and butter. Bera was the name of the man, and Bright the name of the woman. Then Patrick said, 'The house,' said he, 'in which this hymn is sung before dinner, there shall be no scarcity of food in it.' And the new house in which it is sung before occupation, the watching of Patrick and of the saints of Ireland shall be there about it; as the same was revealed to Colman Ela, and to others with him; and as it was revealed to Coemhghin (Kevin) and his monks, when he came out of the church on Sunday into the refectory, and sang this hymn. And Patrick, with many fathers, appeared to him, and he sang it three times. And then a certain foolish one said: 'Why do we sing this hymn thus?' And Coemhghin said: 'That is not good,' said he, 'for Patrick, with his disciples, were visible to us so long as we were singing this hymn.'

"When the recitation of the hymn was concluded, Sechnall said: 'I must have the reward for it,' said he. 'Thou shalt have it,' said Patrick; 'the number of days that are in a year, the same number of souls of sinners shall go to heaven, for the making of this hymn.' 'I will not accept that,' said Sechnall, 'for I think that too little, and the praise is good.' 'Thou shalt have, then,' said Patrick, 'the number of the hairs that are on the *casula* of thy cowl, the same number of sinners to go to heaven for the hymn.' 'I will not accept it,' said Sechnall, 'for who is the believer who would not take that number to heaven, although he were not praised by myself, nor by anyone, as thou art?' 'Thou shalt have,' said Patrick, 'seven every Thursday, and twelve every Saturday, to go to heaven, of the sinners of Erinn.' 'It is too little,' said Sechnall. 'Thou shalt have,' said Patrick, 'everyone to go to heaven who sings it lying down and rising up.' 'I will not accept that,' said Sechnall, 'for the hymn is long, and it is not everyone that can commit it to memory.' 'Its whole grace, then,' said Patrick, 'shall be upon the last three stanzas of it.' '*Deo gratias*,' said Sechnall.

"The angel promised the same thing to Patrick upon the *Cruach*, viz., heaven to every one who shall sing the last three stanzas of it at lying down and at rising up, as is (said by the poet):—

" 'A hymn, which, if sung when alive,
Will be a protecting *Lorica* unto all.' "[1]

The life of this great saint was at last drawing to its close. Well, indeed, might he desire rest, and richly did he merit it after the labors of a century, and a life which, from his very childhood, had been one of unceasing toil. Once again, his angel Victor, the blessed spirit who had summoned him more than a hundred years ago to come and help the Irish, appears to him with a special message from God, and still the obedient saint hears but to fulfil the divine command. He wished to die at Armagh. He was setting out for that place—for even the saints have their holy partialities; he knew that the "time of his going to heaven was at hand;" but the angel told him to turn back to Saul, for there should be the place of his resurrection.

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[1] *All.—Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 30-33.

Then the heavenly messenger informed him that his power should continue in Armagh to future ages, "even as if he were there alive himself;" and how truly this prophecy has been verified, facts to the present hour bear ample testimony. Even those who have taught a different creed from that of the saint have been unable to continue their efforts, and in our own time have ceased to be established, because their teaching, by the power of the intercession of Patrick, has failed to supersede his. Directions were also given to the saint concerning his funeral; and he was told to give orders that his body should be placed in a cart to which two young oxen from the herds of Conall should be yoked, and these being left to guide themselves, that he should be buried wherever they stopped.

It is probable that St. Patrick died immediately after his arrival in Saul, and that, like many saints, his illness was but a gentle and quick severing of the earthly bonds which had held his spirit captive from the land of his love. We only know that he received the last sacraments of the Holy Catholic Church from the saintly bishop, Tassach;[2] and then for twelve days all the clergy of Ireland who could be assembled watched around him, with "hymns, and psalms, and canticles." The music of the angels was heard, and a supernatural light[3] illuminated the place. Nor was this manifestation unusual in the lives of the saints; for God has often been pleased to manifest His approval of their devotedness by such exterior tokens. Even in our own day and time, we have personal knowledge of instances in which a light, not of earth or earthly, has been seen to surround the dying, or has given warning to those many hundred miles distant, of the departure of saintly souls. And why, indeed, should we marvel at these things? Do not our angels ever attend us, and are we not only prevented from seeing the brightness which ever surrounds them by the darkness of earthly light?

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[2] *Tassach.*—He was commemorated on the 13th of April, as

"The kingly bishop Tassach,
Who administered, on his arrival,
The Body of Christ, the truly powerful king,
And the Communion, to Patrick."

With regard to the four favors announced to St. Patrick by the angel, we reserve a consideration of them for the present.

After the death of the saint a dispute arose as to who should possess his remains. The Hy-Nial and the people of Orion were the combatants in this holy dispute. The former wished to carry the body to Armagh, the latter wished to bury it at Down. The prophecy or direction of the angel Victor was now fulfilled, for two oxen were yoked to a chariot by the clergy, and sent forth without human guidance, to see whither they would go. They rested at Dun-da-leth-glaisse (Down), on the spot now occupied by the cathedral, and here the saint was buried. The Hy-Nial, however, were not satisfied; they met the Ulidians at a place called *Collum-bovis* in the Book of Armagh. Here the tide rose, through the "power of God," and separated them. A miracle now occurred which decided the dispute: each party saw a bier carried by oxen, and each followed what he saw, thinking that he had at last secured the coveted treasure. Thus they separated without bloodshed, and what had seemed a reality disappeared before their astonished gaze at last, so that they were convinced it was a miraculous intervention to prevent further dispute. From these circumstances it necessarily followed that some doubt arose as to the site where the saint was interred. But we shall have more to say on this subject hereafter, when recording all the known traditions of the various relics of our saint.

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[3] *Light.*—Dr. Todd, to whose adverse comments I am obliged to refer once more, has strongly condemned the accounts of this supernatural light ("Memoir," p. 489). Dr. Lanigan has tried to explain it away ("Eccl. Hist." vol. i. p. 364). He has a very confused note at p. 366. When a person sets himself to explain away a clear statement, or series of statements, he generally involves himself in a series of contradictions. We read, in the Life of St. Germanus, that the house where the head of St. Just, the child martyr of Auxerre, was deposited, was filled with light, and it was so brilliant, that St. Amator, who was saying matins, perceived it, and sent to inquire the cause. Surely, if God thus honored the relics of a holy child for one night, may we not easily believe that for twelve nights, or for a year, He would thus honor our great apostle.

There are points of coincidence between the lives of saints and the lives of those whom the world distinguishes as great men; but there are also many points at which there is the widest divergence. The work of the world's heroes is for time, and it ends with time: the work of the saints, God's heroes, is for eternity, and continues through time, even after they have ceased to belong to it, and have entered upon the never-ending future. The saints are as brave as the bravest heroes;

and, in truth, many holy men have faced dangers from which the most valiant of earthly warriors might shrink without charge of cowardice. The saint, who, like our blessed apostle, goes forth to evangelize a heathen nation, encounters all the dangers of war without any human means of defence. It is true that he is defended by the God of Battles; but that God does not always interfere to protect his person or to defend him from suffering. On the contrary, He loves to see the valor of a soul who knows no fear, because he has no thought of self. Patrick invades Ireland to conquer it for the Eternal King, and he succeeds; but not without encountering the perils, the sufferings, and the privations of a soldier. If a general is justly called brave when he leads a gallant band of men to fight against an opposing and more powerful force, surely the saint is not less brave who comes single-handed to conquer a nation. He knows not, as he sets out on his glorious mission, whether that mission will succeed or fail. He knows that many of God's bravest generals win their victories when they lie cold in death, since torture and martyrdom are often their portion.

But they have this advantage. The fame of the greatest hero is but for time; at best, he is forgotten in a few centuries. God's heroes get little share of earthly fame, but they are more than compensated in eternity. To love the temporal interest of our country, and to die for it, is indeed a noble work; but to love its eternal interest, and to give our lives for it, is still nobler.

When we teach our children the names of our country's heroes, let us not forget to tell them first of the saints, as the greatest heroes.

We estimate a man's work most fairly by the results. If we thus estimate the work of the saints by results, and, above all, if we estimate the work of St. Patrick by results, what shall we say of it? Words almost fail to describe its magnitude and its importance. The country for which he prayed, and which he evangelized, has remained more faithful to the Church than any other nation upon earth; and it also has been a nation of heroes in the best and truest sense. France had her Goddess of Reason, Italy persecuted her Popes, Spain overturned her altars, Germany revolted as a nation, England chose a king for her spiritual head in preference to the Vicegerent of the King of kings; Ireland alone remained faithful as a nation, and never, even for one hour, denied the Faith taught to her by Patrick. This is no flight of fancy, no boast of one's country—it is simply an undeniable historical fact. And, under God, to what can we attribute this, save to the prayers of Patrick? The Irish race were confided to his keeping until the Day of Doom, and well has he guarded his charge. And, after centuries of persecution and suffering, the Irish nation are the teachers, throughout the world, of the Catholic faith. In America, in Australia, nay, even in England, we find the old Celtic names in overwhelming majority when we read the catalogue of bishops and priests who minister to these peoples;

and we are told, by unquestionable authority, that it is the pence and shillings of the poor exiled Celt which have enabled these bishops and priests to erect some of the most beautiful and costly temples, in which the Faith is taught as it was taught by Patrick, and the adorable Sacrifice is offered by the descendants of those whom he taught to revere its awful mysteries.

Well may we claim Patrick as the hero of the Irish Celt; and unite with the writer of the Tripartite, himself also a saint, who thus sums up our apostle's glories, enhanced during the centuries which have passed since these lines were penned:—

> "His body is here in the earth, and though great his honor, greater still will it be in the Day of Judgment, when the fruit of his preaching will be committed to him as to each other high apostle, with the apostles and disciples of Jesus, in the union of the nine choirs of angels, in the union of the Divinity and the Humanity of the Son of God, in the unity which is nobler than all unity—in the unity of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. I beseech mercy through the intercession of Patrick. We ask that we may all ourselves obtain this union *in sæcula sæculorum.* Amen."

THE

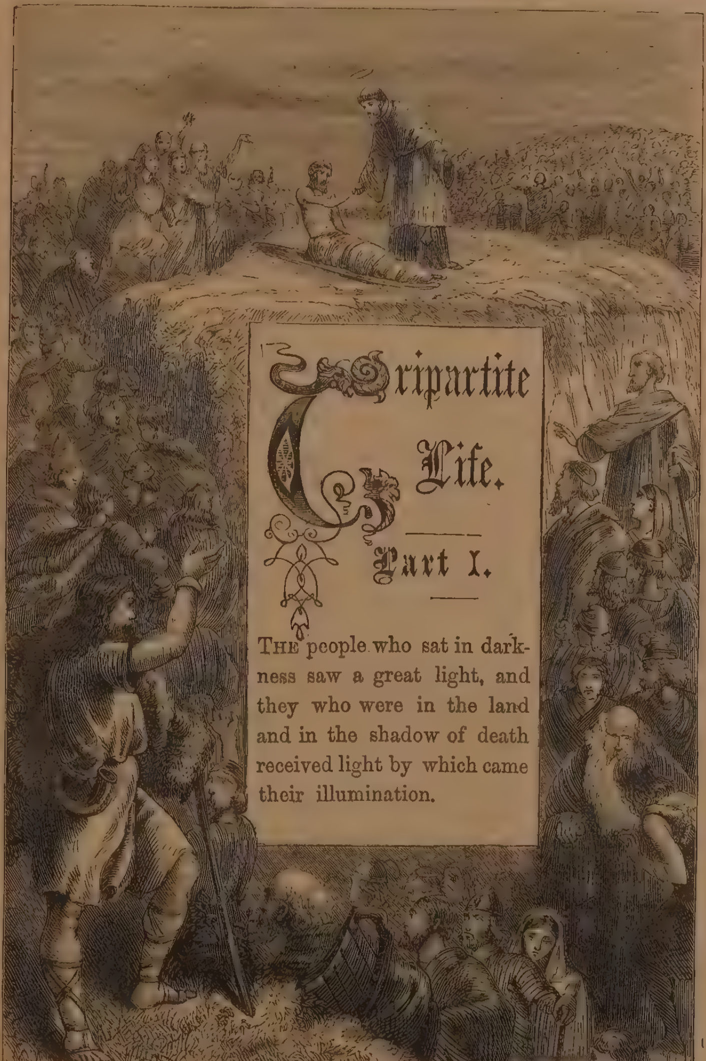
TRIPARTITE LIFE OF SAINT PATRICK,

APOSTLE OF IRELAND.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL IRISH.

BY

W. M. HENNESSY, ESQ., M.R.I.A.



Tripartite Life.

Part I.

THE people who sat in darkness saw a great light, and they who were in the land and in the shadow of death received light by which came their illumination.

The Munstermen going out to meet St. Patrick.

[1] Patrick, then, was of the Britons of Alcluaid by origin. Calpurnn was his father's name. He was a noble priest. Potid was his grandfather's name, whose title was a deacon. Conceis was his mother's name. She was of the Franks, and a sister to Martin. In Nemtur,[2] moreover, the man St. Patrick was born; and the flag (stone) on which St. Patrick was born would give forth water when anyone swore a false oath upon it, as if it were lamenting the false testimony. If the oath was true, however, the stone would continue in its natural condition.[3]

When the man St. Patrick was born, he was taken to the blind, flat-faced man, to be baptized. Gornias[4] was the priest's name; and he had no water out of which he could perform the baptism, until he made the sign of the Cross over the ground with the infant's hand, when a fountain of water burst forth. Gornias washed his face, and his eyes were opened to him; and he, who had learned no letter, read the baptism. God wrought three miracles through Patrick in this place, viz., the fountain of water through the ground, his eyesight to the blind man, and his reading the *ordo* of the baptism without knowing a letter up to that time. And

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[1] *Patrick.*—At the commencement of each of the three parts of the Tripartite Life, there are several pages of Latin, which form a sort of introduction to the subject; these are omitted, having no connection with the Life. A few lines from this introduction will be seen on the illustrated title page, which represents St. Patrick blessing the Munstermen, and raising a dead man to life.

[2] *Nemtur—hInidentur* (in Emtur), MS.—"Natus igitur in illo oppido Nemthur nomine Patricius natus est in Campo Taburne."—*Vita Secunda*, Colgan, p. 4.—"Natus est igitur Patricius in illo oppido Nemthur nomine."—*Vita Tertia*, p. 6. See pp. 84-89, *ante*. In the Annals of Ireland [Three Fragments, edited by O'Donovan], copied from ancient sources by D. MacFirbis, there is a note at p. 192 as follows:—Ailech Cluathe signifying Dumbarton—Entry in Annals of Ulster, A.D. 870: "Obsessio Ailec Cluathe a Nordmannis, i.e. Amlaiph et Imhar duo reges Nordmannorum obsederunt arcem illum & distruxerunt in fine iiii. mensium arcem illum et predaverunt." Also *Annales Cambriæ*, A.D. 870: "Arx Altclut a gentilibus fracta est." *Brut y Tywysogion*, A.D. 870: "Ac y torret *Kaer Alclut* y gan y Paganyeit"—"and Caer Alclut was demolished by the Pagans."

[3] *Condition.*—See *ante*, p. 107.

[4] *Gornias.*—See *ante*, p. 104.

Patrick was subsequently baptized. A church was founded, moreover, over this well in which Patrick was baptized; and the well is at the altar, and it has the form of the Cross, as the learned report.

Nutritus est igitur in Nemthur ille puer crescens in bonis operibus et in virtutibus quas egit Deus per illum, namque puerita gratia Dei preditus erat antequam inter bonum et malum nosset discernere, et viam veritatis posset indagare, sicut ipse in libro epistolarum dicit, inquiens et misertus est adolescentiæ ignorantiæ meæ, et custodivit me antequam scirem eam (sic), et antequam distinguerem inter bonum et malum, et munivit me et consolatus est mei (sic) ut pater filium.

Many prodigies and miracles were wrought through Patrick in his youth, but we shall only relate a few out of many of them. One time Patrick was in his nurse's house, in winter time, when a great flood and rain filled his nurse's residence, so that the vessels and furniture of the house were floating about, and the fire was extinguished. Patrick, then, cried to his nurse, as usual with children when desiring food. Then his nurse said to him: "That is not what troubles us; there is something else we would rather do than to prepare food for thee; even the fire is extinguished." When Patrick heard these words, truly, he sought a certain spot in the house to which the water had not reached; and he dipped his hand in the water, and five drops fell from Patrick's fingers, and they were suddenly changed into five sparks, and the fire glowed, and the water rose not. The names of God and of Patrick were magnified thereby. Another time, as Patrick was playing amongst his companions, in the time of winter and cold in particular, he collected his armful of pieces of ice, which he brought home to his nurse. Then his nurse said: "It would be better for you to bring us withered brambles, to warm ourselves with, than what you have brought." Thereupon he said to his nurse: "Believe thou, because God is powerful thereto, that even the sheets of ice will burn like faggots;" and no sooner were the pieces of ice placed on the fire, and he had breathed on them, than they burned like faggots. The names of God and Patrick were magnified through this miracle.

One time, when Patrick and his sister (*i.e.* Lupait)[5] were herding sheep, the lambs came suddenly to their dams, as is customary with them, to drink milk. When Patrick and his sister saw this, they ran quickly to prevent them. The girl fell, and her head struck against a stone, so that death was nigh unto her. As soon as Patrick perceived that his sister was lying down, and that death was nigh unto her, he wept loudly; and he raised her up immediately, and made the sign of the cross over the wound, and it healed without any illness. (Nevertheless, the signs of the "white wound" would appear there.) And they came home as if no evil had happened to them. Another time, Patrick was with the sheep, when a wolf took away a sheep from him. His nurse reproved him greatly therefor. The wolf brought the sheep whole to the same place on the morrow: and the restoration in this way was wonderful, viz., the wolf's dislike regarding the habitual food.

When Patrick's nurse, therefore, saw him magnified by God in prodigies and miracles, she used to love him very much, and would not wish to go anywhere without him. One time, his nurse went to milk the cow. He went with her to get a drink of new milk. The cow [became mad][6] in the *booley*, and killed five other cows. The nurse was much grieved, and asked him to resuscitate the cows. He resuscitated the cows, then, so that they were quite well, and he cured the mad cow; and the names of God and Patrick were magnified through this miracle.

There was a great assembly held by the Britons. He went to the assembly, with his nurse and his guardian. It happened that his guardian died in the assembly. All were hushed into silence thereat; and his relatives cried, and his friends wept, and they said, "Why, thou *gilla*, didst thou let the man who was carrying thee die?" As regards the *gilla*, moreover, he ran to his guardian, and placed his hands about his neck, and said to him, "Arise, and let us go home." He arose, forthwith, at Patrick's word, and they went home safe afterwards.

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[5] *Lupait.*—See *ante*, p. 113, for curious and interesting identifications.

[6] *Became mad.*—Defect in MS. A gloss adds that "a demon entered into her.'

The boys of the place in which Patrick was nursed were wont to bring honey to their mothers from the bees' nests. Then his nurse said to Patrick, "Although every other boy brings honey to his nurse, you bring none to me." Patrick afterwards carried off a bucket to the water, and filled it, and blessed the water, so that it changed into honey; and it healed every disease and ailment to which it was applied.

One time the King of Britain's steward went to command Patrick and his nurse to go and clean the hearth of the royal house in Al-Cluaid. Patrick and his nurse went. Then it was that the angel came, and said to Patrick, "Pray, and it will not be necessary for you to perform that work." Patrick prayed. The angel afterwards cleaned the hearth. Then Patrick said, "Though all the firewood in Britain were burned in that fireplace, there would be no ashes of it on the morrow." And this, indeed, is fulfilled yet. Another time the King of Britain's steward went to demand tribute of curds and butter from Patrick's nurse; and she had nothing that she would give for the rent. Then it was that Patrick made curds and butter of the snow, and they were taken to the king; and the moment they were exhibited to the king, afterwards, they changed into the nature of snow again. The king thereupon forgave the rent to Patrick for ever.

The cause[7] of Patrick's coming to Erinn was as follows:—The seven sons of Fechtmad, viz., the seven sons of the King of Britain, were on a naval expedition, and they went to plunder in Armoric-Letha; and a number of the Britons of Srath-Cluaidh were on a visit with their kinsmen, the Britons of Armoric-Letha, and Calpurn, son of Potit, Patrick's father, and his mother, *i.e.* Conches, daughter of Ocbas of the Galls, *i.e.* of the Franks, were killed in the slaughter in Armorica. Patrick and his two sisters, viz., Lupait and Tigris, were taken prisoners, moreover, in that slaughter. The seven sons of Fechtmad went afterwards on the sea, having with them Patrick and his two sisters in captivity. The way they went was around Erinn, northwards, until they landed in the north; and they sold Patrick to Miliuc, son of Buan, *i.e.* to the king of Dal-Araidhe. They sold his sisters in Conaille-Muirthemhne.[8] And they did not know this.[9] Four persons, truly, that purchased him. One of them was Miliuc. It was from this that he received the name that is Cothraige,[1] for the reason that he served four families. He had, indeed, four names. . . . . .

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[7] *Cause.*—See extract from the Scholiast on Fiacc's Hymn, *ante*, p. 85.

[Here a leaf is missing from both the Bodleian and British Museum MSS. of the Tripartite Life; the contents of which would fill eight pages of similar size to the foregoing.]

When Patrick had completed his sixtieth year, and had learned knowledge, his auxiliary angel, Victor (for he was of assistance to him when he [Patrick] was in bondage with Miliuc, and regarding everything besides which he might wish), went to him, and said to him, "You are commanded from God to go to Erinn, to strengthen faith and belief, that you may bring the people, by the net of the gospel, to the harbor of life; for all the men of Erinn call out your name, and they think it seasonable and fit that you should come." Patrick afterwards bids farewell to Germanus, and gave him a blessing; and a trusted senior went with him from Germanus, to guard him, and testify for him; his name was Segetius, and he was by grade a priest; and he it was who usually kept the *Ordo* of the church besides Germanus.[2]

Patrick went subsequently on the sea, his company being nine. Then he went upon an island, where he saw a withered old woman on her hands at the door of a house. "Whence is the hag?"

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[8] *Conaille-Muirthemhne.*—The level part of the present county of Louth.

[9] *This.*—Patrick and his sisters did not know their mutual fate.

[1] *Cothraige.*—See, on the meaning of this name, Dr. Todd's paper in the "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. vi. p. 202.

[2] *Germanus.*—*Ante*, p. 156.

asked Patrick; "great is her infirmity." A young man answered, and said, "She is a descendant of mine," said the young man; "if you could see the mother of this girl, O cleric, she is more infirm still." "In what way did this happen?" inquired Patrick. "Not difficult to tell," said the young man. "We are here since the time of Christ. He came to visit us when He was on earth amongst men; and we made a feast for him, and He blessed our house, and blessed ourselves; but this blessing reached not our children; and we shall be here without age or decay for ever. And it is long since thy coming was foretold to us," said the young man; "and God 'left it with us' [*i.e.* prophesied to us] that thou wouldst come to preach to the Gaeidhel; and He left a token with us, *i.e.* His *bachall* (crozier), to be given to thee." "I will not take it," said Patrick, "until He himself gives me His *bachall*."[3] Patrick remained three days and three nights with them; and he went afterwards into Sliabh-Hermoin, near the island, where the Lord appeared unto him, and commanded him to go and preach to the Gaeidhel; and He gave him the Bachall-Isa,[4] and said that it would be of assistance to him in every danger, and every difficulty in which he would be. And Patrick besought three requests of Him, viz.; (1) to be at His right hand in the kingdom of heaven; (2) that he (Patrick) might be the judge of the Gaeidhel on the Day of Judgment; and (3) as much as the nine companions could carry of gold and silver, to give to the Gaeidhel for believing.

The Airchinnech that was in Rome at that time was Celestinus, the forty-second man from Peter. He sent Palladius, a high deacon, with twelve men, to instruct the Gaeidhel (for to the comarb of Peter belongs the instruction of Europe), in the same way as Barnabas went from Peter to instruct the Romans, &c. When Palladius arrived in the territory of Leinster, *i.e.* at Inbher-Dea,[5] Nathi, son of Garchu, opposed him, and expelled him. And

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[3] *Bachall.*—See *ante*, p. 189. All the details which can be discovered about this interesting relic will be given later.

[4] *Isa.*—See the account of this in O'Curry's Lectures.

[5] *Inbher-Dea.*—The mouth of the Vartry river, county Wicklow.

Palladius baptized a few there, and founded three churches, viz., Cill-fine (in which he left his books, and the casket with the relics of Paul and Peter, and the tablet in which he used to write), and Tech-na-Roman, and Domhnach-Airte, in which Silvester and Solonius are. On turning back, afterwards, sickness seized him in the country of the Cruithne, and he died of it.

When Patrick heard this thing, and knew that it was for him God designed the apostleship of Erinn, he went subsequently to Rome, to receive *grade;* and it was Celestinus, Abbot of Rome,[6] who read *grada* (orders, degrees) over him; Germanus, and Amatho, King of the Romans, being present with them.

When Patrick came from Rome, where he arrived was at Inbher-Dea,[7] in Leinster. Nathi, son of Garchu, came also against him. Patrick cursed him. Sinell, moreover, the son of Finnchadh, was the first who believed in Erinn through Patrick's teaching. Hence it was that Patrick blessed him and his seed. On the same day, Auxilius and Eserninus, and others of Patrick's people, were ordained; and it was then, also, that the name Patricius, *i.e.* a name of power with the Romans, was given to him; *i.e.* a hostage-liberating man. It was he, moreover, who loosened the hostage ship and bondage of the Gaeidhel to the devil. And when they were reading the *grada* (orders, degrees), the three choirs responded, viz., the choir of the men of heaven, and the choir of the Romans, and the choir of the children from the woods of Fochlud, all whom cried out, "Hibernienses omnes," &c. In illis diebus autem gesta sunt in predictis ita. In that time there was a fierce pagan king in Erinn, *i.e.* Laeghaire Mac Neill,[8] and his seat and royal hold was in Tara. In the fifth year of the reign of Laeghaire Mac Neill Patrick came to Erinn. The eighth year of the reign of Lughaidh he died. The eighth year of the reign of Theodosius, the forty-fifth man from Augustus, Patrick came; eight years Celestine was then prince, as Gelasius said.

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[6] *Rome.*—See pp. 203-207, for full evidence of St. Patrick's Roman mission.

[7] *Inbher-Dea.*—For identification, see p. 225.

[8] *Laeghaire Mac Neill.*—He was son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and monarch of Ireland from 428 to 463 A.D.

This valiant king, then, *i.e.* Laeghaire Mac Neill, possessed druids and enchanters, who used to foretell through their druidism, and through their paganism, what was in the future for them. Lochru and Luchat Mael[9] were their chiefs; and these two were authors of that art of pseudo-prophecy. They prophesied, then, that a mighty, unprecedented prophet would come across the sea, with an unknown code of instruction, with a few companions, whom multitudes would obey, and who would obtain dignity and reverence from the men of Erinn; and that he would expel kings and princes from their governments, and would destroy all the idolatrous images; and that the faith which would arrive would live for ever in Erinn. Two years, or three, before the arrival of Patrick, what they used to prophesy was [as follows]:—

> "A *Tailcend* (*i.e.* Patrick) shall come across the stormy sea,
> His garment head-pierced, his staff[1] head-bent,
> His *mias* (*i.e.* altar) in the east of his house;
> His people all shall answer, amen, amen."

Baile-Cuinn (the Ecstasy of Conn, a rhapsody so called) dixit: "A *Tailcend* shall come, who will found cemeteries, make cells new, and pointed music-houses, with conical caps [*bencopar*]; and have princes bearing croziers.[2]" "When these signs shall come," said

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[9] *Mael.*—Luchat Calvus.

[1] *Staff.*—Glossed, "*i.e.* the Bachall-Isa (staff of Jesus) in his hand."

[2] *Croziers.*—"Conn's name is connected with two distinct prophecies; one delivered by himself, and entitled the Bailé Chuinn, or Conn's Ecstasy; the other delivered to him, and entitled the Bailé an Scáil, or the champion's Ecstasy. The word Bailé, which means madness, distraction, or ecstasy, is the ancient Gaedhelic name for a prophecy.

"Of these two 'prophecies,' nothing seems to have been known to Gaedhelic scholars and historians, for some centuries back, more than the quotation from the Bailé Chuinn found in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, as published by Father John Colgan, in his *Trias Thaumaturgas*, in the year 1647 (a quotation which was reprinted by Dr. Petrie, in his 'History and Antiquities of Tara,' published in 1839, in the eighteenth volume of the 'Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy'). Even at the time that Dr. Petrie wrote his important they, "our adoration and our *gentility* (paganism) will vanish, and faith and belief will be magnified." As it was foretold then, and represented, so it happened and was fulfilled.

When Patrick completed his voyage, and his ship entered the

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essay on Tara, the serious examination of our ancient Gaedhelic manuscripts was but in its infancy; and when this Bailé Chuinn was discovered in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, it was not known who Conn, the author of it, was, nor at what time he flourished, nor whether it contained any more than what is there quoted; it was only believed that he must have been some ancient druid. Neither could the most minute research among our extensive collection of manuscripts in Dublin throw any light on his history. However, on my visit to London in the summer of 1849, I had the good fortune to discover an ancient copy of the entire prophecy, of which an extract only is quoted in the Tripartite Life.

"The piece is a short one, filling but one column of a small folio page. It is entitled '*Bailé Chuinn Ched-Chataigh;*' that is, 'the Ecstasy (or Prophecy) of Conn of the Hundred Battles.' The manuscript is written on vellum, and was compiled or transcribed in Burren, in my native country of Clare, by Donnell O'Davoren, about the year 1590. It will be found in the British Museum, classed 'Egerton, 88.' The transcript appears to have been made from some ancient, decayed manuscript, and with some carelessness, many words being carelessly spelled or contracted. The style of the composition is affectedly irregular and obscure, and cannot be taken as evidence of the remote antiquity to which it is referred. It will appear, from what follows, that the piece professes to have been originally written forty nights before Conn's death. The 'prophecy,' which is written in prose, has reference to the succession of the kings of Tara; and Conn commences with his own son, Art, of whom he disposes in the following few words: 'Art will succeed at the end of forty nights, a powerful champion, who shall die at Mucruimhé.' The prophecy then runs rapidly down to Mac Con, the successor of Art; Cormac, the son of Art, and successor of Mac Con; Cairbré, the son of Cormac, killed at the battle of Gabhra; Fiacha-Sraibhtiné, the son of Cairbré; Muiredhach, the son of Fiacha; and, passing over Eochaidh Muighmheadhóin, the son of Muiredhach, it comes down to his son again, Niall of the Nine Hostages, and then to Laeghairé, the son of Niall, who was monarch when St. Patrick arrived. Here the prophet foretells the coming of our great apostle, in words which stand as follows, with their ancient explanations: 'With Laeghaire the violent will the land be humbled by the coming of the Tailcenn, that is, Patrick; houses across, that is, churches; bent staffs, which will pluck the flowers from high places.' A somewhat different and better version of this prediction is given in the Ancient Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, where it is quoted, without gloss, from the Bailé Chuinn.

"The word Tailcenn (or Tailgenn), which occurs here and in various places in our ancient writings, means the reverend person—to whom all men would bow the head in reverence. For the precise meaning of every word in this harbor at Inbher-Dea,[3] in the territory of Leinster, he brought his ships to the shore. Then it was that he decided to go to instruct Miliuc. He thought fit, as he labored at first for his body, that he should labor for his soul. He then put stick to shore,[4] and proceeded on a prosperous voyage, past the coast of Erinn, eastwards, until he stopped in Inbher-Domnand.[5] He found no fish there, and cursed it. He went to Inis-Patrick; and he sent to Inbher-Nainge,[6] where nothing was found for him. He cursed this also, and both are unfruitful. Then it was that Benen came into his company. Soon after Patrick slept awhile, and all the odoriferous flowers that the youth could find, he would put them into the cleric's bosom. Patrick's people said to Benen, "Stop doing that, lest thou shouldst awake Patrick." Patrick said, "He will be the heir of my kingdom." He went to Inbher-Boindi,[7] where he found fish. He blessed it, and the *Inbher* is fruitful. He found druids in that place, who denied the virginity of Mary. Patrick blessed the ground, and it swallowed the druids. Patrick went afterwards from Inis-Patrick, past Conaille,[8] and past the

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ancient strain, I have succeeded in procuring from ancient manuscripts the most undoubted authority; and this is rather remarkable, since the version of it given by Father John Colgan, in his Latin translation of the Tripartite Life, is inaccurate and incongruous. It runs as follows: 'Adveniet cum circulo tonsus in capite, cujus ædes ad instar ædium Romanarum efficiet quod cellæ futuræ sint in pretio et æstimatione. Ædes ejus erunt angustæ et angulatæ et fana mueta pedum pastorale domnabetur.'"—O'Curry, "Manuscript Materials."

[3] *Inbher-Dea.*—The mouth of the Vartry river, near Wicklow, in the territory of Ui-Garchon, which contained Glenealy and Rathnew.—"Four Masters," A.D. 430, 431, and 835; also Todd's "St. Patrick," n. p. 338.

[4] *Shore.*—*i.e.* pushed off his boat.

[5] *Inhber-Domnand.*—Dr. Todd ("Life of St. Patrick," note 5, p. 405), writes, this is now Malahide river, on the authority of Dr. Reeves' "Adamnan," p. 31, who says it is now disguised in *Muldowney.*

[6] *Inbher-Nainge*, now the mouth of the *Nanny* river, which, running past Duleek, county Meath, empties itself into the Irish sea, at the parish of Julianstown, called otherwise the parish of Nanny in Usher's "Return of Meath," 1622.

[7] *Boindi.*—Mouth of the Boyne.

[8] *Conaille-Muirthemhne.*—A territory comprising that part of the county Louth extending from the Cuailgne (Cooly) mountains to the Boyne.—"Book of Rights," pp. 21 and 166.

coast of Ulster, until he stopped at Inbher-Brena.[9] He went afterwards to Inbher-Slani, where the clerics hid their ships; and they went ashore to put off their fatigue, and to rest; so that there it was the swine-herd of Dichu, son of Trichim, found them, where Sabhall-Patrick is to-day. When he saw the divines and the clerics, he thought they were robbers or thieves; and he went to tell his lord; whereupon Dichu came, and set his dog at the clerics. Then it was that Patrick uttered the prophetic verse, "Ne tradas bestis, &c., et canis obmutuit." When Dichu saw Patrick, he became gentle, and he believed, and Patrick baptized him; so that he was the first in Ulster who received faith and baptism from Patrick. Then it was that Dichu presented the Sabhall[1] to Patrick. Patrick said:—

"The blessing of God on Dichu,
Who gave to me the Sabhall;
May he be, hereafter,
Heavenly, joyous, glorious.

"The blessing of God on *Dichu*[2]—
Dichu with full folds (flocks);
No one of his sept or kindred
Shall die, except after a long life."

Patrick went to preach to Miliuc, as we have said, and took gold with him, to prevail on him to believe, for he knew that he

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[9] *Inbher-Brena.*—The mouth of Strangford river. Inbher-Slani was about six miles distant, inside Strangford Lough, being the mouth of the Slaney water, which rises in Loughmoney, and passes through Raholp, emptying itself into Strangford Lough, between Ringbane and Ballintogher.

[1] *Sabellum.*—Saul, county Down.

[2] *Dichu.*—He was son of Trichim, of the race of Fiatach Finn, monarch of Ireland, and brother of Eochaidh Gunait, who was also monarch of Ireland. His festival was held at Saul, on the 29th November. The Irish Calendars record six brothers of Dichu; Laeghaire, of Dun; Ailill, of Magh-bile, now Movilla; Duirthect, of Aendruim, now Island Magee; Eoghan and Niall, both of Cillcleithe, now Kilclief; and Ros (who met St. Patrick at Brettan, or Bright), of Dundaleithglass, now Downpatrick—all churches in the county Down. St. Jarlath, third bishop of Armagh, to which he was appointed by St. Patrick himself, and who died, A.D. 481, was son of Trien, brother of Trichim, and therefore cousin of St. Dichu.

(Miliuc) was covetous regarding gold. But when Miliuc heard that Patrick had arrived, he wished not to believe for him, and to abandon the pagan religion. He thought it unbecoming to believe for his servant, and to submit to him. The counsel that a demon taught him was this: He went into his royal house,[3] with his gold and silver; and he set the house on fire, and was burned with all his treasures, and his soul went to hell. Then it was that Patrick proceeded past the northern side of Sliabh-Mis (there is a cross in that place), and he saw the fire afar off. He remained silent for the space of two or three hours, thinking what it could be, and he said, "That is the fire of Miliuc's house," said Patrick, "after his burning himself in the middle of his house, that he might not believe in God in the end of his life. As regards the man who persuaded him thereto," added he, "there shall not be a king or righdamhna[4] of his family, and his seed and race shall be 'in service' for ever, and his soul shall not return from hell to the judgment, nor after judgment." After he had said these words, he turned *deisel* (right-handwise) and went back again into the territory of Uladh,[5] until he arrived at Magh-inis, to Dichu, son of Trichim, and he remained there a long time disseminating faith, so that he brought all the Ulidians with the net of the gospel to the harbor of life.

Patrick went subsequently from Sabhall southwards, that he might preach to Ros, son of Trichim. He it was that resided in Derlus,[6] to the south of Dun-leth-glaise (Downpatrick). There is a small city (cathair, *i.e.* civitas, but also meaning a bishop's *see*) there this day, *i.e.* Brettain, ubi est Episcopus Loarn qui ausus est increpare Patricium tenentem manum pueri ludentis justa Ecclesiam suam. As Patrick was then on his way, he saw a tender youth herding pigs. Mochae his name. Patrick preached to him, and baptized him, and cut his hair, and gave him a copy of the gospels, and a reliquary. And he gave him also, another time, a *bachall* which had been given them from God, viz., its head into Patrick's bosom, and its end in Mochae's bosom; and this is the Detech-Mochae of Noendruim;[7] and Mocha promised Patrick a shorn pig every year. And this, indeed, is still given.

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[3] *Royal house.*—In the townland of Killycarn, parish of Sherry, barony of lower Antrim and county Antrim (ordnance sheets, Nos. 28 and 29), is a large rath, under which are some beehived erections constructed in cyclopean manner. This is said to have been one of the residences of Miliuc. But there is no cross standing there at present.

[4] *Righdamhna.*—The elected successor to the king.

[5] *Uladh.*—The eastern part of Down.

[6] *Derlus.*—Derlus and Mreachtain were ancient names of Bright, where the Anglo-Normans built a castle, part of which is still standing. It was formerly bishop's land, and in 1640-1 proceedings were taken by Bishop Leslie to recover it from the Earl of Kildare. An account of the proceedings will be found in the Journal of the Irish House of Commons. The church of Brich is mentioned in the taxation of Down and Connor.—See Reeves' "Down and Connor," p. 35.

When the solemnity of Easter approached, Patrick considered that there was no place more suitable to celebrate the high solemnity of the year, *i.e.* the Easter, than in Magh-Bregh,[8] the place where the head of the idolatry and druidism of Erinn was, viz., in Temhair. They afterwards bade farewell to Dichu, son of Trichim, and put their vessels on the sea; and they proceeded until they anchored in Inbher-Colptha. They left their vessels in the Inbher, and went by land until they reached Ferta-fer-féc,[9] and Patrick's tent was fixed in this place, and he cut the Easter fire. It happened, however, that this was the time in which the great festival of the Gentiles, *i.e.* the *Fes of Tara*, was usually celebrated. The kings, and princes, and chieftains, were wont to come to Laeghaire MacNeill to Tara, to celebrate this festival. The druids and the magicians were also wont to come to prophesy to them. The fire of every hearth in Erinn was usually extinguished on that night, and it was commanded by the king that no fire should be lighted in Erinn before the fire of Tara, and neither gold nor silver would be accepted from any one who would light it, but he should suffer death for it. Patrick knew not this thing; and if he knew it, it would not prevent him.

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[7] *Mochae of Noendrinm.*—See *ante*, p. 239, for note on Mochae, and similar incident in the life of St. Agnes of Monte Pulciano.

[8] *Magh-Bregh.*—See *ante*, p. 243, n., and the same for Inbher Colptha.

[9] *Ferta-fer-féc.*—The present Slane. See note, p. 243, *ante*, and a very interesting chapter in "The Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern," by the Rev. A. Cogan, vol. i. p. 58. It is to be wished that the clergy in other dioceses would follow the excellent example of this learned priest, and give us histories of their districts.

As the people of Tara were thus, they saw the consecrated Easter fire at a distance, which Patrick had lighted. It illuminated all Magh-Bregh. Then the king said, "That is a violation of my prohibition and law; and do you ascertain who did it." "We see the fire," said the druids, "and we know the night in which it is made. If it is not extinguished before morning," added they, "it will never be extinguished. The man who lighted it will surpass the kings and princes, unless he is prevented." When the king heard this thing, he was much infuriated. Then the king said, "That is not how it shall be; but we will go," said he, "until we slay the man who lighted the fire." His chariot and horses were yoked for the king, and they went, in the end of the night, to Ferta-fer-féc. "You must take care," said the druids, "that you go not to the place where the fire was made, lest you worship the man who lighted it; but stay outside, and let him be called out to you, that he may know you to be a king, and himself a subject; and we will argue in your presence." "It is good counsel," said the king; "it shall be done as you say." They proceeded afterwards, until they unyoked their horses and chariots in front of the *Ferta.* Patrick was "whispered" out to them; and it was commanded by them that no one should rise up before him, lest he should believe in him. Patrick rose and went out; and when he saw the chariots and horses unyoked, he sang the prophetic stanza :—

"Hi in curribus et hi in eorus (equis),
Nos autem, in nomine Domini Dei nostri mā."[1]

They were then before him, and the rims of their shields against their chins; and none of them rose up before him, except one man alone, in whom was a figure from God, *i.e.* Erc, son of Dega. He is the Bishop Erc who is [commemorated] in Slaine of Magh-Bregh to-day. Patrick blessed him, and he believed in God, and confessed the Catholic faith, and was baptized; and Patrick said to him, "Your seat (*cathair*, chair or city) on earth shall be noble," and Patrick's (*comarb*) successor is bound to bend the knee before his *comarb* in consideration of his submission.[2]

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[1] *Mā.*—Colgan has *invocabimus.*

Each then questioned the other—viz., Patrick and Laeghaire. Lochru went fiercely, enviously, with contention and questions, against Patrick; and then he began to denounce the Trinity and the Catholic faith. Patrick looked severely at him, and cried out to God with a loud voice, and he said; "Domine qui omnia potes et in tua potestate consistit quidquid est, quique nos misisti huc ad nomen tuum gentibus prædicandum hic impius qui blasphemat nomen tuum, elevatur nunc foras, et cito moriatur. Et his dictis elevatus est magus in aëra et iterum desuper cito dejectus sparso ad lapidem cerebro comminutus et mortus fuerat coram eis."[3] The pagans became afraid at this. But the king was much infuriated against Patrick, and he determined to kill him. He told his people to slay the cleric. When Patrick observed this thing, the rising up against him of the pagans, he cried out with a loud voice, and said; "Et exurget Deus et dissipentur inimici ejus, et fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie ejus, sicut defecit fumus deficit sic deficiant sicut fluit caera a facie ignis: sic pereint peccatorus facie Domini." Immediately darkness went over the sun, and great shaking and trembling of the earth occurred. They thought it was heaven that fell upon the earth; and the horses started off, frightened, and the wind blew the chariots across the plains, and all rose against each other in the assembly; and they were all attacking each other, so that fifty men of them fell in this commotion through Patrick's malediction. The Gentiles fled in all directions, so that only three remained, viz., Laeghaire, and his queen, and a man of his people; et timuerunt valde, veniensque regina ad Patricium (*i.e.* Angass, daughter of Tassagh, son of Liathan), dixit, "Ei homo juste et potens ne perdas regem. The king will go to thee, and will submit to thee, and will kneel, and will believe in God." Laeghaire went then and knelt before Patrick, and gave him a "*false peace.*"[4] Not long after this the king beckoned Patrick aside, and what he meditated was to kill him; but this happened not, because God had manifested this intention to Patrick. Laeghaire said to Patrick, "Come after me, O cleric, to Tara, that I may believe in thee before the men of Erinn;" and he then placed men in ambush before Patrick in every pass from Ferta-fer-féc to Tara, that they might kill him. But God did not permit it. Patrick went, accompanied by eight young clerics (maccleirech), and Benen as a *gilla* along with them; and Patrick blessed them before going, and a *dicheltair*[5] (garment of invisibility) went over them, so that not one of them was seen. The Gentiles who were in the ambuscades, however, saw eight wild deer going past them along the mountain, and a young fawn after them, and a pouch on his shoulder, viz., Patrick, and his eight [clerics], and Benen after them, and his (Patrick's) *polaire* (satchel, or epistolary) on his back.

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[2] *Submission.*—See *ante*, p. 243, for identification of Magh-Bregh, and pp. 253-255, for further details of St. Patrick's visits.

[3] See Colgan, p. 126.

Laeghaire went afterwards, about twilight, to Tara, in sorrow and shame, with the few persons who escaped in his company. On the day succeeding, Easter Sunday, the men of Erinn went to Tara to drink the feast, for the *Fes* of Tara was a principal day with them. When they were banqueting, and thinking of the conflict they waged the day before, they saw Patrick, who arrived in the middle of Tara, januis clausis ut Christus in cennaculum: because Patrick meditated: "I will go," said he, "so that my readiness may be manifested before the men of Erinn. I shall not make a candle under a bushel of myself. I will see," said he, "who will believe in me, and who will not believe." No one rose up before him inside but *Dubhtach* Mac Ua Lugair alone, the king's royal poet, and a tender youth of his people (viz., his name was Fiacc: it is he who is [commemorated] in Slebhte to-day). This Dubhtach, truly, was the first man who believed that day in Tara. Patrick blessed him and his seed. Patrick was then called to the king's bed that he might eat food, and to prove him in prophecy (*i.e.* in venturis rebus). Patrick did not refuse this, because he knew what would come of it. The druid Luchat Mael went to drink with him, for he wished to revenge on Patrick what he had done to his (the druid's) companion the day before. The druid Luchat Mael put a drop of poison into the goblet which was beside Patrick, that he might see what Patrick would do in regard to it. Patrick observed this act, and he blessed the goblet, and the ale adhered to it, and he turned the goblet upside-down afterwards, and the poison which the druid put into it fell out of it. Patrick blessed the goblet again, and the ale changed into its natural state. The names of God and Patrick were magnified thereby. The hosts then went and took up their station outside Tara. "Let us work miracles," said Luchat Mael, "before the multitude in this great plain." Patrick asked, "What are they?" The druid said, "Let us bring snow upon the plain, so that the plain may be white before us." Patrick said to him, "I do not wish to go against the will of God." The druid said, "I will bring the snow upon the plain, though you like it not." He then began the druidic poetry, and the demoniacal arts, until the snow fell, so that it would reach the girdles of man: and all saw and wondered greatly. Patrick said, "We see this; send it away, if you can." The druid answered, "I cannot do that thing until this time to-morrow." "By my *debhro*,"[6] said Patrick, "in evil is thy power, and not in good."

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[4] *False peace.—Brécsith* (acted with hypocrisy). Tirechan, in his Annotations, says that Laeghaire never became a Christian.

[5] *Dichealtair* is translated "a place of concealment or enclosure, a deer park," in O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary.

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[6] *Debhro.*—O'Donovan, Supplement to O'Reilly's Dictionary, translates this phrase, "my God Judge," or "God of Judgment," adding that it was variously explained by the writers of the Lives, but that he gave the above interpretation from Cormac's Glossary, which was supported by the reading of Jocelyn. Sir William Betham absurdly translated it as "Proud Slave," or "Slave of Pride."

Patrick blessed the plain before him towards the four points, and the snow immediately disappeared, without rain, without sun, without wind, at Patrick's word. Darkness afterwards went over the face of the earth, through the incantations of the druid. The multitudes cried out thereat. Patrick said, "Expelli tenebras." The druid answered, "I am not able to-day." Patrick prayed the Lord, and blessed the plain, and the darkness was expelled, and the sun shone out, and all gave thanks. They were for a long time contending thus before the king, *i.e.* as Nero said to Simon and Peter, et ait rex ad illos, "Libros vestros in aqua mittite, et illum cujus libri illesi evaserint adorabimus." Respondit Patricius, "Faciam ego;" et dixit magus, "Nolo ego ad judicium ire aquæ cum ipso; aquam etiam Deum habet;" because he heard that it was through water Patrick used to baptize. Et respondit rex, "Mittite igitur in igne;" et ait Patricius, "Promptus sum;" at magus nolens dixit, "Hic homo versa vice in alternos annos nunc aquam nunc ignem deum veneratur." "It is not this that shall be done," said Patrick, "for since you say that it is the fire I adore, go you, if you wish, into a house apart, and well closed, and a student of my people along with you, and let my *casula* be about you, and your druidic tunic about my student[7] (*mac cleirech*); and fire will be applied to the house, that God may decide between you there." This counsel was agreed to by the men of Erinn, including Laeghaire. The house was then made, one half of dry faggots, and the other half of fresh materials. The druid was put into the fresh part, and Patrick's *casula* about him. Benen, however, was put into the dry[8] part, with the druid's tunic about him. The house was afterwards closed, and fastened on the outside, before the multitude, and fire was applied to it. A great prodigy occurred there through Patrick's prayers. The fresh part of the house was burned, as well as the druid under the *casula*, and not a bit of the

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[7] *Student.*—The student was St. Benignus. As he wore the druid's tunic, it would appear an argument in favor of his being more than a mere child at the time.

[8] *Dry.*—*Crin, i.e.* withered, or easily ignited, brambles.

casula was destroyed. The dry portion, in which was Benen, however, was not burned, and God preserved Benen under the druid's tunic, and the tunic was burned, so that it was reduced to ashes. The king was greatly enraged against Patrick for the killing of his druid. He arose, and would like to slay Patrick; but God did not permit it, through the intercession of Patrick. The anger of God fell afterwards on the impious multitude, so that great numbers of them died, viz., twelve thousand in one day. Patrick said to Laeghaire, "If you do not believe now, you shall die quickly, for the anger of God will come upon your head." When the king heard these words he was seized with great fear. The king went into a house afterwards, to take counsel with his people. "It is better for me," said he, "to believe in God, than [to suffer] what is threatened to me, my death." It was after this that Laeghaire knelt to Patrick, and believed in God, and many thousands believed in that day.

Then it was that Patrick said to Laeghaire, "Since you have believed in God, and have submitted to me, length of life in thy sovereignty will be given to thee. As a reward for thy disobedience some time ago, however, there will be no king nor roydamhna from thee for ever except Lughaidh,"[9] the son of Laeghaire; for his mother implored Patrick that he would not curse the infant that was in her womb, when Patrick said, "I will not, until he comes against me." Lughaidh then assumed the sovereignty; and he went to Achadh-farcha. There he said: "Is not that the church of the cleric who said that there would be neither king nor roydamhna from Laeghaire?" After this, darts of lightning descended from the heavens on his head, which killed him, and hence is [the name] Achadh-farcha.[1] These miracles live to this day. These are the miracles the divines of Erinn knew, and through which they put a thread of narration. Columcille, son of Fedhlidhmidh, Ultan, the grandson of Conchobhar, Adamnan, the grandson of Tinne, Eleran the Wise, Ciaran of Belach-duin, Cruimther Collait

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[9] *Lughaidh.*—Lughaidh ascended the throne, according to the Four Masters, in 479, or, according to the *Chronicon Scotorum*, in 480. The Annals of Ulster give 484, and O'Flaherty, in the "Ogygia," 483; which date Dr. Todd, in his "Life of St. Patrick," tables 252 and 256, adopted. His death is generally placed at 508, but it will be observed that the Irish Life passes over all the incidents of his reign, from his accession to his death. The following notice of his reign and death is taken from the Book of Lecan, as quoted in Petrie's "Tara," p. 86:—

"Lughaidh, the son of Laeghaire, assumed the government of Ireland for five years" [recte fifteen years], "and he sent messengers to demand the Boru, and he did not receive it without a battle. And he assembled the nobles of *Leath Chuinn* to force the Boru; and the Lagenians came to Magh Ailbhi." [Moy-alvy, in the south of county Kildare.] "The battle of Magh Ailbhi was fought between them, in which a victory was gained over Lughaidh, and Muircheartach Mac Earca, and Cairbri Mor, the son of Niall; and in revenge of this battle Muircheartach and Cairbri did not desist from [attacking] the Lagenians as long as they lived. The learned state that Lughaidh never forced the Boru but once, and [that] imperfectly.

"It is in the time of Lughaidh that Patrick came to Ireland, and he went to Temur, where Lughaidh was, and offered him wheat without tillage, constant milk without kine during his time, and heaven at the end of his life, and success of hounds and horses, and of a queen upon him, and Lughaidh did not assent to that; and because he did not Patrick cursed him, and also cursed his queen, *i.e.* Aillinn, the daughter of Aengus Mac Nadfraich, King of Munster, so that thenceforward there is an ill luck of queens on Temur, neither has it success of hounds. And Lughaidh, *the son of Laeghaire*, died at *Achadh Farcha*, in consequence of the curse of the *Tailginn* [saint], *i.e.* a flash of lightning struck him dead from heaven for having rejected the *Tailginn*."

It is quite plain that there are some mistakes in the preceding paragraphs, such as 5 for 15, and the name of Lughaidh is probably a mistake for Laeghaire.

[1] *Achadh-farcha—i.e.* "the field of lightning." O'Donovan ("Four Masters," at 503) states, on the authority of a Life of St. Patrick in the Leabhar Breac, that this place was in the territory of Ui-Cremhthainne, now in the baronies of Slane, county Meath, but was unable to identify the locality. Colgan also fixed Ui-Cremthainne, in Slane, and the confines of the diocese and county of East Meath; but O'Flaherty ("Ogygia," iii. ch. 76) tells us that in his time it was an inconsiderable district on the confines of South Oriel, belonging to the barony of Slane in Meath, though he leads us to infer that anciently it was much more extensive. In the barony of Lower Slane and the adjoining barony of Kells, is the parish of Enniskeen, being the most northern part of Meath diocese, in which is absorbed the old district or parish of Ballialticknaffe, and which contained, according to the Down Survey, *Aghafacarnane*, the entire district having been the property of Christopher Cruice, an Irish Papist, and granted by decree to Lawrence Cruice, an innocent Papist.

from Druim-Railgech, knew Patrick's miracles in the first place, and composed them.[2]

A man of truth, indeed, was this man, with purity of mind like the Patriarchs; a true pilgrim like Abraham; gentle and forgiving of heart like Moses; a praise-singing psalmist like David; a shrine of wisdom like Solomon; a chosen vessel for proclaiming truth like Paul the Apostle; a man full of grace and knowledge of the Holy Ghost like John; the root of a holy herb-garden towards the children of faith; a vine branch with fruitfulness; a sparkling fire, with power to heat and warm the sons of life, in founding and dispensing charity. A lion in strength and might; a dove in gentleness and humility. A serpent in wisdom and cunning in regard to good: gentle, humble, mild, towards sons of life; dark, ungentle, towards sons of death. A slave in work and labor for Christ; a king in dignity and power, for binding and releasing, for enslaving and freeing, for killing and reviving. Appropinquante autem hora obitus sui, sacrificium ab Episcopo Tassach sumpsit quod viaticum vitæ æternæ ex consilio Victoris acceperat, et deinceps post mortuos suscitatos, post multum populum ad Deum conversum, et post Episcopos et presbyteros in ecclesiis ordinatos, et toto ordine Ecclesiastico conversa tota Scotia ad fidem Christi, anno ætatis suæ cxii. obdormivit in vitam æternam.

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[2] *Composed them.*—We have evidence here at what an early period the miracles of the saint were placed on record. The names given above are the best evidence how generally they were known and believed.

Part II.

EUNTES ergo docete omnes gentes baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Docentes eos observare omnia quæ cumque mandavi vobis, etc.

St. Patrick and Dare. Offering the Site for Armagh Cathedral.

When Patrick came with his fleet to Erinn, to preach to the Gaeidhel, and went to Tara, he left Lomman in Inbher-Boinne,[3] to take care of his ships, during the forty nights of the Lent. Patrick commanded him to row his vessel against the [current of the] Boyne, until he would arrive at the place where to-day Ath-Truim [Trim] is—at that time the *dún* of Fedhlimidh, where he (Lomman) found the son of Laeghaire MacNeill, *i.e.* at Ath-Truim. And in the morning, Fortchern, Fedhlimidh's son, went and found Lomman, and his gospels before him. He wondered at the precepts he heard. He believed, and was baptized by Lomman. And Fortchern was listening to the instruction, until his mother went to seek him. She welcomed the clerics, for she was of the Britons, viz. ; Scoth, daughter of the king of Britain. Fedhlimidh himself came to converse with Lomman; and he believed, and presented Ath-Truim to God and Patrick, and to Lomman, and to Fortchern. Patrick himself went and founded Ath-Truim [Trim], twenty-five years before the foundation of Ard-Macha. Of the Britons, moreover, was the origin of Lomman, and his mother was the sister of Patrick.

Lomman's brethren, were, moreover, Bishop Munis in Forgnidhe in Cuircne,[4] *i.e.* in the north of Meath, to the south of the Ethne (Inny); Broccaidh in Imlech-Achaidh, in Ciarraighe[5] of Connacht;

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[3] *Inbher-Boinne.*—Mouth of the Boyne.

[4] *Cuircne.*—O'Donovan ("Book of Rights," p. 181) writes: "This territory is still so called in Irish, and comprises the entire of the barony of Kilkenny West, in Westmeath, and that part of the parish of Forgnaidhe (Fergney) lying on the south of the river Eithne (Inny), county Longford."

[5] *Ciarraighe.*—There were three territories of this name in Connaught, viz., Ciarraidhe-Aei, in the west of the county Roscommon; C-Locha na n-Airneadh, in the barony of Costello, county Mayo; and Ciarraidhe-Airtich, also in Roscommon ("Book of Rights," p. 101). Archdall (p. 610) places St. Broccaidh's church in county Roscommon, calling it Imleach-each, or Imleach-*brocadh*, but does not point out its situation. But we are able to discover it, by means of a grant from the Crown to Richard, Earl of Clanrickard, dated 8th April, 1662, granting him several parcels of land and tithes, formerly belonging to the *absorbed* parish of Termonkelline, *alias* Termonbeg: one of those was Imlaghbrocowa, now in the present parish of Kilkeevan, which contains the town of Castlerea, county Roscommon. It is now called Emlagh on the

Broccan in Brechmagh, in Ui-Dorthain;[6] Mughenoc in Cill-Dumagloin,[7] in the south of Bregia. They were the relatives, moreover, who were dear to Patrick by consanguinity and faith, and baptism, and instruction; and they presented to Patrick whatever they possessed, land and churches, for ever. But, after some time, when Lomman's death drew nigh, Lomman and his foster-son, *i.e.* Fortchern, went to converse with his brother, *i.e.* Broccaid, and he committed his church to Patrick and Fortchern; and Fortchern opposed it, that he might not inherit his father's possessions, who gave the place to God and Patrick. But Lomman said, "You shall not receive my benediction unless you assume the abbacy of my church." Fortchern took upon him the abbacy after the death of Lomman, for three days, when he went to Trim; and afterwards gave his church to Cathlai, a pilgrim. These are the offerings of Fedhlimidh, son of Laeghaire, to St. Patrick, and to Lomman, and to Fortchern, viz., Ath-Truim, in the territory of Laeghaire of Bregia, and Imghae,[8] in the territory of Laeghaire of Meath. The

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Ordnance sheets Nos. 26 and 27, county Roscommon. See O'Donovan's Supplement to O'Reilly's "Irish Dict.," voce *Imleach;* and Pat. Roll, 35th Elizab., part 2, grant to Turlough O'Byrne, where Emlagh-brochadha is incorrectly written Elmagh-brocho. Dr. Todd was wrong ("Life of St. Patrick," p. 260) in placing it in county Mayo, having been led astray by the Martyrology of Donegal, at 9th July.

[6] *Ui-Dorthain.*—This territory was in the present county of Meath, and Ardbraccan was situate in it ("Book of Rights," p. 151).

[7] *Cill-Duma-gloinn.*—This church is now *Kilglinn*, in the parish of Balfeaghan, barony of Upper Deoca, county Meath; as identified by Dr. Todd ("Life of St. Patrick," p. 260).

[8] *Imghae.*—Dr. Todd was unable to identify this, nor is there any place of the name on the Ordnance or Down Surveys of the county Meath. In Dr. Butler's "Notices of Trim" (p. 71), there is an entry from the Patent Rolls, under date of 20th of June, 1425, where the king, Henry VI., "ordered payment to be made to John Swayn, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland, of £4 8s. 3¾d., being one half-year's rent due to him for the site of the castle, town, and *bridge* of Trim" (the bridge being the same as the ford of Trim, granted to St. Patrick), "belonging to the Archbishop, in right of his church of Armagh." This order shows that so late as 1425 the Primate's right was maintained. When the rent ceased to be paid, Dr. Reeves, in a paper annexed to the Report of the late Ecclesiastical Commissioners (p. 101), was unable to say. In the Down Survey, 1653, the Archbishop of Armagh is returned

way in which all these offerings were presented to Patrick, and to Lomman, and to Fortchernd, per (*sic*) omnibus regibus majoribus et minoribus usque in diem judicii. Prima feria venit Patricius ad Taltenam,[9] where the regal assembly was, to Cairpre, the son of Niall. It was he who desired the murder of Patrick, and who drove Patrick's people into the river Sele,[1] wherefore Patrick called him the enemy of God, and said to him, "Thy seed shall serve thy brother's seed," and there shall not be salmon in that river, through Patrick's malediction. Patrick went afterwards to Conall,[2] the son of Niall, whose residence was where Donagh-Patrick[3] is this day, who received him with great joy; and Patrick baptized him, and confirmed his royal seat for ever. And Patrick said to him: "Thy brother's seed shall serve thy seed for ever; and strive to exercise charity towards my successors after me, and the sons of thy sons, that they may be perpetual subjects to my sons of faith." Then it was that Conall measured a church for God and Patrick, sixty feet in extent; and Patrick said: "Whichsoever of your race diminishes this church shall not have a long reign, and he shall not be prosperous." They went early on Sunday morning to Rath-Airthir,[4] Cinaed and Dubhdaleithe, the two sons of Cerbhall, son of

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as holding Causestown, in the parish of Athboy, county Meath, 211 acres (now 669), liable to no rent; and this may be the Imghae granted to St. Patrick. It appears by the late Report of the Irish Ecclesiastical Commissioners that Primate Beresford holds, as Archbishop of Armagh, in the county Meath, the Castle lands of Cawestown, 404a. 3r. 32p., at annual rent and fines of £87 18s. 4d.; Julianstown, Carricklickle, and Drumgill, 1525a. 2r. 28p., at annual rent and fines of £284 18s. 6d.; messuage in Duleek, 10a., at annual rent and fines of £10 16s.; Argill, parish of Nobber, 110a., at annual rent and fines of £31 7s. 2d.; Tenements in Trim, 3a. 1r., at annual rent and fines of £2 18s. 5d., held in perpetuity by the tenants.

[9] *Taltenam*, Tailte, now Telltown, county Meath.

[1] *Sele.*—Now the river Blackwater, in Meath.

[2] *Conall.*—This was Conall Crimthan.

[3] *Donagh-Patrick* still retains the name, in the barony of Upper Kells, county Meath.

[4] *Rath-Airthir.*—Colgan (p. 111, note 62) writes, Rath-Airthir was beside the Church of Donough-Patrick, and this is evident from the Latin Tripartite.

Maelodhra, son of Aedh-Slaine, when they saw a young man lying down, *i.e.* the son of Bresal. One of them plunged a sword into him, and then throttled him. The murderer then went past Tailten, up, on his straight road, and the other went to Domnach-Patrick. It was then that Patrick blessed that part of the plain of Tailte, so that dead bodies are never borne off from it.

[A few lines of the MS. at this place are damaged.]

The Pasch being therefore finished, on the next day Patrick came to *vadum duarum forcarum* (Ath-da-laarg, near Kells, county Meath), and founded a church there, and left the three brothers there, with their sister, viz., Cathaceus, and Cathurus, and Catnean; and Catnea, the sister, who used to milk the deer. He went afterwards to Druim Corcortri, and founded a church there, and he left in it Diarmaid, son of Restitutus.

When Patrick was going eastwards to Tara, to Laeghaire (for they had formed a friendship), from Domhnach-Patrick, he blessed Conall, son of Niall. When he was going away, he threw his flagstone (*lec*) behind him eastwards into the hill, *i.e.* where ....

[A folio of the original MS. is missing here.]

And Maine knelt to Patrick and performed penance, and Patrick said, "Rex non erit qui te non habebit; and thy injunctions shall be the longest that will live in Erinn. The person whom I have blessed also shall be a king, *i.e.* Tuathal [Maelgarbh]." And he [Tuathal] assumed the sovereignty afterwards, and banished Diarmaid MacCerbhaill, so that he was on *Loch-Ri,*[5] and on *Derg-Derc,*[6] and on *Luimnech.*[7]

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[5] *Loch-Ri.*—Lough Ree, an expansion of the Upper Shannon.

[6] *Derg-Derc.*—Now Lough Derg, another expansion of the Upper Shannon.

[7] *Luimnech.*—The ancient name of the Lower Shannon ("Book of Rights," p. 260). See also Mr. Lenihan's "History of Limerick," pp. 2 and 3, for the origin of those names. Antiquarians would find much that is very valuable in this interesting volume. The learned author gives an extract from some verses written in A.D. 661, which show the early use of the names, and the familiar and frequent intercourse kept up between Ireland and Rome at this period (p. 5).

One day as Diarmaid went in his boat past the shore of Cluain-mic-Nois, Ciaran heard the noise and motion of the craft, and called him ashore, and Ciaran said, "Come to me, for thou art a king's son, and mark out the Recles [a church] and the Eclais-bec [a little church], and grant the place to me." He said, "I am not a king." To whom Ciaran said, "You will be a king to-morrow." In that day, the king, Tuathal, came with great bands to banish Diarmaid, when Maelmor (of the Conaille), Diarmaid's foster-brother, killed him; and Maelmor was immediately slain. Hence the old saying, "the feat of Maelmor." Diarmaid afterwards assumed the sovereignty of Erinn, through Ciaran's blessing when Diarmaid was marking the site of Eclais-bec, and bowed down thrice. He went to Tara, and gave Ciaran an offering for every *tairlim*, along with Druim-raithe.[8] Ocurrit nobis hic virtus etsi per ancificatione [*recte* anticipationem].

Another time Patrick heard, through the malice of the vulgar, that Bishop Mel had sinned with his sister, for they were wont to be in the same house, praying to the Lord. When Bishop Mel saw Patrick coming towards him to Ard-achadh [Ardagh] to reprove him, Bishop Mel went out to a hill to fish in the pools and furrows. When it was told to Patrick that he had caught a salmon in this way, Patrick uttered the famous saying: "Seorsim viri et seorsim fœminæ, ne occasionem dare infirmis inveniantur et ne nomen Domini per nos blasphemetur, quid absit a nobis;" for God does not assist any unjust, false man; *i.e.* non temptabis Dominum Deum tuum. Bishop Mel's sister then went with fire in her *casula*. Patrick then knew there was no sin between them, dicens, "Seorsum feminis ne occasione dare infirmis inveniamur et ne non Domini per nos blasfemaretur quod absit a nobis, et sic reliquit eos;" *i.e.* Bri

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[8] *Druim-raithe.*—This does not appear among the possessions of Cluain-mic-Nois, in the registry of that house published by O'Donovan in the "Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archæological Society." It may have been the Druim-raithe in Westmeath, now Drumrany, where St. Enan was venerated on the 19th of August (Martyrology of Donegal at that date). It lay about six miles north-east of Athlone.

Leith between them: she in Druim-Cheu[9] to the west of Bri-Leith; he (Bishop Mel) to the east of it, in Ard-Achadh.

Patrick went afterwards into northern Tethbha,[1] *i.e.* to the territory of Cairbre, where Granard was presented to him by the sons of Cairbre, and he left there Bishop Guassacht, son of Milchu, his foster-brother, and the two sisters Emir, who first put up at Cluain-Bronaigh;[2] and this is the reason why the sides of the churches are joined to each other; and it is the airchinnech (superior) of Granard that always ordains the head nun in Cluain-Bronaigh. The moment that Patrick blessed the veil on the aforesaid virgins, their four feet sank into the rock, and the traces exist in it always. Patrick went afterwards across the water to Magh-Slechta,[3] where the arch-idol of Erinn was, *i.e.* Cenn Cruach, made of gold and silver, surrounded by twelve other idols formed of bronze. When Patrick saw the idols from the waters called Guthard[4] (*i.e.*

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[9] *Druim-Cheu—Bri-Leith.*—Dr. O'Donovan ("Book of Rights," p. 9) states that Bri-leith was the ancient name of Slieve Golry, to the west of Ardagh, in Longford, founding his opinion on Colgan's statement in the Life of Bishop Mel ("*Acta Sanct.*," p. 261), which is precisely the same as in the text; but there is no place called Drum-cheu to the west of Ardagh, though there is a Drumnacooha somewhat north, in the parish of Killoe, barony and county of Longford. Archdall ("*Mon. Hib.*," p. 439) gives the nunnery of Drumicheo, founded by St. Lupita, quoting Colgan's works, but being unable to identify it.

[1] *Tethbha.*—Teffia was divided into two parts by the river Inny, called north and south Teffia—the former comprising nearly all the present county of Longford, the latter the western half of Westmeath.—"Book of Rights," p. 180.

[2] *Cluain-Bronaigh.*—A famous nunnery, now called Clonbroney, in the barony of Granard, county Longford, lying between the towns of Longford and Granard.

[3] *Magh-Slechta.*—Dr. Lanigan (vol. i. pp. 229 and 239) places this near Fenagh, in the county Leitrim, grounding his opinion on O'Conor's Map of Scotia Antiqua. He considers the idols referred to as circles of great standing stones. Dr. Todd ("Life of St. Patrick," pp. 127 and 464) concurs in this view, but places the plain in the county Cavan. O'Donovan agrees with Dr. Todd, or rather Dr. Todd agrees with him, in placing this plain near Ballymagauran, county Cavan, and extending into county Leitrim.

[4] *Guthard.*—There was Rath-Guthaird, also signifying high voice, where the Senchas Mor is alleged to have been partially composed.—See "*Senchas Mor*," vol. i. preface, p. xxx.

he raised his voice—*guth*, voice ; *ard*, high), and when he approached it, he lifted his hand to lay the Bachall-Isa on it ; but he could not, as the idol inclined over to its right side (for towards the south its face was turned), and the mark of the *bachall* lives yet in its left side, although the *bachall* did not leave Patrick's hand. And the ground swallowed the other twelve idols as far as their heads ; and they are in that condition in commemoration of the prodigy. And he cursed the demon (idol), and banished him to hell ; and he called all the people, with king Laeghaire, who worshipped the idols ; and all saw him (the demon), and feared death unless Patrick would banish him to hell. His *graif* (fibula) fell from Patrick's garment whilst maintaining the conflict and valor against the idol. He cut away all the heath in the place until he found his *graif*, and no heath grows in that place, nor in the plain besides. And he founded a church in that place, *i.e.* Domhnach-Maighe-Slecht, and left there Mabran Barbarus, Patrick's relative and prophet ; and Patrick's well is there, ubi baptizavit multos. Patrick went afterwards into the territory of Connacht, over Snamh-da-en,[5] across the Shannon, where he found a ford, viz. : the land (bed of the river) rose up under Patrick in the ford, and the learned will yet find that *esker*. And Patrick landed (*i.e.* on the Connacht side of the Shannon) immediately, and then it was that Buadmael, Patrick's charioteer, died, and was buried there. Cill-Buaidhmael is the name (of the church), and it is appropriate to Patrick.

When Laeghaire Mac Neill's druids (*i.e.* Mael and Caplait, two brothers, who had fostered Laeghaire's two daughters, Ethne the Fair, and Feidelm the Red) heard all that Patrick had done, they brought thick darkness over all Magh-Nai,[6] through the power of the demon, for the space of three days and three nights. Patrick thereupon prayed to God, and bent his knees, and blessed the plain, so that there was darkness for the druids, and light for all others. And he gave thanks to God, and all the darkness was banished from Magh-Ai. And they went past the Shannon to Duma-graidh, where he ordained Ailbhe, a noble priest, who is [commemorated] in Senchua in Ui-Ailella;[7] and Patrick instructed him regarding a stone altar [which was] in the mountain of Ui-Ailella, underground, and four glass chalices at its four corners: et dixit cavendum ne frangerantur orae fossurae. Inter nepotes etiam Ailello fuit, et baptizavit Maineum sanctum quem ordinavit Episcopus Bronus filius Iccni qui est i Caisel-Irra, servus Dei socius Patricii. Patrick went to Magh-glas[8] where he founded Cill-mor of Magh-glas; and he left two of his people there, viz., Conleng and Ercleng. Deinde venit in fines Corcu-Achland,[9] to the south of Ui-Ailella, and to the north of Badhghna.[1] There were two brothers there, viz., Id and Hono, who were druids. Hono asked Patrick, "What will you give me for this land?" Patrick answered, "Eternity." Hono said, "You possess gold: give it to me for it." Patrick replied, "I have given much, but God will give more." He afterwards found a mass of gold in the place where the pigs had been rooting, and Patrick gave the mass of gold to him (*i.e.* to Hono) for his land. Tir-in-brotha[2] is its name now. Dixit Patricius, "Nec rex ersi nec de semine tuo regnabit in aeternum." Illius vero lacrimis misertus est Patricius, dicens, "Non erit rex quem tua progenies non jurabit," &c., quod impletur. Cenel Maic Erce is the strongest and most powerful [sept] in Connacht, but they do not govern like high-kings. Ona, son of Aengus, son of Erc Derg (Erc the Red), son of Brian, de quo Ui-Honach, presented his house to Patrick; and Imlech-Onon was its name at that time: Ailfinn, moreover, [is its name] this day; from the *ail* (rock) taken out of the well which was made by Patrick in the fair green, and which is on the brink of the well, the place has been named. Et dixit illi Patricius: "Thy seed shall be blessed, and the palm of laics and clerics shall be of thee for ever, and the inheritance of this place shall belong to them." Et posuit ibi Assicum et Bite filium fratris Assicus (Assici ?) et Cipiam matrem Bitei. Episcopus Assicus sanctus episcopus, faber æreus Patricii: and he made altars, and four-cornered book-cases, and four-cornered dishes, in honor of Patrick; and a four-cornered dish of them was in Ard-Macha, and another in Ailfinn, and another in Domnach-mor[3] of Magh-Seola, on the altar of the holy bishop Felartus in Ui-Briuin-Seola, far westwards from Ailfinn. Assicus, however, fled northwards to Sliabh-Liag, in Tir-Boghaine,[4] where he was on an island[5] for seven years. And his monks sought him, and found him, after much trouble, in the mountain glens; and they brought him away with them; and Assicus died with them in the desert, and they buried him in Rath-Cunga, in Seirthe.[6] And the king of that country gave to him, and to his monks after his death, the pasture of one hundred cows with their calves, and twenty oxen, as a perpetual offering; for he said that he would not again go to Magh-Ai, on account of the falsehood which had been said there of him. His remains are in Rath-Cunga, and to Patrick belongs the church, upon which the people of Colum-Cille and of Ard-Sratha[7] have encroached. Patrick went from Elphin to Dumacha (the mounds) of Ui-Ailella, and built a church there, *i.e.* Senchell-Dumaighe;[8] and he left Machet in it, and Cetchen, and Rodan, a noble priest, and Mathona, Benen's sister, who received the veil from Patrick and from Rodan, and who was a servitor to them.

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[5] *Snamh-da-en.*—" The swimming or passage of the two birds." O'Donovan ("Hy-Many," note to page 5) writes : " This was the ancient name of that part of the Shannon lying between Clonmacnoise and Clonburren, in the parish of Moore, barony of Moycarnen, and county of Roscommon."

[6] *Magh-Nai*, also called Machaire Chonnact, a plain in the county of Roscommon, in which was Cruachan, the ancient palace of the kings of Connaught. It lay between the towns of Roscommon and Elphin, and Castlerea and Strokestown.—O'Donovan's notes to "Irish Topographical Poems," p. xxxiii. and "Book of Rights," p. 104, where it is called Magh-Aei.

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[7] *Senchua in Ui-Ailella.*—Now the parish church of Shancoe, in the barony of Tirerrill, county Sligo. The Four Masters record the death of St. Ailbhe of this church at A.D. 545. A St. Ailbhe (not the patron of Emly), son of Ronan, of the race of Conall Gulban, son of Niall, was venerated on the 30th of January.

[8] *Magh-glas.*—There is a Moyglass in the barony of Ballintobber North, county Roscommon, in which there is also a church called Kilmore, giving name to a parish. The church was otherwise called Cill-mor-Dithruibh.

[9] *Corcu-Achland.*—Called in the Irish annals Corca-Achlann (or Seachlann), a territory in the east of Roscommon, comprising the parishes of Bumlinn, Kiltrustan, Cloonfenlough, and the western portion of the parish of Lissonuffy. The Clann-Branain, or Mac Branans, of this territory are descended from the noble druid Ona, who granted Imleach-Ona, now Elphin, to St. Patrick.—O'Donovan's "Irish Topographical Poems," p. xl.

[1] *Badhghna.*—Now Slieve Baune, a mountainous range in the barony of Ballintobber North, county Roscommon.—"Hy-Many," p. 90.

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[2] *Bruth*, gen. *brotha*, a mass [or ingot].—Colgan.

[3] *Domnach-mor.*—Hardiman, in his edition of O'Flaherty's "Iar-Connaught," p. 148, gives this narrative from Colgan's Tripartite, and says: "This church is now called Domnach-Patruig, on the banks of Loch-Sealga [*recte*, Loch-Cimé, and now Lough-Hackett]. It is in the barony of Clare, county Galway."

[4] *Sliabh-Liag in Tir-Boghaine.*—Tir-Boghaine is now the barony of Banagh, in the west of the county Donegal; and Slieve League is a precipitous mountain in that district, in the parish of Glencolumbkill, which commands, in clear weather, a view of Croagh Patrick on the south-west.

[5] *An Island.*—The Book of Armagh, in narrating this, calls the island Rochuil. It is now called Rathlin O'Birne, contains about fifty acres, and, although lying adjacent to the parish of Glencolumbkill, has been ecclesiastically placed in the parish of Kilbarron, upwards of twenty miles distant,

When Patrick was at Dumha-graidh,[9] ordaining the great multitude, he smiled. "What is that?" asked Benen. "Bron, and the monk Olcan," said Patrick, "who came towards me along Traig-

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owing to some old connection of the religious houses in Kilbarron, where St. Columba founded this church near Ballyshannon.

[6] *Rath-Cunga in Seirthe.*—O'Donovan ("Irish Topographical Poems," p. xxx) writes: "Magh-Seiridh was a plain in the north of the barony of Tirhugh, county Donegal." Dr. Reeves, in "Adamnan," p. 38, writes: "Here in the parish of Drumhome, and townland of Ballymagroarty Irish, is a conical hill, locally known by the name of Racoon, the apex of which is entrenched like a rath, and contains an ancient cemetery, now used only for the interment of unbaptized children. This is the 'Rath-Cunga in Campo-Sereth' of Tirechan."

[7] *Ard-Sratha.*—Now the parish church, formerly cathedral, of Ardstraw, near Strabane, in the county Tyrone.

[8] *Senchell-Dumaighe.*—This is the church of Shankill, barony and county of Roscommon, immediately south of Elphin. Colgan was wrong in his Index in placing the church in Kierrag-Arnensi, which was in the barony of Costello, county Mayo, instead of Ciarraidhe-Aei, which was in the west of Roscommon, having in it the parish of Kilkeevan, near Castlerea.—"Book of Rights," p. 101. What probably led him astray is, that Machet, whom St. Patrick placed here, being grandson of Ailell (Ui-Ailella), he took it for Tir-Ailell, confounding the descendants with their country.

[9] *Dumha-graidh.*—There are six places named Doogary in county Mayo, and two in Roscommon.

Eothaili,[1] and my foster-son, Mac-Erca, with them; a wave of the sea made a great dash, and tried to carry off the youth." This was a prophecy. He (Patrick) went through the territory of Ui-Oilella, and founded the church eastwards in Tamhnagh,[2] and it was built by God and men: et ipsa fecit amicitiam ad reliquias Assici Rodani; et successores eorum epulabantur invicem. Post hoc autem possuerunt episcopum Cairellum juxta sanctam Ecclesiam in Tamhnagh, quem ordinaverunt Episcopum Patricii, viz., Bronus et Biteus. Patrick went afterwards to the fountain, *i.e.* Clibech, on the slopes of Cruachan,[3] at sunrise. The clerics sat down at the fountain. Laeghaire Mac Neill's two daughters, viz., Eithne the Fair, and Feidelm the Red, went early to the fountain to wash their hands, as they were wont to do, when they found the synod of clerics at the well, with white garments, and their books before them. They wondered at the appearance of the clerics, and imagined they were *fir-sidhe*, or phantoms. They questioned Patrick. "Whence are you, and whither have you come? Is it from the *sidhe*? Are you gods?" Patrick said to them, "It would be better for you to believe in God than to ask regarding our race." The elder daughter said, "Who is your God, and in what place is he, in heaven or in earth? is it under the earth, or on the earth, or in seas, or in streams, or in hills, or in valleys? Has he sons and daughters? has he gold and silver? Is there a profusion of every good in his kingdom? Tell us plainly how we shall see him, and how is he to be loved, and how is he to be found. Is he young or old? or is he ever-living? Is he beautiful, or have many fostered his son, or is his daughter handsome, and dear to men of the world?" St. Patrick, full of the Holy Spirit, responded, "Our God is the God of all, the God of heaven and earth, the God of the seas and rivers, the God of the sun and moon, and all the other planets; the God of the high hills and low valleys; God over heaven, in heaven, and under heaven: and He has a mansion, *i.e.* heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and all things that are in them. He inspireth all things. He quickeneth all things. He enkindleth all things. He giveth light to the sun, and to the moon. He created fountains in the dry land, and placed dry islands in the sea, and stars to minister to the greater lights. He hath a Son, co-eternal and co-equal with Himself; and the Son is not younger than the Father, nor is the Father older than the Son. And the Holy Ghost breatheth in them. And the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost are not divided. I desire, moreover, to unite you to the Son of the heavenly King, for ye are daughters of an earthly king." And the daughters said, as if with one mouth and one heart, "How shall we come to believe in that king? Teach us duly, that we may see the Lord face to face—teach us, and we will do as you will say to us." Et dixit Patrici: "Do you believe that through baptism the sin of your mother and of your father shall be put away from you?" They answered, "We believe." "Do you believe in repentance after sin?" "Yes." And they were baptized. And Patrick blessed a white veil upon their heads; and they desired to see Christ face to face. And Patrick said to them: "You cannot see Christ except that you first taste death, and unless you receive the body of Christ and His blood." And the daughters replied, saying: "Give us the Communion, that we may be able to see the Prophesied One." And they after this received the Communion, and fell asleep in death, and Patrick placed them under covering, and in one bed [grave]; and their friends made a great lamentation over them. The druids then entered into conflict with Patrick, on account of the daughters having believed, and having gone to heaven, *i.e.* Mael and Caplait. Caplait came crying against Patrick, for it was he [Caplait] who fostered the second daughter. Patrick preached to him, and he believed, and he cut off his hair. After this the other druid came, *i.e.* Mael, and said to Patrick, "My brother has believed for thee," said he; "it shall not serve nor strengthen him," said he; "I will again lead him into paganism." And he was thus insulting Patrick; but Patrick preached to him, and the druid believed in God and Patrick. And Patrick shaved him; and hence "Mael is like Caplait" is a proverb; for it was together that they believed. And the day of weeping was finished, and the maidens were interred there; and Sen-Domhnagh of Magh-Ai[4] was presented to Patrick for ever. And others say the relics of the maidens were brought to Ard-Macha, where they await the resurrection.

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[1] *Traig-Eothaili.*—Now Trawhohelly, a famous strand near Tonrego, on the east boundary of the barony of Tireragh, county Sligo.—"Hy-Fiachrach," p. 499.

[2] *Tamhnagh.*—Now the church of Taunagh, or Tawnagh, in the barony of Tirerrill, county Sligo.

[3] *Cruachan.*—See *ante*, pp. 290, 291, for identification and different versions of this narrative.

Patrick went afterwards to Tir-Caireda, and he founded a church at Ard-lice, *i.e.* Sen-Domhnach,[5] and he left Deacon Caeman in it. And Patrick erected Ard-Senlis,[6] ubi posuit Lalloc sanctam et tenuit locum in Campo Nento; and they went with Bishop Cethech to his country. Of the race of Ailill was his mother; of Cenel-Sai [nigh] of Cianacht, from Domhnach-Sairigi at Damhliac-Cianain; and it was Bishop Cethach's custom to celebrate the great pasch in Domhnach-Sairigi; and in Ath-da-lorg, in Kells,[7] he celebrated the little pasch, with Comgilla; for Cethech's people used to say that Comgilla was Cethech's servitor. Patrick went afterwards to the territory of Ui-Maine, and he left there an arch-priest (or deacon) of his people, *i.e.* Deacon Juis, and he erected Fidharta;[8] and Patrick left his books of orders and baptism with him; and he baptized the Ui-Maine; and Deacon Juis, in his old age, baptized Ciaran mac-int-sair, from Patrick's book, quia cxl anni fuit quando Ciaran baptizavit, ut aiunt peritissimi. Patrick's Franks, moreover, left him, viz., fifteen brothers and one sister, viz., Bernicius and Hibernicius, and Hernicus, etc., and Nitria, the sister. And many places were given to them. One of these is Imgoe of Baislic,[9] between Hy-Maine and Magh-Nai. Patrick described to them the likeness of the place with his finger, from Cill-Garad,[1] quia venerunt ad Patricium ut obteret illis de locis quos invenerent. Patrick also founded Cill-Garad, where Cethech [was left], and Ferta-gethich together. Then it was that Patrick made the well which is called Uaran-garad, and he loved this water very much, ut ipse dixit:—

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[4] *Sen-Domhnagh of Magh-Ai.*—The plain of Magh-Aei, now Machaire-Connaught, extended from near the town of Roscommon to the verge of the barony of Boyle, and from the bridge of Cloonfree, near Strokestown, westward to Castlerea,—"Book of Rights," p. 104. There is no church of this name in the neighborhood of Rathcroghan.

[5] *Ard-lice, i.e. Sen-Domhnach.*—There is Ardleckna, in the parish of Aughrim, barony and county of Roscommon, and we have the parish of Kilkeevan, containing the town of Castlerea, county Roscommon ("Book of Rights," p. 101), which, perhaps, is the church in question, the name being changed to that of the church of Caeman the deacon, whom St. Patrick placed here—in Irish, Kilkeevan.

[6] *Ard-Senlis in Campo Nento.*—This plain is called Magh-Nenda in the Latin Tripartite, p. 136. It contained the hill anciently called *Sidh-Nenta* (now Fairymount, in the barony of Ballintobber South, county Roscommon) celebrated in Irish fairy legends.

[7] *Ath-da-lorg in Kells.*—Colgan, in his Index, considering there was only one Ath-da-lorg, "The ford of the two forks," in Ireland, namely, the present Boyle ("Four Masters," at A.D. 937), lays down this place as formerly a bishopric in Connaught. O'Donovan, at 937, in his note on a battle fought in that year, states the second Ath-da-lorg was in Meath, but that its situation, or modern form, was unknown to him. The Mart. of Donegal, at 1st Dec., mentions Ath-da-laarg as being *i taobh Cenannsa*, "at the side of Cenannus" (Kells).

> "Uaran-gar—[Uaran-gar]—
> O well! which I have loved, which loved me;
> Alas! my cry, O dear God!
> That my drink is not from the pure well."

Patrick went afterwards to Magh-Selcae, *i.e.* to Dumha-Selca,[2] where there were young men, the six sons of Brian, viz., Bolcderc, Derthacht, Echen, Cremthann, Caelcharna, Echuid; and Patrick wrote three names there in three stones, viz., Jesus, Soter, Salvator. Patrick blessed the Ui-Briuin from Dumha-Selca, and Patrick's seat is there between the stones in quibus scripsit literas, et nona (*sic*) episcoporum cum illo illic fuerunt, viz., Bronus of Caisel-Irra, Sachelus of Baislic-mor in Ciarraighe, Brocaid of Imlech-ech, (brother to Lomman of Ath-truim), Bronachus, presbyter, Rodan, Cassan, Benen, comarb of Patrick, and Benen, brother of Cethech, Felartus, bishop, and his sister, a nun there, and another sister, quæ sit insola in mari Conmaicne, *i.e.* Croch-Cuile-Conmaicne.[3] And he founded a church on Loch-Selca, *i.e.* Domhnach-mor of Magh-Selca,[4] in quo baptizavit Ui-Briuin et benedixit. Patrick went to Gregraidhe of Loch-Techet,[5] and founded a church there in Drumma,[6] and dug a well thereat, and no stream went into or came out of it, but it was always full, and its name is Bithlan (*i.e.* ever full). He afterwards founded Cill-Atrachta in Gregraidhe,[7] and [left] Talan's daughter in it, who received a veil from Patrick's hand. And he left a *teisc* and chalice with Atracht, the daughter of Talan, son of Cathbadh, of the Gregraidhe of Loch-Teched, sister of Caemhan of Airdne-Caemhain.[8] Patrick blessed a veil on her

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[8] *Fidharta.*—Now Fuerty, in the parish of the same name, barony of Athlone, and county of Roscommon. For some notices of this place, see a paper by Denis H. Kelly, Esq., in the "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. viii. p. 455.

[9] *Imgoe of Baislic.*—The word Imgoe is very obscure; it occurs on p. 38 in connection with Trim. The church of Baslick is in the barony of Castlerea, county Roscommon. It continued a monastic house for many centuries—St. Cormac, its abbot, having died A.D. 800.—"Four Masters."

[1] *Cill-Garad.*—Now Oran, county Roscommon (Lanigan, vol. ii. pp. 244-6). It lies between Roscommon and Castlerea.

[2] *Dumha-Selca.*—Dumha-Selca, or the "mound of the chase," was the old name of a mound which still exists in the townland of Carns, a little to the south of the village of Tulsk, in the county of Roscommon. The mound (or moat) lies due east from the celebrated mound of Cairnfree.

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[3] *Croch-Cuile-Conmaicne.*—This island of Connemara is now called Cruaghnakily or Cruanakeely. At present it has no remains of a church, though it had in O'Flaherty's time.—Hardiman's "Iar-Connaught," p. 102.

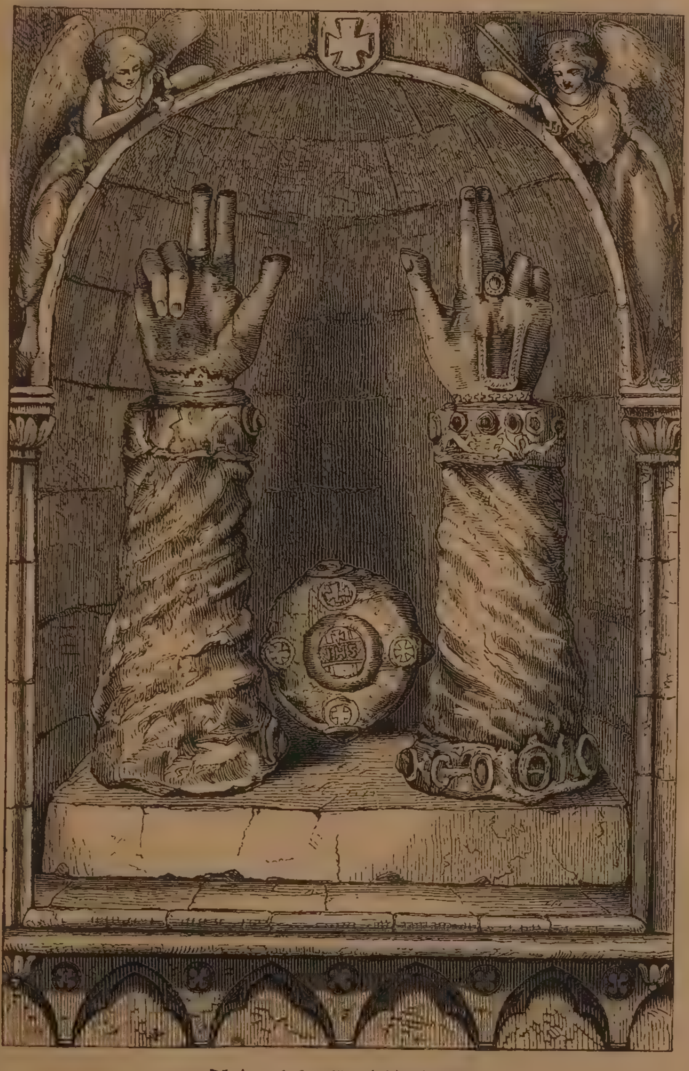
[4] *Domhnach-mor of Magh-Selca.*—Now called Donagh-Patrick, on the banks of Loch-Sealga, now Lough-Hackett.—"Iar-Connaught," p. 148.

[5] *Gregraidhe of Loch-Techet.*—A district in the south of county Sligo, supposed to be co-extensive with the barony of Coolavin, but originally more extensive.—"Book of Rights," p. 99. Loch-Techet is now Lough-Gara, on the frontiers of the counties of Mayo, Sligo, and Roscommon.—"Hy-Fiachrach," p. 493.

[6] *Drumma.*—In that part of the county of Sligo to the east of Lough-Gara

[7] *Cill-Atrachta in Gregraidhe.*—The church and parish of Killaraght, in the barony of Coolavin, county Sligo.

[8] *Caemhan of Airdne-Caemhan.*—Colgan by mistake placed this church or monastery in Connaught. The Martyrology of Donegal, at 13th June, shows its position. "Caomhan of Ard-Caomhain, by the side of Lough Garman in Leinster," &c. Loch Garman is now Wexford Harbor, alongside of which is



Shrine of St. Patrick's Hand.

head. Drummana was the name of the place in which they were; Machaire is its name to-day.[9] A *casula* was sent down from heaven on Patrick's breast. "You shall have this *casula*, O nun," said Patrick. "No," said she, "not to me was it given, but to thyself."

He then went to the sons of Erc; they carried off Patrick's horses, and Patrick cursed them, saying: "Your seed shall serve the seed of your brother for ever." Patrick went into Magh-Airtich, and blessed a place, *i.e.* Ailech-Airtigh, in Telach-na-cloch.[1] And he went afterwards into Drummut of Ciarraighe-Airtigh,[2] where he found two brothers fighting regarding the father's land after his death, viz., Bibar and Lochru, Tamanchend's two sons. Patrick stretched out his arms, and their hands became fixed to the swords, so that they were not able to lift or lower them. "Sit ye," said Patrick; and he blessed them and made peace between them. And they gave the land to Patrick for their father's soul. And Patrick founded a church there, where Conu the artifex is, the brother of Bishop Sechnall. Patrick went subsequently to Ciarraighe-Airne,[3] where he met Ernaisc and his son Loarn under a

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this church, still called Ardcavan. The true position was long since pointed out by O'Flaherty ("Iar-Connaught," p. 90), and O'Donovan, in the "Four Masters," at A.D. 1055, where the death of Ua Ruarcain, airchinneach of Airdne-Caemhain, is recorded.

[9] *Drummana—Machaire is its name to-day.*—These names are now obsolete. There is a townland called Maghera in the parish of Emlaghfad, barony of Corran, county Sligo, a little north of Coolavin, but whether the place in question is undecided. There is the parish of Drum or Drummonaghan in the barony of Carra, county Mayo.

[1] *Magh-Airtich—Telach-na-cloch.*—O'Donovan ("Book of Rights," p. 103) confines Ciarriadhe-Airtech to the parishes of Tibohine and Kilnamanagh in the north-west of county Roscommon; but it is evident from this entry that Airtech extended into the adjoining barony of Costello, county Mayo, for in the parish of Kilcolman in that barony, in which lie the town of Ballaghadareen, and Coolavin, the residence of the MacDermot family, is the townland of Tullaghnarock, a partially anglicized form of "Telach-na-cloch."

[2] *Drummut of Ciarraighe-Airtigh.*—This is very possibly Drummad, in the parish of Tibohine, barony of Frenchpark, county Roscommon.

[3] *Ciarraighe-Airne.*—According to O'Donovan ("Book of Rights," p. 102),

tree, and Patrick wrote an alphabet for him, and stayed a week with them, with his twelve men. And Patrick founded a church there,[4] et tenuit illum abbatem (*sic*), et fuit quidem spiritu sancto plenus.

And Patrick went to Tobar-Mucno,[5] and advanced to Senchill,[6] et fuit Secundinus solus sub ulmo frondosa separatim, et est signum crucis in eo loco usque in hunc diem. And he afterwards went into the country of Conmaicne, into Cuil-Tolaigh,[7] and he founded four-cornered churches in that place. One of these is Ard-Uscon,[8] &c. He went to Magh-Cera,[9] and stopped at Cuil-Corra,[1] and founded a church in that place, et baptizavit multos.

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this district comprised the whole of the barony of Clanmorris, county Mayo, except the Tearmon of Balla (consequently the parishes of Crossboyne, Kilcoleman, Kilvine, and Taugheen, with parts of Knock and Mayo), as also the parishes of Aghamore, Bekan, and Armagh, barony of Costello, in the diocese of Tuam.

[4] *Founded a church there.*—The name is not given, but there can be no doubt it was Aghamore, as the Martyrology of Donegal has, at 30th August, "Loarn, priest, of Achadh-mor." The church is at present in ruins, but the cemetery is still used.

[5] *Tobar-Mucno.*—Bishop Mucna's church was in Donaghmore, in the parish of Killala, barony of Tirawley, county Mayo.—"Hy-Fiachrach," note *a*, p. 466. There is Tober-makee, parish of Drumatemple, barony of Ballymoe, and counties of Galway and Roscommon, but whether it is the right place is uncertain. Here it was, according to the Martyrology of Donegal at 27th November, that St. Seachnall or Secundinus, the nephew of St. Patrick, used to pray under a leafy tree.

[6] *Senchill.*—Near Elphin, in the barony and county of Roscommon.

[7] *Cuil-Tolaigh of Conmaicne.*—There were three territories of the Conmaicne in Connaught, that of Cuile-Toladh being the now barony of Kilmaine, in the south of county Mayo. It contains the parishes of Kilcommon, Kilmainbeg, Kilmainmore, Kilmolara, Moorgaga, Robeen, and Shrule, and parts of Ballinrobe, Cong, Mayo, and Ballincolla.

[8] *Ard-Uscon.*—In the Index, Colgan writes that this church was in Kierragae-Arnensis in Connaught, which is contrary to the reading of the text, which places it in Cuil-Tolaigh.

[9] *Magh-Cera.*—Now the barony of Carra, county Mayo, containing the parishes of Aglish, Ballyhean, Ballyovey, Breafy, Burriscarra, Drum, Minola, Rosslee, Tenlough, and Towaghty, and parts of Ballintober, Islandeady, and Kiltacomoge.

[1] *Cuil-Corra* was probably in the parish of Burriscarra.

Afterwards Patrick proceeded to Magh-Foimsen,[2] where he met two brothers, viz., Luchtæ and Derclam. Derclam sent his servant to kill Patrick, but Luchtæ prevented him, to whom Patrick said: "There shall be priests and bishops of thy seed, and the race of thy brother shall be cursed, and shall be few." And he left in that place Cruimther Conan, and went afterwards to Tobar-Stringle[3] in the desert, and he was two Sundays [living] on that well.

Patrick went to the Men of Umhall,[4] to Achadh-Fobhair,[5] where Bishop Senach was ordained. The name Patrick conferred on him was "Agnus Dei." And he it was who asked the three requests of Patrick, viz., that he should not oppose him as regards orders, that the place should not be called after him, and that what was wanting to complete his age should be added to the age of Mac Aenghusa. It was for him (Mac Aenghusa) that Patrick wrote an alphabet the day that Bishop Senach was ordained. Patrick desired truly to erect a *see* at Achadh-Fobhair, when he said, "I would remain here, on a small plot of land, after circumambulating churches and fastnesses; for I am infirm, I would not go." The angel said to Patrick:—

"Everything you select shall be yours—
Every land, whether plain or rough,
Both hills and churches,

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[2] *Magh-Foimsen.*—In the Index Colgan writes that Magh-Foimsen was in the region of Cera. There is a place called Funshinaugh in the present parish of Cong, barony of Kilmaine, county Mayo, in the ancient district of Partry.

[3] *Tobar-Stringle.*—Now Ballintober, barony of Carra, county Mayo, also called Baile-Tobair-Phadruig. On the site of the church erected by St. Patrick, Cathel Crovdearg, king of Connaught, founded a magnificent abbey in 1216.—"Hy-Fiachrach," p. 191.

[4] *Men of Umhall.*—This territory of Umhall comprises the baronies of Burrishoole and Murrisk, county Mayo, called "The Owles" by English writers.—"Book of Rights," p. 56, and "Hy-Fiachrach."

[5] *Achadh-Fobhair—i.e.* "field of the spring," so named from a celebrated spring, now called St. Patrick's Well. It is a village and parish, containing the ruins of an ancient church and round tower, in the barony of Murrisk, county Mayo.—"Hy-Fiachrach," p. 150.

Both glens and woods,
After circumambulating churches and fastnesses,
Though infirm, that you shall select."

Then Patrick left two trout alive in the well, and they will be there for ever, as he said:—

"The two inseparable trout,
Which would advance against perpetual streams,
Without obligation, without transgression—
Angels will be along with them in it."

Patrick went to Cruachan-Aighle,[6] on the Saturday of Whitsuntide. The angel went to converse with him, and said to him: "God will not give thee what thou demandest; for He thinks the demands weighty, and immense, and great." "Is that His decision?" said Patrick. "It is," answered the angel. "This is my decision, then," said Patrick, "I shall not leave this Cruachan until I die, or all the demands shall be given." Patrick was afterwards with illness of mind in Cruachan, without drink or food, from Shrove Saturday to Easter Saturday, just like Moses, son of Amra, for they were alike in many things. God accosted them both out of the fire; six score years was the age of each; the place of sepulture of both is uncertain. At the end of those forty nights and forty days, the mountain around him was filled with black birds, so that he could see neither heaven nor earth. He sang cursing psalms at them, but they went not away from him. He then became angry with them; he rang his bell at them, so that the men of Erinn heard its sound. And he flung it at them, so that a gap was broken out of it, and that [bell] is Bernan-Brighte.[7]

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[6] *Cruachan-Aighle.*—See note at p. 57.

[7] *Bernan-Brighte.*—The following is given in the notes of Dr. Reeves' "Life of Columba, by Adamnan," p. 206:—"Cruachan-Aichle, now Croagh Patrick, a mountain in Mayo, is famous in legendary record as the scene of St. Patrick's final conflict with the demons of Ireland. From its

Patrick afterwards cried until his face and the front of his *casula* (cowl) were wet. No demon came after this to Erinn for the space of seven years, and seven months, and seven days, and seven nights.

The angel subsequently went to protect Patrick, and he cleaned his *casula*, and brought white birds about the Cruachan; and they used to chant sweet melodies for him. "I will bring so many souls from pain," said the angel, "and as many as would cover as far as your eye could reach on the sea." "That is no great boon for me," said Patrick; "not far can my eye reach over the sea." "You shall have between sea and land, then," added the angel. "Is there anything more granted to me besides that?" asked Patrick. "There is," said the angel; "you can bring seven every Saturday from the pains of hell for ever." "If anything be granted to me," observed Patrick, ["let me have] my twelve men." "You shall have it," said the angel, "and depart from Cruachan." "I shall not depart," said Patrick, "because I have been tormented, until I am recompensed. Is there anything else, then, to be granted to me?" asked Patrick. "Yes," said the angel; "you shall have seven every Thursday, and twelve every Saturday, from pains, and depart from Cruachan." "I will not depart," answered

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summit he drove them into the ocean, and completed their discomfiture by flinging his bell—the Bearnan-Brighde—among their retreating ranks.—'*Vit. Trip.*,' ii. 64; '*Tr. Th.*,' p. 138, *a*. Passing northwards, they emerged from the deep, and took up their abode in the savage wilds of Seangleann, on the south-west of Donegal. Here they remained unmolested, till our Tirconnellian saint" (Columba) "was directed by an angel to rid the place of its foul inhabitants. After a violent struggle with the demons, he completely routed them, and with the help of the Dubh-Duaibseach, his bell, drove them once for all into the sea. His name was henceforward associated with the tract; and the wild parish of Glencolumbkill preserves in its topography and traditions a living commentary on the legend of Columba's first visit to it, as told by Manus O'Donnell in 1520.—'*Vit. S. Columbæ*,' i. 89; '*Tr. Th.*,' p. 403, *b*. Sliabh Liag, commonly called Slieve League, a precipitous mountain in this region, commands in clear weather a view of Croagh Patrick on the south-west." Dr. Reeves, p. 330, same work, writes that the Dubh-Duaibseach was probably preserved in the parish of Glencolumbkill, formerly Seangleann. See also Sir W. Wilde's "Lough Corrib," p. 96.

Patrick, "because I have been tormented, until I am recompensed. Is there anything else granted to me?" asked Patrick. "There is," answered the angel; "the great sea to come over Erinn seven years before the Judgment; and depart from the Cruachan."

"I will not depart," said Patrick, "since I have been tormented, until I am gratified." "Is there anything more you demand?" asked the angel. "There is," answered Patrick, "that Saxons may not occupy Eriu, by consent or force, whilst I shall be in heaven." "It shall be granted thee," said the angel; "and depart from Cruachan." "I will not depart," said Patrick, "since I have been tormented, until I am gratified. Is there anything more granted to me?" asked Patrick. "There is," said the angel; "every one who repeats thy hymn from one day to the other shall not suffer pains." "The hymn is long and difficult," said Patrick. "Every one who repeats from *Crist illum*" (recte *Crist lim*, "Christ with me,") "to the end, and every one who repeats the name, and every one who observes penitence in Eriu, their souls shall not go to hell; and depart from Cruachan" [said the angel].

"I will not depart," said Patrick, "for I have been tormented, until I am gratified. Is there anything more?" asked Patrick. "Yes," said the angel, "you shall have one man for every hair in your *casula*, from pains on the Day of Judgment." "Which of the other saints who labor for God," said Patrick, "that would not bring that number to heaven? I shall not accept that," said Patrick.

"What will you accept, then?" asked the angel. "Here it is," said Patrick; "that I should bring from hell on the Day of Judgment seven persons for every hair in this *casula*." "It shall be granted to you," said the angel; "and depart from this Cruachan." "I will not depart," said Patrick, "for I have been tormented, until I am gratified." "Is there anything else you demand?" asked the angel. "There is," said Patrick; "the day that the twelve royal seats shall be on the Mount, and when the four rivers of fire shall be about the Mount, and when the three peoples shall be there, viz., the people of heaven, the people of earth, and the people of hell, that I myself may be judge over the men of Eriu on that day." "This thing cannot be obtained from the Lord," said the angel. "Unless this is obtained from Him, I will not consent to leave this Cruachan from this day for ever; and even after my death there shall be a caretaker from me there," answered Patrick.

The angel went to heaven. Patrick went to his offering. The angel came in the evening. "How now?" asked Patrick. "Thus," answered the angel: "all the creatures, visible and invisible, including the twelve apostles, entreated, and they have obtained. The Lord said that there came not, and would not come, after the apostles, a man more illustrious, were it not for the hardness of the request which is granted thee. Strike thy bell," said the angel; "thou art commanded from heaven to fall on thy knees, that it may be a blessing to the people of all Eriu, both living and dead." "A blessing on the bountiful king that gave," said Patrick; "the Cruachan shall be left."

Patrick proceeded afterwards until he was in Achadh-fobhair, where he celebrated the *ordo* of Easter. There are, moreover, "keepers" of Patrick's people in Eriu living still. There is a man from him in Cruachan-Aigle. The sound of his bell is heard, but it [the bell] is not found. And there is a man from him in Gulban-Guirt;[8] and the third man from him is to the east of Cluain-Iraird,[9] together with his wife. Both entertained Patrick in the reign of Laeghaire Mac Neill, and they are, and will be for ever, the same age. There is a man from him in Dromanna-Bregh;[1] there is another man from him in Sliabh-Slainge,[2] *i.e.* Domangart, son of Eochaidh. It is he that will raise Patrick's relics a little before the Judgment. His cell is Rath-Murbhuilg,[3] at the side of Sliabh-Slainge; and there is always a shin (of beef) with its accessories, and a pitcher of ale, before him every Easter, which is given to Mass people on Easter Monday always. Patrick's charioteer died, moreover, and was buried between Cruachan and the sea. Patrick went afterwards into the country of the Corco-Themne,[4] and baptized many thousand persons there, and he founded four churches there, viz., in the three Tuagha.[5]

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[8] *Gulban-Guirt.*—Beann-Gulban, or Binn-Gulban, now Binbulbin, a remarkable hill in the parish of Drumcliff, barony of Carbury, county of Sligo.

[9] *Cluain-Iraird.*—Clonard, county Meath.

[1] *Dromanna-Bregh.*—There is a townland of *Drumman* in the parish of Duleek, county Meath, within the ancient Bregia; but the place here referred to was in the north of the county of Meath, adjoining the county Cavan.

Patrick went then to Tobar-Finnmaighe,[6] *i.e.* a well. It was told to Patrick that the pagans honored this well as a god. The well was four-cornered, and there was a four-cornered stone over its mouth, and the foolish people believed that a certain dead prophet made it, bibliothecam sibi in aqua sub petra ut dealbaret ossa sua semper, quia timuit ignem, et zelavit Pat. de Deo vivo, dicens non vere dictis quia rex aquarum fons erat hoc necnon cum eis habuit rex aquarum, et dixit Patricius petram elivari et non potuerunto elevavit autem eam petram; Cainnech, quem baptizavit Patricius, et dixit erit semen tuum benedictum in secula. Cill-Tog, in the territory of Corco-Themne[7]—it was this church that Bishop Cainnech, Patrick's monk, founded. One time, as Patrick was travelling in the plains of Mac-Ercae, *i.e.* in Dichuil and Erchuil,[8] he saw a large sepulchre there, viz., 120 feet in length. The brothers desiring that the dead man might be resuscitated, Patrick thereupon "awoke" the dead man who was in the sepulchre, and questioned him quando, et quomodo, et quo genere, et quo nomine esset. Respondit sibi, dicens, "Ego sum Cass, filius of Glassi, qui fui subulcus Lugair Iruatae, and Mac Conn's *fiann* killed me in the reign of Cairpre Niafer,[9] in the hundredth year. I am here until to-day." Patrick baptized him, and he went again into his sepulchre.

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[2] *Sliabh-Slainge* is now Slieve Donard, the highest mountain in the county Down, on the margin of the bay of Dundrum.—See Reeves' "Down," pp. 154 and 207.

[3] *Rath-Murbhuilg.*—Now Maghera, county Down, so called from the adjoining townlands of Murlough, on the margin of the bay of Dundrum. St. Donard's church of Maghera, as it is now called, is a ruin, with the remains of a round tower. It is about nine miles from Downpatrick, and near the foot of the mountain. There was, however, a church of St. Donard's half way up the mountain, where patrons were held so late as 1744.—See Reeves' "Down," &c., pp. 27 and 154.

[4] *Corco-Themne.*—Colgan writes, "This was a region in Connaught," but gives no clue to its position. It was probably the present parish of Robeen, barony of Kilmaine, county Mayo, which formed part of the ancient Ceara. See note on Kill-tog further on. The Fourth Life, by St. Eleran, says: "St. Patrick founded three churches in this region, and the churches of Taghkeen and Kilcommon, as well as Robeen, all lie near the Robe."

[5] *Three Tuagha.*—This was an *alias* name for the three districts called Partraighe (Partree) in Mayo.

[6] *Tobar-Finnmaighe.*—Lanigan (vol. i. p. 227) writes, "Finmagh was in Mayo," but assigns no authority. Tobar-Finnmaighe seems to have been the ancient pagan name of Ballintober, in the barony of Ceara (or Carragh), county Mayo.

Quis comprehendere valet modi (*sic*) diligentiae orationis ejus omnes, namque psalmos, et ymnos et Apocalipsi, ac omnia cantica spiritualia scripturarum cotidie (quotidie) decantabat seu in uno loco seu in itinere gradiens. From vespers on Sunday night until tierce on Monday, Patrick would not come from the place where he might be.

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[7] *Cill-Tog in Corco-Themne.*—In the Book of Armagh, fol. 15, as quoted in Petrie's "Essay on Tara" ("Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," p. 47), the corresponding entry reads: "And he" (Patrick) "went to Moy-Tochuir" (a plain in the parish of Donagh, in Inishowen, county Donegal—Colton's "Visitation, '64-'67"), "and he built a church there; and in that place a certain bishop came to him of the race of Corcu Theimne, of the little church of Toch, in the regions of Temenrigi i Ceru, towards the setting of the sun," &c. It thence follows that Cill-Tog was in Ceara, now Carra, in Mayo.

[8] *Plains of Mac Ercae, i.e. in Dichuil and Erchuil.*—This plain is called Mag-mac-Erca in the Latin Tripartite, being so-called from the tribe Kinel-mac-Erca, whom Colgan ("*Tr. Th.*" p. 176, note 74, states) were represented by O'Hanlighe and Mac Brannan. The latter were chiefs of Corca-Achlan; O'Hanly, of Kinel-Dofa, separated by Slieve-Baune. Kinel-Dofa was on the west of the Shannon, county Roscommon, to the north of Lough Ree; and O'Donovan ("Four Masters," at 1210) gives the descent of the tribe from Erc the Red, grandson of Eochy Muidhmhedhoin, monarch of Ireland. This exactly answers the topography of St. Patrick's travels, as given in the Latin Tripartite, p. 134, chap. xxvii.

[9] *Cairpre Niafer.*—Cairbre Niafer is stated by some of the old Irish writers to have been monarch of Ireland about the beginning of the Christian era; but his name is not in any of the genuine lists of kings, nor in the "Annals of the Four Masters."

One Sunday Patrick was in a cold, damp place, when great rain fell on the earth, but it rained not in the spot where Patrick was, sicut in concha et vellere Gideoni accederat. It was a custom with Patrick to place the cross of Christ over himself one hundred times each day and night; and he would go aside from his path, even though the cross were one thousand paces away, provided that he saw it, or knew it to be in his vicinity; whether he was in a chariot or on a horse, he would proceed to each cross. One day Patrick omitted to visit a cross which was on his way, but he knew not that it was there. His charioteer said to him in the evening: "You left a cross which was on your way to-day, without visiting." Patrick left his guest-house, and his dinner, and went back to the cross. When Patrick was praying at the cross, "This is a sepulchre," said Patrick; "who was buried here?" A voice answered out of the sepulchre: "I am a poor pagan," it said, "and I was buried here; whilst living I was injuring my soul, until I died; and I was buried here afterwards." "What was the reason," asked Patrick, "that the sign of Christianity, *i.e.* the cross, was placed over thy grave?" "This," answered the voice; "a certain woman that was in foreign lands, and her son was buried here in this country in her absence; and she came from foreign lands and placed this cross over my grave. She thought it was over the grave of her son it was placed; for she was not able through grief to recognize her son's grave." "This is the reason that I missed the cross," said Patrick, "*i.e.* its being over the grave of a pagan." The cross was afterwards raised by Patrick over the Christian's grave.

One time Patrick's charioteer wanted his horses; he could not find them owing to the darkness of the night. Patrick lifted up his hand; his five fingers illuminated all the place as if they were five torches, and the horses were immediately found.

Patrick went across the Muaidh to Hy-Amhalghaidh:[1] the twelve sons of Amhalgaidh, son of Fiachra, son of Eochaidh,[2] came to meet him, viz., Aengus, Fergus, Fedhlimidh, Enna Crom, Enna Cullom, Cormac, Cairbre, Echui Dianimh, Oena, Eoghan Coir, Dubchonall, Ailill of the rough face. The sons of Amhalghaidh were disputing about the sovereignty: twenty-four tribes (*i.e.* old tribes) that were in the country; and they objected that they would not admit any man as king over them with an additional [nick] name. Aengus then imposed additional names upon his brothers. This Aengus was the proudest of Amhalghaidh's sons. Laegbaire, son of Niall, son of Eochaidh, king of Tara, and his brother Eoghan, son of Niall, decided the dispute. The sons of Amhalghaidh went to Tara in twelve chariots, sicut in libris Patricii inventus, quod exirent in judicium tamen vii fratres de eis. They were welcomed by the king at Tara. Aengus was foster-son to Laeghaire. He got a special welcome there. Aengus prayed the door-keepers that they would not admit Conall, the son of his brother, *i.e.* the son of Enna Crom, into the fort; for Aengus feared his wisdom in arguing his right. Aengus obtained this request from the door-keepers. As Conall was outside the *lis*, he heard the sound of Patrick's bell from Tobar-Patrick,[3] at the fort. Conall went to him, and saluted him. "O cleric!" said he, "do you know this expression which I have in commemoration, *i.e.* 'Hibernenses omnes clamant ad te pueri,' &c.—which two girls uttered in their mother's womb in our country." "I am he whom that refers to," said Patrick; "and I heard it when I was in the islands of the Tyrrhene Sea, et nescivi utrum in meam vel extra locuta sunt verba, et ibo tecum in regionem tuam baptizare, docere, evangelizare." Interrogat autem Patricius qua causa venit Conall, and Conall related the reason to Patrick, and he said that he was not allowed to enter Tara; to whom Patrick said: "Go in now, as the doors are open; and go to my faithful friend, Eoghan Mac Neill, who will assist you, if you lay hold, secretly, of the finger next his little finger, which is always a sign between us." And so it was done.

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[1] *Muaidh to Hy-Amhalghaidh.*—The river Moy rises in the barony of Leyny in the county Sligo, flows through the barony of Gallen in Mayo, and, passing through Foxford and Ballina, discharges itself into the bay of Killala, forming for some miles the boundary between the counties of Mayo and Sligo ("Hy-Fiachrach," p. 2). It has Tireragh on the east, and Tyrawley on the west. From the river, the district on the west, near its embouchure, was called "the Moy."

[2] *The twelve sons of Amhalgaidh, son of Fiachra, son of Eochaidh.*—Amhalgaidh, from whom Tyrawley, county Mayo, derives its name, was brother of Dathi, monarch of Ireland, who succeeded his uncle, Nial of the Nine Hostages, A.D. 405. The names of fifteen sons are given in the "Hy-Fiachrach," from whom were descended many noble families in Connaught, of which province he was himself king for thirty-two years. The Lives indicate that his conversion took place in A.D. 434, after which he reigned fifteen years, as the Four Masters record his death at A.D. 449.

"Welcome," said Eoghan; "what is Patrick's wish?" Conall said, "That you assist me." Conall afterwards observed, "If it is according to youth precedence in a king's house or land is to be given, I am the youngest; if according to mother's age, Enna Cromm is the oldest." To which Laeghaire replied, "Honor to the senior, truly," said he, "and converse with the learned; but if jewels and treasures are given to anyone, however, I will not deprive him of them." They came away, and Patrick with them, and Patrick gave his chariot to Conall, so that it was the thirteenth chariot. They went their way afterwards, and there was not good will with Aengus for his brother's son and for Patrick. He told his two brothers, viz., Fergus and Fedhlimidh, to kill Patrick and Conall, as he had agreed on parting Laeghaire, after Laeghaire had instigated him thereto. They went northwards towards their country. The place which Aengus had fixed upon for the fratricide was in Corann.[4] Fergus simulated sleep. His brothers refused what they had promised. "We will not kill the innocent," said they, "and will not commit murder upon our brother." Aengus went towards him (Patrick) to kill him, accompanied by two bands and two druids, viz., Reon and Rechred, of the race of Faelan the warrior. It is not more than a mile from the place whence Patrick saw the enemies, from the cross to the west of Cross-Patrick, to Cill-Forclann. Reon said that the ground would swallow Patrick on the place where he would see him. This was related to Patrick. "It is I who shall see him first," said Patrick. When Patrick saw him, the ground swallowed him up "I will believe," said he, "if I am rescued." The ground flung him up until he was above the winds, and he fell down half alive. He believed, and was baptized. Rechred was also lifted up and let down, until his head was broken against the rock, and fire from heaven burned him. The druid's rock is there. There is a church there. Gross-Patrick[5] is its name, to the east of Coill-Fochlaidh. Telach-na-Druadh is the name of the place where the pagans were, to the west of Cross-Patrick. Glas-Conaigh is between them. Aengus said: "I will believe if my sister is resuscitated," *i.e.* Feidelm, daughter of Amhalgaidh, who died long before.

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[3] *Tobar-Patrick*—This well was at Tara, and there are several mentioned in the prose and poetic descriptions of that place, as given in Dr. Petrie's essay; but this, most likely, was the well also called Laegh and Loigleas, in the Book of Armagh, which lay to the west of Rath-na-Riogh, the great royal residence, and in which Tirechan records that St. Patrick baptized St. Erc after his conversion, and many thousand men the same day.—Petrie's "Essay on Tara," p. 167.

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[4] *Corann.*—The greater part of this territory now forms the barony of Corran, nearly in the centre of the county Sligo.

[5] *Cross-Patrick, to the east of Coill-Fochlaidh.*—Dr. O'Donovan has printed at length ("Hy-Fiachrach," 461, &c.), from Colgan, St. Patrick's travels and acts in Tyrawley. On these names he writes: "The situation of these two places can be determined with sufficient accuracy at the present day; for Crux Patricii or Cros Phadruic still retains its original name, and is that of a townland containing an ancient churchyard and some traces of the ruins of a church, situated to the right of the road as you go from Ballina to Killala, and about one mile south of the latter place. The name Kill-forclann is now obsolete, and all traces of the church are removed; but the natives of the district state that parts of the walls of a church, originally so called, but then Killybrone, were extant in 1831, when they were totally levelled. The site is pointed out on a rising ground, about half a mile from Killala, and about sixty perches to the left of the road leading from Killala to Palmerstown."

One time a blind man went to meet Patrick; he went in haste with the desire of being healed. One of Patrick's people laughed at him. "My *debroth,*" said Patrick, "it would be fit that you were the blind person." The blind man was healed, and the hale was made blind, quod utrimque factum est. Mignae is the name of the person who was blinded; and he is the second man of Patrick's people who remained in Disert-Patrick, which is near the well at Cross-Patrick, and Donnmall was the other. Ruan, son of Cucnamha, Amhalgaidh's charioteer, that was healed there. Roi-Ruain is the name of the place where the blind was healed, and it belonged to Patrick afterwards. He met two *bacachs* in Ochtar-Caerthin. They complained to him of their infirmity, for they found it difficult to proceed through mountain or plain. What more shall I say? They were healed. He went to Domhnach-Mor, where Bishop Mucna is.[6] He went afterwards to Cross-Patrick, where Aedh Fota, son of Eochaidh, son of Oengus, came to him; and he healed him from lameness at the fountain to the west of Cross-Patrick; and he (Aedh) presented to him a plot of land there, where he founded a residence, and he left two of his family there, viz., Teloc and Nemnall. Enna saw the druids (magi) wishing to kill Patrick, and he said to his son Conall, "Go and protect Patrick, that the magi may not kill him." Patrick perceived them, and ethereal fire burned them, to the number of nine.

He then founded Cill-Alaidh,[7] and he left an illustrious man of his family there, *i.e.* Bishop Muiredhach. Patrick baptized women, viz., Crebriu and Lesru, the two daughters of Glerann, son of Cummen. It was they that called upon Patrick from their mother's womb, when he was in the islands of the Tyrrhene Sea. They are patronesses of Cill-Forglainn, in Hy-Amhalghaidh or Tirawley, to the west of Muaidh.

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[6] *Domhnach-Mor, where Bishop Mucna is.*—That is, where he was buried: now the townland of Donaghmore, in the parish of Killala, and barony of Tyrawley, county Mayo.—"Hy-Fiachrach," p. 466.

[7] *Cill-Alaidh.*—Now Killala, barony of Tyrawley, county Mayo, where an episcopal see was founded by St. Patrick, over which he placed St. Muredach, one of his disciples. The see was also called Kilmore-Moy, sometimes Tir-Amalgaid or Hy-Fiachra-mui. The Calendar of the O'Clerys has, at 12th August, "Muiredhach, Bishop of Cill-Aladh, of the race of Laeghaire, son of Niall," who was king of Ireland.

He went to Forrach-mac-Amalghaidh;[8] seven sons of Amalgaidh believed, including Enna and the king. It was then he baptized the pregnant woman and her offspring, and resuscitated another. Patrick and Conall went to the grave where the dead pregnant woman was, by the lower road to Cill-Alaidh. Aengus, however, went by the upper road. They reached the grave, and Patrick resuscitated the woman, and her son in her womb; and both were baptized in the well Aen-adharcae[9] (from the little hillock of land that is near it the well was named). Being resuscitated, she preached to the multitudes of the pains of hell and the rewards of heaven, and with tears prayed her brother that he would believe for God and Patrick, which was done, and he was baptized. And in that day twelve thousand were baptized in the well of Aen-adharcae, ut dicitur: "On one day were baptized six great thousands, with the seven sons of Amhalgaidh. This was the number." Twelve thousand, truly, that believed for Patrick in Ui-Amhalghadha, and of those of Caille-Fochladh. And Patrick left Magister Manchen[1] with them. He went southwards to the ford of Loch-Daela.[2] The place was the property of Aengus. Patrick intended to found a residence for himself there. Aengus came quickly when he saw him (Patrick), for it was not from his heart that he believed when he was baptized and confessed the faith. "My *debroth*," said Patrick, "'twere right that thy houses should not be exalted, nor thy descendants after thee. Thy successors shall be seldom just, and there shall be fratricide through it."

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[8] *Forrach-mac-Amalghaidh.*—This was the ancient name of Mullaghfarry, near Killala.—"Hy-Fiachrach," p. 467.

[9] *Aen-adharcae—i.e.* the one-horned hill. The cause assigned for the name is not given in Colgan's copy. It is called Tobur-en-edarc in the Book of Armagh (see Todd's "St. Patrick," 449).

[1] *Magister Manchen.*—There are eleven saints Mainchen mentioned in the Calendar of the O'Clerys. Dr. Todd, therefore, had no ground for insinuating that this was the St. Mainchen who lived to 652, and who could not have been a contemporary of St. Patrick.

[2] *Loch-Daela.*—Now Bally-Loughdalla, in the parish of Ballysokeery, in the south-west of the barony of Tyrawley. The lough itself still retains the name.—"Hy-Fiachrach," pp. 281, 467.

He went to the east, to Lec-finn[3], where Patrick made the cross in the stone over Cill-mor-uachtair-Muaidh,[4] to the west. But Lia-na-manach[5] is its name at this day, *i.e.* Cruimther Monach's, or Olcan's church; but there was no church there at that time. And he baptized Eochaidh, son of Nathi,[6] son of Fiachra, and resuscitated his wife Echtra, at Ath-Echtra, the little stream at the very door of Cill-mor. And Echtra's grave[7] is on the margin of the ford. It is a sign of knowledge with them in their history to remember this grave. He (Patrick) sent Bishop Olcan to build where the church is to-day. Thus he came with an axe on his back, and Patrick told him that he should put up at the place where the axe would fall off his back; quod factum est where Cill-mor-uachtair-Muaidh is. He went afterwards to the north, to Lec-Balbeni, where he found and blessed the sons of Amhalgaidh; and he went out of the country from [the western]

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[3] *Lec-finn*, called in Colgan's Latin Leac-fionnbaile.

[4] *Cill-mor-uachtair-Muaidh.*—"The great church of the Upper Moy," now Kilmore-Moy, a parish extending into the baronies of Tireragh, county Sligo, and Tyrawley, county Mayo, containing the towns of Ballina and Ardnaree, *i.e.* "the hill of executions."

[5] *Lia-na-manach.*—This name is now shortened to Liag, and the place is situated on a hill, a short distance to the south of the old chuch of Kilmore-Moy. The name is applied to a rock on which a cross is sculptured within a circle, and to an ancient churchyard, but all traces of the church have disappeared.—"Hy-Fiachrach," p. 468.

[6] *Nathi*—another form of the name of Dathi. Eochaid, his son, was called Eochaidh Breac, and was ancestor of the O'Shaghnessys, O'Scanlans, O'Clerys, and O'Heynes.

[7] *Echtra's grave.*—Colgan's Latin edition calls it *Feart Echtra*, which has the same signification; and the grave is still to be seen in a field lying a short distance to the east of the old church of Kilmore-Moy, and nearly opposite a holy well called Toberpatrick.—"Hy-Fiachrach," p. 468.

Bertlacha[8] to the eastern Bertlacha, and passed it eastwards to the estuary of the Muaidh, towards the mouth of the sea. A young woman was drowned there before him; and he blessed the place, and said that no person should be drowned there for evermore. Patrick prophesied that the eastern Bertlacha should be with him, as it is in their history; and in the day of war the king of that region will be victorious, if true to Patrick. It was there, at the stream, the Gregraighe[9] flung stones at Patrick and his people. "My *debroth*," said Patrick, "you shall be beaten in every conflict in which you may be; and you shall be subject to insult and contumely in every assembly in which you may be." "Arise, O Conall!" said Patrick, "that you may assume the *bachall*." Conall said, "If it please thee, I shall do so." "That shall not be," said Patrick; "but I will support thy valor, and will give comarbs to thy race, and thou shalt be the Conall Sciath-bachall.[1] The palm of laics and clerics shall be from thee; and every one of thy descendants in whose shield the sign of my *bachall* shall be, will not be subdued."

All this Patrick did to him. He went eastwards into the territory of Hy-Fiachrach,[2] by the sea. A water opposed his passage, *i.e.* there was an unusually large rock in it, and he cursed it. On the water there is a place, Buaile-Patrick is its name, *i.e.* a little mound, with a cross there, where Patrick rested a short time.

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[8] *Bertlacha.*—This is the Bertrigia of the Book of Armagh, and now Bertrach, a sandy island in the north-west of the parish of Castleconor, county Sligo, on the east side of the river Moy.—"Hy-Fiachrach," p. 250.

[9] *Gregraighe.*—This district was in the county Sligo, and supposed to be co-extensive with the barony of Coolavin.—"Book of Rights," p. 99.

[1] *Sciath-bachall.*—"Shield-Crozier."

[2] *Hy-Fiachrach.*—There were two tribes of this name in Connaught, descended from the Fiachra, so often mentioned in the Lives of St. Patrick, brother of the famous king of Ireland, Niall of the Nine Hostages. The Hy-Fiachrach Aidhne were located in Galway, their territory being exactly co-extensive with the diocese of Kilmacduagh. The northern and more powerful tribe possessed the districts, now baronies, of Carra, Erris, and Tyrawley, in Mayo, and the district of Tir-Fiachrach, now the barony of Tireragh, county Sligo.—"Book of Rights," p. 108.

Then the holy bishop, Bron of Caisel-Irra,[3] and the holy Mac Rime of Cill-Corcaraidhe;[4] and there he wrote an alphabet for him; and I have heard from another that in the said place he gave a tooth from his jaw to Bishop Bron, for he was dear to Patrick. Immediately on coming from the west, across the Muaidh, into Gregraighe, he met three virulent druids at Rath-Righbhaird,[5] who were able to do nothing to him; and he said that there never would be wanting of this people a man of such magical knowledge.

Mac Erca, the son of Draighen, who is in Cill-roe-mor,[6] in the territory of Hy-Amhalgadha. Patrick baptized the seven sons of Draighen,[7] and he selected of them Mac Erca, and gave him to Bishop Bron to be fostered, for it would not be easy to take him far away, in consequence of the love of his father for him.[8]

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[3] *Caisel-Irra.*—The Calendar of the O'Clerys has, at 8th of June, "Bron, Bishop of Caiseal-Irrae, in Ui-Fiachrach Muaidhe, A.D. 511." Caisel-Irra was the ancient name of a stone fort in the district of Cuil-irra, in which stood the church of Killaspugbrone, near the town of Sligo, now nearly overwhelmed with sand.—"Hy-Fiachrach," p. 470.

[4] *Cill-Corcaraidhe.*—Now the church of Conrigh, in the barony of Rathconrath, county Westmeath, a little south of the present barony of Corkaree, and lying west of Lough Annen, now Lough Ennel. It is near the celebrated hill of Usneach. The old church measures fifty-nine feet by eighteen feet two inches; two of its old bells were discovered some years ago, and sold in Dublin.—Archdall's "*Monasticon,*" p. 720: Cogan's "Meath," ii. 424.

[5] *Rath-Righbhaird.*—According to the Four Masters, at A.M. 3501, this rath was in Muirisc. There were two districts so called, one now represented by the barony of Murrisk, county Mayo, and the other in the barony of Tireragh, county Sligo, which latter is the one in which Rath-Righbhaird stood, to the west of Killaspugbrone. See O'Donovan's "Hy-Fiachrach," p. 470, note, and the maps prefixed to that work.

[6] *Cill-roe-mor.*—Now Kilroe, a very ancient church in ruins, in a townland of the same name, parish of Killala, barony of Tyrawley, county Mayo. It stands on a rocky hillock, about one mile to the east of the town of Killala. It is built of very large stones, in the primitive Irish style, being twenty-four feet in length by eighteen feet in breadth.—"Hy-Fiachrach," p. 470.

[7] *Draighen.*—The locality in which he resided is now called Drynaghans, namely, Drynaghanbeg and Drynaghanmore, two townlands in the parish of Kilglass, barony of Tireragh, county Sligo, to the north-east of Ballina.

[8] *Him.*—Immediately after the baptism of Mac Erca, the Book of Armagh records the following incidents: "And two girls came to Patrick and took the veil at his hand, and he blessed for them the place of the wood of Fochloth.

Patrick marked out the site of Caisel-Irra, and the flag on which Patrick's tooth fell is in the middle of the *lis.* Bishop Bron founded the place, and Patrick prophesied that the place would be deserted by Gentiles, *quod factum est.*

Then Patrick desired the fishermen to set their nets for him in the river, *i.e.* in Sligech.[9] They said to him, "A salmon is not taken in this period of the winter; but as you desire it, however," said the fishermen, "we will do so." They placed their nets, and caught large salmon; and they gave them to Patrick; and he blessed the river, so that Sligech is the most fruitful river of Erinn, for fish is caught in it every quarter (of the year).

Bishop Rodan, the herd,—Patrick left him in Muirisk,[1] in Cill-espuig-Rodain.[2] His calves would only do what he counselled;

And behold, Patrick went up to the land which is called Foirrgea, of the sons of Amolngid, to divide it among the sons of Amolngid, and he built there a church of moist earth squared, because wood was not at hand; and they brought to him a sick woman, having an infant in her womb, with the water of baptism, *ipsa est aqua communio mulieris;* and they buried her in at the head of the church; and upon the grave is the seat of the saint, in the church, even to the present day; and he built a certain church at Ross, among the family of Caitru, on an island of a bay of the sea." O'Donovan ("Hy-Fiachrach," p. 469, note) calls the place here mentioned Forrach mac n-Amhalgaidh, which (p. 315), he says, was Mullaghfarry, Killala, and where the church was built, Ros filiorum *Caitni*, not *Catriu*, as in Betham. In Lewis's "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland," it is stated that the parish of Ross, on the west of Lough Corrib, county Galway, was formerly known by the name Faghery, and that near the house of Rosshill, in that parish, are the ruins of an ancient church and a burial ground, called by the people of the neighborhood Russ the Faghery, to distinguish it from the abbey of Ross, near Headford, which is called Russ Rela, correctly Ross-errely.

[9] *Sligech.*—This was the ancient name of the river Gitly, which flows through the town of Sligo, to which it has given name.—"Hy-Fiachrach," p. 470.

[1] *Muirisk.*—In Colgan's Latin copy it is called Muiresch-aigle. O'Donovan ("Hy-Fiachrach," p. 471) writes, it is now Murresk, an abbey at the foot of Cruachan Aigle, now Croaghpatrick, about four miles from Westport, and that it is not the Muirisc in Tireragh, county Sligo, referred to in p. 257 of "Hy-Fiachrach." But O'Donovan was misled by Colgan, who wrongly wrote Muirsesk-Aigle.

[2] *Cill-espuig-Rodain.*—It would appear from the above that the name Muirisk superseded Cill-espuig-Rodain. The Calendar of the O'Clerys has Bishop Rodan at 24th August, without naming any place.

wherefore the harpers and musicians had a proverb. The Callraighe of Cul-Cernadhan[3] were in a secret place before Patrick, and they brought their spears close to their shields to assault Patrick and his people. "My *debroth*," said Patrick, "what you did is not good. Every battle and every conflict which you wage, and your children after you, will be gained over you." They forthwith knelt to Patrick, except five. Patrick said, "In any battle that may be won against you, though all Connacht be after you, no greater number than five shall fall of you." And so is it observed.

One time he was after going by Bernas-Ui-Oilella[4] to go to Magh-Luirg,[5] when he fell into water, *i.e.* a river that goes into (*recte* from) Loch-Techet.[6] Ath-carpait[7] is the name of the ford, near to Ess-mic-Eirc.[8] Patrick cursed the eastern half of the water. "And the half from the ford westwards, why do you spare it?" asked his people. "A son of life will come who will set up there hereafter," said Patrick, "who will like fruitful water at his place," *i.e.* Colum Cille, son of Fedhlimidh, at Ess-mic-Eirc. From the ford up to the lake, the best fishing in Erinn is found there by all. From the ford down, not much is taken there.

[3] *Callraighe of Cul-Cernadhan.*—Now Coolcarney, a district in the barony of Gallen, and county Mayo, comprising the parishes of Attymas and Kilgarvan. Besides the territory of Calry, still retained as the name of a parish in Sligo, in which district Coolcarney was situate, there was another in Westmeath.—"Hy-Fiachrach," p. 471.

[4] *Bernas-Ui-Oilella.*—A remarkable pass in the barony of Tirerrill, county of Sligo.

[5] *Magh-Luirg.*—This plain and territory, of which the M‘Dermotts were chiefs, is comprised in the barony of Boyle, county Roscommon.

[6] *Loch-Techet.*—Now Lough Gara, county Sligo.

[7] *Ath-Carpait.*—This was a ford on the Boyle river, to the east of Assylin.

[8] *Ess-mic-Eirc*—*i.e.* the cataract of the son of Eirc, *i.e.* Dachonna, son of Eirc, whom St. Columba placed over a church in this place. The Four Masters, at A.D. 748, state that it was on the Buill (Boyle river, county Roscommon), and when they wrote it was called Eas-Ui-Fhloinn, now Assylin, about a mile west of the town of Boyle. The change of name to Assylin appears to have been taken from Flaherty O'Flynn, who was comarb of Dachonna, first abbot of the religious house in this place, and who died 1209. The parish is called Assylin, otherwise Boyle. St. Dachonna or Mochonna was venerated on the 8th of March.

Patrick went afterwards into the territory of Magh-Luirg, when his horses were carried off by Cenel-Mic-Erca.[9] And Patrick cursed the people of that country; but Bishop Maine of the Hy-Ailella,[1] who prayed Patrick regarding forgiveness for his kinsmen, and Patrick modified the malediction. And Bishop Maine washed Patrick's feet with his hair and tears, and drove the horses into a meadow, and cleaned their hoofs in honor of Patrick. And Patrick said, "There shall be weeping, and wailing, and mourning with the inhabitants of that country; and there will not be neighborship there *in sæcula sæculorum;*" *ut impletur.* And Patrick also said that a great part of that country should afterwards belong to him; which was fulfilled in the case of Nodain of Loch-Uama.[2] Bishop Maine is also of Patrick's people, and Geintene in Echainech in Hy-Ailella.

Patrick went after that into the territory of Callraidhe,[3] to Druim-dara, where Druim-lias[4] is to-day. It was then he baptized Mac Caerthinn; and that place was presented to Patrick for ever. Patrick afterwards established himself on the offering in Druim-dara, Druim-lias to-day, *i.e.* from Patrick's seats, and from the sheds, it was named. Patrick left his *dalta*[5] Benen there in abbotship during the space of twenty years. He journeyed into the glens eastward,[6] where Cenel-Muinremur[7] is to-day. His two nostrils bled on the way. Patrick's flag (Lec-Patrick)[8] is there, and Patrick's hazel (Coll-Patrick), a little distance to the west of the church. He put up there. Srath-Patrick[9] it is named this day; Domhnach-Patrick was its former name. Patrick remained there one Sunday; *et hæc est una ecclesia illius regionis.* Patrick went afterwards past Druim-cliabh, from Caisel-Irra, by the Rosses[1] eastwards, along Magh-Eni, and founded Domhnach-mor of Magh-Eni.[2] Then it was that he cursed the Dubh[3] river, for the refusal which the fishermen gave him. He blessed Drobhais,[4] however, on account of the kindness which the little boys who were fishing there did to him.

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[9] *Cenel-Mic-Erca.*—A tribe and territory in the north of the county of Roscommon.

[1] *Bishop Maine of the Hy-Ailella.*—Bishop Maine, of the race of *Oilioll*, son of Eochaidh Muighmedhoin, of the seed of Heremon, was venerated on the 2nd of September, according to the Calendar of the O'Clerys.

[2] *Nodain of Loch-Uama.*—A lake near Cavestown, parish of Estersnow, barony of Boyle, county Roscommon. The name of the parish is a corruption of Ath-disert-Nuadhain.

[3] *Callraidhe.*—There were several territories named Calry in Westmeath, Breffny, and Sligo. That of Sligo occupied the parish of Calry, barony of Carbury, county Sligo, and extended into Leitrim.

[4] *Druim-lias.*—The parish of Drumlease is in the barony of Dromahaire, county Leitrim. A St. Colman was venerated here on 19th June. The see lands were formerly attached to the archbishopric of Armagh, but were passed to the see of Kilmore, and are now leased in perpetuity. The charter of the church lands to Armagh is in the Book of Armagh.

[5] *Dalta.*—A pupil or foster-child; Dr. Todd explains it as foster-son, "Life of St. Patrick," note, p. 177.

Thrice Patrick went across the Shannon into the land of Connacht. Fifty bells, and fifty altar chalices, and fifty altar cloths, he left in the land of Connacht, each of them in his church. Seven years was he preaching to the men of Connacht; and he left them a blessing, and bade them farewell.

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[6] *Eastward.*—Glenkeel, Glenaniff, Glenade, and Glennauns, lie east and north-east of Drumlease, county Leitrim.

[7] *Cenel-Muinremur.*—This was probably in that part of county Cavan in which is situate Lough Ramor, anciently called Loch *Muin-reamhair.* See Four Masters, at A.M. 2859.

[8] *Lec-Patrick.*—There is a townland called Leckaun, north of Drumlease, in the same parish.

[9] *Srath-Patrick.*—There is Sraud, in the parish of Rossinver, barony of Rossclogher, county Leitrim, still further north.

[1] *Rosses.*—Ross Cette was the ancient name of a point of land lying between the river of Sligo and that of Drumcliff in the barony of Carbury, county Sligo, giving name to the parish of Rossinver, lying in both counties. It is now called the Rosses, differing from that in the north-west of Donegal. "Four Masters," at A.M. 3790.

[2] *Domhnach-mor of Magh-Eni.*—It was sometimes called Magh-Cedne, and Moygene, and is now called Moy, a plain lying between the rivers Erne and Drowes, in the south of the county Donegal. It is in the parish of Inishmacsaint, where, in the vicinity of Carricklake, are the ruins of an ancient church. It is often mentioned in the "Four Masters."

[3] *Dubh.*—Now the Duff or Bunduff, *i.e.* the foot of the Dubh river, giving name to a village in the barony of Carbury, county Sligo, where the river empties itself into the bay of Donegal. It is about four miles west-south-west of Bundoran.

[4] *Drobhais* is still called the Drowes or Bundroes river, *i.e.* the foot of the Droes. It rises in Lough Melvin, and empties itself into the bay of Donegal, about a mile from Bundoran. A village at its foot, taking name from it, is in the parish of Rossinver, barony of Rossclogher, county Leitrim.

Patrick went to Es-Ruaidh.[5] He desired to establish himself there, where Disert-Patrick[6] is, and Lec-Patrick.[7] Cairbre opposed him, and sent two of his people, whose names were Carbacc and Cuangus, to seize his hands. "Not good is what you do," said Patrick; "if I were permitted to found a place here, the second to Rome of Letha, with its Tiber running through it, would be my establishment with its Es-Ruaidh through it; and your descendants would be comarbs in it." Cairbre declined then, as Patrick had foretold. Thereupon Cairbre incited a dog to attack Patrick. Cuangus struck the dog with a rod. Patrick said that Cairbre's race should not exceed a small band; and that the palm of laics or clerics would not be from him, *quod impletur.* But as to Cuangus, since he agreed to seize Patrick's hands for Cairbre,[8] Patrick said that his race should not be more numerous than a company, and that illustrious men would be of them, *quod impletum est.* Cairbre promised to Cuangus, for seizing Patrick's hands, as much as he could see to the north of Sliabh-Cise.[9] When he turned to take a view about him, a dark cloud closed around Cuangus, so that he only saw to the sea westwards, and to the *ash* eastwards. "This river, which God gave you, Cairbre," said Patrick; "your share of it shall not be fruitful as regards fish" (*i.e.* the northern half of the river in length was Cairbre's share; *i.e.* the half next to Cenel-Conaill,[1] for Crich-Conaill belonged to Cairbre at that time as far as Rath-Cunga); "but Conall's share (the southern half) will be fruitful;" *sic impletum est,* until Murghins, son of Maelduin,[2] son of Scannal, an illustrious king of Cairbre's race, presented the unfruitful part to Colum-Cille; and it is now fruitful with Colum-Cille.

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[5] *Es-Ruaidh.*—A cataract on the river Erne, nigh Ballyshannon, county Donegal; now called Assaroe. A celebrated abbey was afterwards founded here. St. Conan of Eas-Ruaidh was venerated on the 8th of March. The abbot had the liberty of fishing for salmon in the Erne river.

[6] *Disert-Patrick.*—This was at Assaroe, as the following extract from the *Leabhar Breac* shows: "Patrick, accompanied by Brigid, proceeded to Eas-Ruaidh, and commenced the erection of a church and *congbail* there, in the place at this day called Disert-Patrick. But Cairpre, the son of Nial, set his face against him, and sent two of his people, Carbaoc and Cuangus, to take him prisoner. "What you have done is not good," said Patrick; "if you would permit to erect a *congbhail* here, it would become a second Rome of Italy." (Colton's "Visitation," p. 79.) The name Disert-Patrick is now obsolete.

[7] *Lec-Patrick.*—There is no place called by this name in the neighborhood of Assaroe, but by an inquisition taken in the thirty-first year of Queen Elizabeth, to inquire into the lands of this abbey, it was found to have been seized amongst others of the ballyboe of Cashill, *alias* Lack, now the townland of Cashel, adjoining Ballyshannon, containing 687 acres. There is the parish of Leck-Patrick in the county of Tyrone, between Strabane and Londonderry, but it is not the place referred to.

[8] *Cairbre.*—He was son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, who died in 405; and was brother of Eoghan, ancestor of the Cinel Eoghain; Enna Finn, ancestor of the Cinel Enna; Conall Gulban, ancestor of the Cinel Conaill; Laoghaire, King of Ireland from 428 to 463; of Conall Crimthann, of Fiac, and Maine. From Cairbre descended the Cinel-Cairbre of Carbury, county Sligo, and of Gaura,

He (Patrick) went afterwards between Es-Ruaidh and the sea into Crich-Conaill, where Rath-Chunga is at this day. He fixed a stake there, and said that it would be an abode and establishment for seven bishops; and there Bite[3] is now, the brother's son of Aisicus from Elphin.

It was then also that he foretold of Domhnall, son of Aedh, son of Ainmire, viz., he fixed a pole in Ard-fothaidh,[4] and on the mor-

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or North Taffia, county Longford. Tuathal Maolgarbh, his grandson, was King of Ireland from 533 to 544.

[9] *Sliabh-Cise.*—Colgan ("*Tr. Th.*" note 155, p. 180) writes, that Kisse was the name of a mountain, as also of a river, in Tirhugh, county Donegal, near the river Erne. From this description it would appear to be the mountain now called Breesy-Hill, in the parish of Kilbarron.

[1] *Cenel-Conaill.*—Crich-Conaill. The present county of Donegal.

[2] *Murghins, son of Maelduin.*—This Muirghins was lord of the Cinel-Cairbre (who were seated in the barony of Carbury, county Sligo), and died, according to the Four Masters, in 696. See note on Cairbre. See "Hy-Fiachrach," p. 278.

[3] *Bite.*—This was St. Beoadh, Bishop of Ardcarne, in the county of Roscommon, of the race of Lughaidh, son of Ith. He was nephew of St. Asicus, Bishop of Elphin, who was also buried in Rathcunga. St. Beoaidh died on the 8th of March, 524, on which day he was venerated. The *Chronicum Scotorum* has his death at 518.

[4] *Ard-fothaidh.*—This is Ardpattan, a small town near Ballyshannon, in the parish of Kilbarron and barony of Tirhugh, county of Donegal, contiguous to

row it was bent; and Patrick said, that the place would be the seat of a king, which was fulfilled in Domhnall. On Sith-Aedha[5] Patrick blessed Conall Mac Neill, when Patrick's hands would fall on the head of Fergus.[6] Conall wondered at this thing, when Patrick said:

> "A youth (*i.e.* Colum Cille) shall be born of his tribe,
> Who will be a sage, a prophet, and poet,
> A glorious, bright, clear light,
> Who will not utter falsehood."

After Patrick had blessed the Cenel-Conaill, and had left a blessing on their forts, and rivers, and churches, he went into the country of Eoghan, the son of Niall, across Bernas of Tir-Aedha[7] into Magh-Itha,[8] and to Domhnach-mor of Magh-Itha, where he left Dudubae,[9] son of Corcan, of his people. And Patrick said to his people: "Take care that you meet not with the lion, Eoghan, son of Niall."[1] Muiredhach, the son of Eoghan, who was in

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Ballymagroarty, in which was Rathcunga. The Latin Tripartite, "*Tr. Th.*" p. 144, states they were in the vicinity of each other. It was the royal residence in the time of St. Columba.

[5] *Sith-Aedha.*—Now Mullaghshee, a little to the north of Ballyshannon, county Donegal.

[6] *Fergus.*—This Fergus was son of Conall Gulban, ancestor of the Cinel Conaill, and son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and married to Erca, the daughter of Loarn Mor, King of Scotland, by whom he was father of Felim, the father of St. Columba. Erc had been previously married to Muredach, his cousin, on of Eoghan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages.

[7] *Bernas of Tir-Aedha.*—Now Barnesmore mountains, in the northern part of the barony of Tirhugh, county of Donegal.

[8] *Magh-Itha.*—An extensive plain in the barony of Raphoe, in which is the church of Donaghmore, near the town of Castlefinn. It was called Magh-Itha, from Ith, the uncle of Milesius, who, according to bardic tradition, was buried here. This church subsequently adopted the rule of St. Columba, and is now annexed to Derry, in place of Raphoe.—"Book of Rights," p. 124, and Colton's "Visitation," p. 60.

[9] *Dudubae.*—Called Dubdubanus in the Latin Tripartite. Colgan identifies him as the Dubanus venerated at 11th November.

[1] *Eoghan, son of Niall.*—Ancestor of the Cinel Eoghain: he had, according to the "Ogygia," at least five sons: (1) Muireadhach, father of Muircheartach Mac Erca, King of Ireland, the ancestor of the O'Neills, and who gave sixteen monarchs to Ireland; (2) Fergus, ancestor of the O'Conors of Moyith;

the front of the youths, met on the way Sechnall, who was in the rear of the host of clerics. Sechnall said to Muiredhach: "You would have a reward from me, if you would persuade your father to believe." "What reward?" asked he. "The sovereignty of thy tribe shall for ever belong to thy heirs," said Sechnall. "I will," answered Muiredhach. In Fidh-mor[2] it was that Eoghan met with Patrick, where the flag (*lec*) is. "If you would believe in your country," said Patrick, "the hostages of the Gaedhil would come to you."

"I am not good-looking," said Eoghan; "my brother precedes me on account of my ugliness." "What form do you desire?" asked Patrick. "The form of the young man who is under (*i.e. who is bearing*) your satchel; *i.e.* Rioc of Inis-bo-finde,"[3] said Eoghan. Patrick covered them over with the same garment, the hands of each being clasped round the other. They slept thus, and afterwards awoke in the same form, with the difference of the tonsure. "I don't like my height," said Eoghan. "What size do you desire to be?" asked Patrick. Eoghan reached up his hand with his sword. "I should like this height," said he; and he immediately grew to that height. Patrick afterwards blessed Eoghan, with his sons. "Which of your sons is dearest to you?" asked Patrick. "Muiredhach," said he. "Sovereignty from him[4] for ever," said Patrick. "And next to him?" asked Patrick. "Fergus," answered he. "Dignity from him," said Patrick. "And after him?" asked Patrick. "Eocha Bindech," said Eoghan. "Warriors from him," said Patrick. "And after him?" asked Patrick.

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(3) Oilill, from whom Muintir Kelly; (4) Fedhlim, ancestor of the O'Duibhdhiorma of the Bredach, in Inishowen; (5) Eochy Binne, from whom the Cinel Binny near the Foyle.

[2] *Fidh-more.*—Now Veagh, in the parish of Raymochy, anciently called Rath-maighe-h-Aenaigh, of which Brugach, the bishop, was venerated on 1st November. Veagh lies between the church of Donaghmore of Magh-Ith, and the royal palace of Ailech.

[3] *Rioc of Inis-bo-finde.*—Colgan says St. Rioc was nephew of St. Patrick, and son of his sister Darerca.

[4] *From him*—*i.e.* the right of sovereignty was to be attached to his race.

"They are all alike to me," answered Eoghan. "They shall have united love," said Patrick.

Patrick went to Ailech of the kings,[5] when he blessed the fort and left his flag there; and he prophesied that kingship and pre-eminence should be over Erinn from Ailech. "When you lift your foot out of your bed to approach it,[6] and your successor after you," said Patrick, "the men of Erinn shall tremble before you."

He blessed the whole island (Inis-Eoghain)[7] from Belach-ratha;[8] and he gave a blessing of valor to Eoghan. Then it was that Patrick said:—

"My blessing on the *tuatha* (territories)
I give from Belach-ratha,
On you, you descendants of Eoghan,
Until the day of judgment.

"Whilst plains are under crops,
The palm of battle shall be on their men.
The armies of Fail (Ireland) shall not be over your plains;
You shall attack every *telach* (tribe).

"The race of Eoghan, son of Niall,
Bless, O fair Brigid!
Provided they do good,
Government shall be from them for ever.

"The blessing of us both
Upon Eoghan Mac Neill,
On all who may be born from him,
Provided they are obedient."

Eochaidh, son of Fiachra, son of Eoghan, was baptized with Eoghan, and Patrick's covenant was made between them; and whosoever transgresses it shall not have children born to him, and his body will not rot in the clay.

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[5] *Ailech of the kings.*—Now Grenan-Ely, in the barony of Inishowen, county Donegal. See the Ordnance Survey Memoir of the parish of Templemore, county Londonderry, p. 217.

[6] *It*—*i.e.* the flag.

[7] *Inis-Eoghain.*—Now the island or barony of Inishowen, county Donegal.

[8] *Belach-ratha.*—Now Ballagh, in the parish of Clonca, near Malin Head, the most northern part of Inishowen.

Where Patrick went after this was into Daigurt in Magh-Dula.[9] He built seven Domhnachs (churches) about Fochaine[1] (*i.e.* flumen), namely, Domhnach-Dola,[2] Domhnach-Seinlis, Domhnach-Dara, Domhnach-Senchua, Domhnach-Minchluane,[3] Domhnach-Catte, Both-Domhnaigh.[4]

Patrick proceeded into Tir-Eoghain of the Islands, namely into the territory governed by Fergus, and he took to build a *disert* at a certain place; Achadh-Driman[5] was the proper name of the land in which he built it. But Coelbhadh, son of Eoghan, drove him from thence, and Patrick said that in consequence thereof his race should never have a goodly house there. Quod probatum est super by Comman, son of Algasach, of the race of Coelbhadh, who was at Eas-nac-Eire, who made a house there, but before he had the roof on it it was broken down by a young cleric of the family of Domhnach-mor-Maighe-Tochair.

"Thou shalt receive welcome from me," said Aedh, son of Fergus. There is neither bank nor wall between him and the aforesaid, and it was there that he erected Domhnach-mor-Maighe-Tochair, ribi xl, dubas mansit et Mac Cairthin reliquit.

Patrick proceeded from Domhnach-mor-Maighe-Tochair, into Bredach, and there he met the three Deachans, the sons of Patrick's sister, in the country of Ailell, son of Eoghan, and he ordained Oengus, the son of Ailell, in that place, and he remained there on Sunday; Domhnach-Bile is its name.

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[9] *Magh-Dula.*—This name is partly preserved in that of Moyola, a river that passes by Castledawson, and flows into Lough Neagh.

[1] *Fochaine.*—The Faughan river, which flows into Lough Foyle.

[2] *Domhnach-Dola.*—The site of this church has not been ascertained; probably it was near the Moyola.

[3] *Domhnach-Minchluane.*—This is the old church of Clooney, in the parish of Clondermot, near Derry, mentioned in Colton's "Visitation;" pp. 31 and 32.

[4] *Both-Domhnaigh.*—This is now *Bodoney*, in the north of the county of Tyrone and diocese of Derry. In 932, Muireacan of this place was abbot or corbe of Armagh, and in that year crowned Aodh, son of Donnell, King of Ireland.

[5] *Achach-Driman.*—Dr. Reeves (Colton, p. 120) writes there is a townland called Magheradrumman, in the parish of Donagh in Inishowen, probably the place here mentioned.

When Patrick was at Ailech-Airtich in Sonnacht, in Cinel-Enda, Enda came to him. "Da mihi hunc locum," said Patrick. "Quasi non babussemus clericos," said Enda. On the morrow venit Enda et suus filius secum, Echu Caech. Patrick had turned off to pray, and his people to baptize, to confer orders, and to propagate the faith. The two Maccairthinns were there at the time, namely, qui est at Clochar et qui est at Domhnach-mor-Maighe-Tochair. "Confer ye the degree of bishop upon my son," said Enda. "Let Patrick be consulted," said Patrick's champion, Maccairthinn of Clochar. "It is our duty," said the other; "I will confer the order." When Patrick, he said, "Ye have conferred orders in my absence on the son of the Wolf; there shall be strife in the church of the one for ever; there shall be poverty in the church of the other." Quod impletur: strife at Clochar; Domhnach-mor-Maighe-Tochair, poverty is there. "The son upon whom the degree was conferred, two persons, after committing murder, shall profane his relics. One hundred and twenty years until a son shall be born in the southern parts [who shall reconsecrate his church], and it shall be restored to me again." Quod totum impletum est. The first place where his relics were was a high and beautiful spot, but they were caried thence after a short time to a lower place; and the first place where they were is deserted, and robbers and murderers are accustomed to dwell there, through Patrick's curse. And his church was ceded to Ciaran Mac-an-tsair, but was restored to Patrick again. This Echu, son of Enda, is at this day called Bishop Echan.

As Patrick was in Tir-Enda-Airtich at Tulach-liag, in Leitir, he stuck [wattles for] a church there, which afterwards became a bush. After this he went to the Lei, on the east of the Bann, ubi non capiebant homines pisces nisi in nocte usque ad illud tempus. Deinde imperavit eis Patricius ut in die caperent, et sic erit in finem seculi.

Patrick went afterwards into Dal-Araidhe and Dal-Riada.

Then he proceeded to Rori,[5] to Carn-Setna, southwards, where he heard the screams of an infant from out of the ground. The carn was demolished, the sepulchre was laid bare, and a smell of wine arose around them out of the sepulchre. They saw the living child with the dead mother. A woman that died of ague; she was brought across the sea to Eriu, and the child was born after death; and seven days, it is said, it lived in the tumulus. "That is bad (*olc*),"[6] said the king. "That shall be his name (*Olcan*)," said the druid. Patrick baptized him; and he is Bishop Olcan, of the community of Airther-Maighe,[7] in the district of Dal-Riada. And Mac Nisse, of Condere, read his psalms with Patrick. . . .

Patrick received welcome in the district from Erc's twelve sons. And Fergus Mor Mac Erca said to Patrick, "If I am preferred before my brothers in the division of our land, I will offer some to you." And Patrick gave to Bishop Olcan this part, *i.e.* Airther-Maighe. Patrick said to Fergus, "Though thy esteem with thy brothers is not great to-day, it is thou that shalt be king. The kings of this land, and of Fortren, shall be from thee for ever;" and this is what was fulfilled in Aedan Mac Gabhrain, who possessed Alba by force. Patrick left many cells and establishments in the territory of Dal-Riada.[8]

He founded Fothraidh, and left two of his people in it, viz., Presbyter Cathbadh, and the monk Dimman; and he founded Rath-Mudhain,[9] and left Presbyter Erclach in it; he left Bishop Nem[1] in Telach-Ceniul-Aenghusa;[2] Dachennindan in Domhnach-Cainri, in Cothraighe;[3] Enan in Druim-Indich;[4] and Bishop Fiachra in Cuil-Echtrainn.[5] And Patrick blessed Dun-Sobhairce;[6] and Patrick's well is there, and he left a blessing upon it.

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[5] *To Rori.—Do rori* is the reading of the MS.; but it is probably corrupt, and includes some wrong form of the name of the King of Dal-Riada, who appears to have been present on the occasion of the finding of the child.—See Reeves' "Down and Connor," p. 243.

[6] *Olc*, evil; *olcan*, diminutive of *olc*.

[7] *Airther-Maighe—i.e.* the eastern plain, now Armoy, county Antrim. See Reeves' "Down," pp. 80, 287.

[8] *Dal-Riada.*—Now the Route, in the north of county Antrim. See Reeves' "Down," pp. 52, 72, *et seq.*

[9] *Rath-mudhain.*—Now Ramoan, in the north of Antrim. St. Ereclacius was venerated on the 3rd of March.—Reeves' "Down," p. 79.

[1] *Nem.*—Colgan calls him Nehemias.

He went afterwards to Dal-Araidhe.[7] He found Caelbadh's twelve sons[8] before him. He proposed to found a place where Cill-glas is. He was repelled from it; and it belongs to him yet; and he left two of his people there, viz., Glaisiuc and Presbyter Libur. And he determined that he would found a place where Lathrach-

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[2] *Telach-Ceniul-Aenghusa.*—Dr. Reeves ("Down," p. 125) considers this to be the Grange of *Drumtullagh*, adjoining Ramoan, county Antrim, having an ancient burying-ground called Kilmoyle.

[3] *Domhnach-Cainri in Cathrigica.*—Cathrigica is the modern barony of Carey, in the north of Antrim. Colgan conjectured this church to be Kill-Domnach, but both names are obsolete. The festival of St. Nehemias was celebrated on the 3rd of May, when the Martyrology of Donegal styles him Nem, Bishop of *Drum Dallain*. In the townland of Big House, parish of Cuilfeightran, barony of Carey, are the remains of an ancient church called *Drumnakill*, which may be the church of the text.—Reeves' "Down," p. 282.

[4] *Enan in Druim-Indich.*—Now Kileena, in the townland of Drumeeny, parish of Ramoan, county Antrim.—Reeves' "Down," p. 284.

[5] *Cuil-Echtrainn.*—Now Culfeightran, barony of Carey, county Antrim.—Reeves' "Down," p. 79.

[6] *Dun-Sobhairce.*—Now Dunseverick, three miles east of the Giant's Causeway, on the northern coast of county Antrim. For an interesting account of this place, and its identification by Dr. O'Donovan, see "Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i. p. 361; also Reeves' "Down," p. 286.

[7] *Dal-Araidhe.*—This large region in the east of Ulster extended from Newry, in the south of the county Down, to Slemish mountain in the barony and county of Antrim. The portion of Antrim north of this was Dal-Riada.—"Book of Rights," p. 23.

[8] *Caelbadh's twelve sons.*—Caelbadh had been King of Uladh, or circumscribed Ulster, fifteen years, and of Ireland one year, and was slain in 357. Of the twelve sons, three are mentioned in the Life—Saran, Connla, and Nad-Sluagh. Saran succeeded his father as King of Uladh, which he held for twelve or twenty-six years, and was ancestor of the Macartans of Kinalarty, county Down. Connla was ancestor of Magenis of Iveagh, same county. Several of his descendants were also kings of Uladh, and St. Fergus, Bishop of Down, who died in 583, was his great-great-grandson. Nad-Sluagh was grandfather of St. Cairbre, Bishop of Coleraine, hereafter mentioned, and from him also descended the celebrated Aengus the Culdee.

Patraic[9] is. It is there Daniel, Patrick's angel and dwarf, is. It is there Patrick's well is—*Slan* is its name—which Patrick discovered there. Saran, the son of Caelbad,[1] seized his hand to expel him; and Patrick took heaven and land from him. Connla, the son of Caelbadh, however, received Patrick with humility, and gave him Domhnach-Combair;[2] and Patrick blessed him, and declared that kings and chieftains should be of his race for ever. And he founded many churches in Dal-Araidhe, viz.: Domhnach-mor[3] of Magh-Damhairne, and Rath-Sithe[4] (and he left two of his people there), and Telach-Conadain,[5] and Gluaire in Latharna[6] (and Mac Laisre is in it). He founded Glenn-indechta,[7] and Imlech-[c]luana, in

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[9] *Lathrach-Patraic.*—That is, "Patrick's site;" but the Latin Tripartite calls it Lettir-Phadruic, signifying "Patrick's slope." Colgan, in his note (" *Tr. Th.*" p. 183), writes that this Daniel was called from his short stature "Abhac," signifying a dwarf, and that from this the church was denominated Lann-Abhaic, "the church of the dwarf," being then a parish in the diocese of Connor. It is now called Glenavy, the letter *g* having been prefixed by the English settlers, though in Pope Nicholas's Taxation (1306) it is simply called Lennewy.—See Reeves' "Down," &c., pp. 47, 236.

[1] *Saran, the son of Caelbadh.*—Saran succeeded his father as King of Ulidia, and reigned twenty-six years.—"Battle of Magh-Rath," p. 330.

[2] *Domhnach-Combair.*—Now Comber, in county Down, at the north end of Strangford Lough. See Reeves' "Down," pp. 197, 338.

[3] *Domhnach-mor.*—The Latin Tripartite reads, "Domnach-mor in agro de Mag-damorna." Colgan, in another place, calls the latter Machaire-Morna, now Magheramorne, a territory to the south of the town of Larne, in the county Antrim. It was in this district the celebrated St. Comgall of Bangor was born. The name Domhnach-mor is obsolete. See Reeves' "Down," pp. 51, 269, 338, 346.

[4] *Rath-Sithe.*—Now Rashee, barony of Belfast, county Antrim. The annals record the death of several of its bishops. Reeves' "Down," pp. 68, 258, 263.

[5] *Telach-Conadain.*—Dr. Reeves conjectures this to be the chapelry of St. Cunning, now merged in the parish of Carncastle, near Larne. (Reeves' "Down," pp. 53, 338.) The Calendar of the O'Clerys has a St. Conaing, son of Lacnnan, at 23rd Sept.

[6] *Gluaire in Latharna.*—This is the church of Glenarm, or Tickmacrevan, county Antrim, on the old territory of Larne, and is still called *Glore.*—Reeves' "Down," pp. 87, 264, 338.

[7] *Glenn-indechta.*—Now the church of Glynn, in the barony of Lower Belfast, county Antrim.—Reeves' "Down," pp. 56, 329, 339.

Semhne[8] (where Caemhan was left), and Rath-Escuip-Indich,[9] in the territory of Ui-Erca-chein.

After some time the aforesaid Saran bore off some men in captivity from the district of Dal-Riada. Bishop Olcan met him, and the poor people were grievously complaining to him. Olcan interceded, but it was of no avail, unless he would assure heaven to Saran. "I cannot do so, indeed," said he, "for Patrick has deprived thee of it." "I will kill thy people about thee, but thee alone," said he, "and I will slay all these captives; and wherever I shall find a priest (tailcend), I shall bring him under the edge of the sword."

Whereupon Bishop Olcan promised him heaven. He came afterwards from the north to offer submission to Patrick. It was reported to Patrick that Bishop Olcan had promised baptism and heaven to the person to whom he had denied them. They met to the north of Cluain-Fiachna,[1] on the way, going in different directions. "The chariot over him," said Patrick. "It is not allowable," said the charioteer, "that it should go over a bishop." He told him (Bishop Olcan) that his establishment on earth would not be high, and that it would be thrice destroyed; as was afterwards fulfilled, for it was ruined by Scandal,[2] King of Dal-Araidhe, and by Cucuaran,[3] and by fire also. "Laechdich, son of Bresal, and his land, shall belong to the young boy bearing the satchel," said Patrick, "one of thy own people, *i.e.* Mac Nisse of Condere,[4] and to one not born yet, *i.e.* Senan[5] of Inis-Altich. Thy merit in heaven will be illustrious."

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[8] *Semhne.*—Semhne or Shevny was the ancient name of Island Magee, lying to the north-east of Carrickfergus, county Antrim. It contained six churches, one of which (Kilkenane) may have its name corruptly formed from St. Caemhan, whom St. Patrick left in charge. See Reeves' "Down," p. 270.

[9] *Rath-Escuip-Indich.*—Bishop Indich, Innoc, or Winnoc, from whom this church derives its name, was a disciple of St. Patrick, but very little is known of his history. The district of Ui-Erca-chein, called variously, in English records, Anderken and Sluthenderkeys, lay in the present barony of Castlereagh, county Down, adjoining Strangford Lough. It is supposed to be the present Castle Espie, the ruins of which—lying in a large rath on the western shore of Strangford Lough—are in a townland of the same name, which has always been ecclesiastical property.

[1] *Cluain-Fiachna.*—This is now Clonfecle, barony of Dungannon, county Tyrone, about five miles north of Armagh; the old church overhanging the river Blackwater, opposite Blackwatertown, county Armagh. It is a mistake for Dal-rieda.

Saran's guilt it was that was here laid upon Bishop Olcan. Saran's brother, Nadsluagh, was submissive to Patrick; and he was in captivity on Patrick's arrival. "You shall have from me," said he, "the site of your *regles*." "Where will you give it me?" asked Patrick. "On the brink of the Bann, in the west," said Nadsluagh, "where the boys are burning the *ratha* (ferns)." "It shall be mine, truly," said Patrick; "a descendant of mine and thine shall be there," *i.e.* Bishop Coirpre,[6] son of Deggell, son of Nadsluagh; it is he that is in Cul-rathain,[7] on the eastern brink of the Bann. Bishop Brugach, who is in Ratha-Maighe-Aenaigh,[8] in Crich-Conaill, it was that conferred orders on Bishop Coirpre. Patrick, also, it was that conferred orders on Bishop Brugach; so that he (Bishop Coirpre) is a descendant of Patrick in this wise. Patrick gave no malediction to any of the twelve sons of Caelbad, except to the king alone, *i.e.* Saran. It was he that had acted disobediently to him. It was on this occasion that Patrick brought with him Bishop Guasacht,[9] son of Milchu, from the territory of Dal-Araidhe; it was he whom Patrick left in Granard, and the two Emirs also, Milchu's two daughters: it is they that are in Cluain-Bronaigh,[1] ut diximus.

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[2] *Scandal.*—This was Scannlan of the Broad Shield, father of Congal Claen, King of Ulidia, or Dalaradia, ten years, who was slain at the battle of Magh-Rath, near Newry, county Down, A.D. 634, according to the chronology of the Four Masters; A.D. 636, Annals of Ulster and *Chronicon Scotorum;* and A.D. 637, according to Tigernach.

[3] *Cucuaran.*—He was also King of Ulidia and the Cruithni, and was slain by Fiunchu O'Ronan, A.D. 706, according to the Four Masters.

[4] *Mac Nisse.*—See Reeves' "Down and Connor," p. 237, *et seq.*, for a full account of Bishop Mac Nisse and his church.

[5] *Senan.*—Colgan, in the index to his "*Tr. Th.*" writes this was in Ulster, but gives no clue to its locality.

[6] *Bishop Coirpre.*—Bishop Cairbre. His festival was held on the 11th of November. See note at Caelbadh's twelve sons.

[7] *Cul-rathain.*—Now Coleraine, on the river Bann. It was for some time the seat of a bishop, and also a monastery. See Reeves' "Down," p. 247.

[8] *Ratha-Maighe-Aenaigh.*—Now Raymochy, in the barony of Raphoe county Donegal. See Reeves' "Adamnan," p. 192.

The way Patrick went was into the territory of Dal-Araidhe, across Fertais-Tuama,[2] to Ui-Tuirtre. He was forty nights in Finnobair,[3] and determined to build a city there for its suitability[4]—Loch-Nechach being on one side of it, and Sliabh-Calland on the other. Cairthen Mor, king of the country, went to him and ordered him off. He (Patrick) deprived him and his children of the sovereignty. Patrick afterwards gave the sovereignty to Cairthend Beg, who was in exile from his brother; and Patrick baptized him, and blessed his wife, and the being that was in her womb. "My *debroth*," said Patrick, "the being that is in thy womb shall be full of the grace of God; and it is I that will bless a veil upon her head." The woman was Mogan,[5] daughter of Fergus Mor Mac Nissi, King of Dal-Riada; and Trea,[6] daughter of

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[9] *Bishop Guasacht.*—His festival was held on the 24th of January.

[1] *Cluain-Bronaigh.*—Now Clonbroney, to the west of Granard, county Longford. It became a famous nunnery, and was largely endowed with lands.

[2] *Fertais-Tuama.*—Now Toome Bridge, over the lower Bann, county Antrim. Ui-Tuirtre was then on the west side of the Bann; but the tribe was afterwards expelled to the east or Antrim side by the O'Neills. Colgan, not knowing the change, inverts the position of Slieve Gallien and Lough Neagh.

[3] *Finnobair.*—There were several places of this name in Ireland, one of which, now called Findermore, was in Magh-Lemna, or the Clossach, near Clogher, county Tyrone ("*Tr. Th.*" p. 184); but from the text this appears to have been Tuirtre, between Lough Neagh and Slieve Gallen, occupying precisely the position of the church of Ardtrea, barony of Loughinsholin, county Derry. The ancient church of Ardtrea is in Ballyeglish, "the town of the church."

[4] *Suitability.*—See Reeves' "Down and Connor," p. 293.

[5] *Mogan.*—Fergus Mor was King of Dal-Riada, and grandson of Eochaidh Muinreamhar, Monarch of Ireland. In 503 he and his brothers conquered the greater part of Alba, and founded there the kingdom of Scotland.

[6] *Trea.*—Cairthen Mor was descended from Colla Uais, Monarch of Ireland. It was from his grandfather, Fiachra Tort, that Ui-Tuirtre was named. St. Trea's festival was held on the 3rd of August. St. Maedhog, Bishop of Ferns, who died A.D. 624, was of her family.

Cairthenn, was the daughter who was in her womb; and it was Patrick who blessed a veil on her head, as he prophesied. The angels, moreover, that brought the veil from heaven, and placed it on her head, down over her eyes; and Patrick began to raise it up. "Why is not good to leave it as it was placed?" asked Trea. "It is good, indeed," answered Patrick. She never saw anything during her life except what she saw through that veil.

Patrick had seven Domhnachs[7] in Ui-Tuirtre, viz., Domhnach-Fainre,[8] Domhnach-Riascad,[9] Domhnach-Fothirbe, Domhnach-Righduinn, Domhnach-Brain,[1] Domhnach-Maelain,[2] Domhnach-Libuir.

Where Patrick went afterwards was to Feara-Gabrae,[3] and they were not obedient to him. Patrick said that they would go afterwards with tribute to his church in winter time, and that extern tribes would get their country; *quod impletum est.* Patrick went afterwards to Fera-Imchlair,[4] and he baptized and blessed them;

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[7] *Domhnachs.*—Churches, the names of which began with "Domhnach."

[8] *Domhnach-Fainre.*—Now Donaghenry, at Stewartstown, county Tyrone. —Reeves' "Down," p. 294.

[9] *Domhnach-Riascad.*—Now Donaghrisk, in the parish of Desertcreat, not far from Stewartstown. It is still used as the Catholic burial ground.—Reeves' "Down," p. 294.

[1] *Domhnach-Brain.*—Dr. Reeves' ("Down and Connor," p. 294) suggests this was Donnabaran, erenagh land, in the deanery of Tullaghoge, county Tyrone, to the west of Lough Neagh.

[2] *Domhnach-Maelain.*—This is probably the old church of Desertlynn, county Derry, adjoining Artrea, so called from the O'Lynn family, who also gave name to the barony of Loughinsholin, in which it is situate. The ruins of the old church are in the townland of Ballymully.

[3] *Feara-Gabrae.*—Dr. Reeves conjectured this territory to lie between Ui-Tuirtre, on the west of Lough Neagh, and Donaghmore, county Tyrone.

[4] *Feara-Imchlair.*—Dr. Reeves, on the authority of Colgan, places Magh-Imchlair around Donaghmore, to the west of Dungannon. The festival of Cruimther Colum was celebrated here on the 4th June, as also at 6th September, at which day the Calendar of the O'Clerys has: "Colum of Ros-Glandai, *i.e.* Glan is the name of a well which was there before Patrick, and Domhnach-mor-Maigh-Imchlair is its name at this day, since Patrick blessed it. In Tir-Eoghain it is situate. And this Colum is of the race of Laeghaire, son of Niall." There is a fine old sculptured cross at the Catholic church, ornamented with Scriptural subjects.

and he left with them Cruimther Colum, and Patrick's book of orations, and his bell therewith; they are miraculous things unto this day.

When Patrick concluded his triumphant career in the present life, as the Apostle Paul said, "I have fought the good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith; as to the rest, there is laid up for me a crown of justice, which the Lord the just judge will render to me in that day," he received communion and sacrifice from Bishop Tassach. His remains and relics are here regarded with honor and veneration by the earthly Church. Though great his honor and veneration on the earth, greater still will they be in the Day of Judgment, when the fruit of his preaching will be committed to him as to each other high apostle, with the apostles and disciples of Jesus, in the union of the nine choirs of angels, in the union of the Divinity and the Humanity of the Son of God, in the unity which is nobler than all unity—in the unity of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. I beseech mercy through the intercession of Patrick. We ask that we may all ourselves obtain this union *in sæcula sæculorum*. Amen.[5]

[It should be observed that, at the commencement of each of the three parts of the Tripartite Life, there are several pages of Latin, which were intended by the author as a sort of introduction or preface to what follows in each part. They are made up principally of Scriptural quotations strung loosely together.

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[5] *Amen.*—In Colgan's version the second part concludes thus:—

"Hactenus de virtutibus et miraculis S. Patricii, qui totam vitæ felicissimæ, virtutumque ac prodigiorum plenæ ita consummavit cursum ut cum Apostolo Paulo potuerit recte dixisse; 'Bonum certamen certavi, cursum consummavi, fidem servavi: de cætero reposita est mihi corona justitiæ, quam reddet mihi Dominus in die justus judex.'

"Appropinquante autem hora mortis curavit advocari Fossachum Episcopum, susceptoque ex ejus mane salutari viatico suaviter obdormivit in Domino. Ejus sacræ exuviæ, ac reliquæ in summa veneratione asservantur in Ecclesia terrestri; in cælesti vero ejus anima triumphat æternæ vitæ perpetuo exultans gaudiis: quæ nobis concedat Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus. Amen.

These quotations have general reference to the establishment of Christ's kingdom upon earth, and are obviously intended to bear upon the happy introduction of Christianity into Ireland, through the labors of our glorious apostle. At the end of each of the parts, in like manner, are some paragraphs, by way of peroration, devoted chiefly to the praises of the great saint, who dedicated the greater part of an unusually long life to the service of God, by the regeneration of our pagan ancestors. The language of both prefaces and perorations, whether corrupted by the copyists in transcription, or originally so written, is a most barbarous Latin. For the reasons indicated, it has been deemed better to omit the pages alluded to, merely giving a few words of the commencement of each. In the Irish original, also, as was usual in early Irish manuscripts, there are a considerable number of Latin quotations or sentences, which in some cases have been translated, and in others given as they stood, without any attempt to correct the style.]

Part III.

MIRABILIS Deus in sanctis suis. Spiritus Sanctus, à quo omne donum, et gratiarum charismata utrique, et novi et veteris Testamenti Ecclesiæ, data, hæc protulit per os Regii Psalmistæ Davidis filii, &c.

St. Patrick Blessing Ireland.

Patrick left Presbyter Conaedh in Domnach-Airther-Maighe, in the territory of Hy-Briuin of the north. He rested there on Sunday, and then went after Patrick from that place as far eastwards as the wood. "What brought you?" asked Patrick. "I cannot bear your absence, holy man," said he. "No wonder," observed Patrick; "the place around thee is not the place of a son of life, but a place for pig-eaters; the soil of the place shall never be reddened"—(which we have proved when Connacan,[6] son of Colman, son of Niall Frossach, went into the district with an army, nine men moved off from a tree, which Artifex, a pilgrim, selected. He was beheaded; eight were liberated, however, in his land).

Patrick went afterwards to Telach-Maine,[7] and received a welcome from Maine, son of Conlaedh, who humbled himself to him; and Patrick blessed him, and blessed his wife, so that she was fruitful, and brought forth two daughters. Patrick baptized them, and blessed veils on their heads, and left a senior with them to instruct them.

Patrick did not visit Ard-Macha on that occasion, but went into the territory of Hy-Cremthand,[8] where he founded churches and residences. One time, as Patrick was coming from Clochar, from the north, his strong man, *i.e.* Bishop Mac Carthend,[9] carried him across a difficult place; and, after lifting up Patrick, he said, "Uch, uch." "My *debroth*," said Patrick, "you were not accustomed to say that word." "I am old and infirm," said Bishop Mac Carthend, "and you have left all my early companions in churches, whilst I am still on the road." "I will leave thee in a church," said Patrick, "that shall not be too near us for familiarity, that shall not be too distant for intercourse between us." And Patrick afterwards left Bishop Mac Carthend in Clochar, and the Domhnach-Airgid[1] with him, which was sent to Patrick from heaven, when he was on the sea coming to Erinn.

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[6] *Connacan.*—This and some other passages were evidently added at a later period by the coypist to show the fulfilment of the prophecy. Niall Frossach, who was King of Ireland seven years, resigned in 765, and died at I-Coluim-Cille, on his pilgrimage, eight years afterwards. The Four Masters record the death of his son Colum, by the Cinel-Conaill, at A.D. 810, and of Connegan, son of Colum, in a hosting made into Ulidia, in 853.

[7] *Telach-Maine.*—There are some parishes and townlands called Tullamain in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, but it is obvious from the context the place here referred to was in northern Ulster, where we only find one, in the parish of Faughanvale, county Londonderry. It probably was the place indicated.

[8] *Hy-Cremthand.*—This territory, according to Colgan, was in the barony of Slane, county Meath. It was so called from Creamhthann, a descendant of Rochadh, son of Colla da Chrioch. It and its chiefs are frequently mentioned in the "Four Masters."—See "Book of Rights," p. 152. Colgan ("*Acta SS.*" p. 235) traces Crimthan's descent thus: son of Fieg, son of Deodatus, son of Rochad, son of Colla da Crioch.

Patrick went after that to Lemhuin.[2] Finnabhair is the name of the hill on which Patrick preached. Three days and three nights was he at the preaching, and each day did not seem to them longer than one hour. Then it was that Brigid slept at the preaching, and Patrick did not allow her to be awakened. Patrick asked her afterwards what she had seen. She said: "I saw fair synods, and white oxen, and white corn-fields; behind them spotted oxen, and black oxen after these. I afterwards saw sheep and pigs, and dogs and wolves, fighting amongst themselves. I saw subsequently two stones, one little and the other big. A drop was shed on each of them. The little stone increased at the 'drop,' and silvery sparks burst from it. The large stone withered, moreover." "They were the two sons of Eochaidh, son of Crimthann,"[3] said Patrick. Cairpre Damhairgit[4] believed, and Patrick blessed him, and blessed his seed. Bresal, moreover, refused, and Patrick cursed him. Patrick also explained the whole vision of Brigid in an admirable manner.

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[9] *Bishop Mac Carthend.*—His proper name was Aodh or Aidus, the other being derived from his father, Chaerthann. He was first Bishop of Clogher, the ancient name of which, as recorded in the "Four Masters," was Clochar-mac-n-Daimhne. According to Sir James Ware, he died on the 24th of March, 506, on which day his festival is still held. The Calendar of the O'Clerys states, under Oct. 6th, that he was of the race of Eochaidh, son of Muireadh, of the seed of Heremon, and that he was called "Patrick's champion." His life is given in Colgan's "*Acta SS.*"

[1] *Domhnach-Airgid.*—This highly ornamented reliquary, enclosing Latin copies of the four Gospels, is now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. It has been described in the "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. xviii, from which extracts have been made in O'Curry's Lectures, p. 322, with a translation from this Life of the passage relating to St. Mac Carthend. (See note, p. 64.)

[2] *Lemhuin.*—Lemhuin or Liamhain was, according to Colgan, in the county Tyrone and diocese of Clogher, and was otherwise called Clossach. The river Blackwater ran through it, and the fort of Augher and the village of Ballygawley were in it, having Clogher on its western, and the church of Errigal-Keeroge on its northern, boundary. As Clossach it is frequently mentioned in O'Mellan's Irish "Journal of the Wars of 1641;" "Book of Rights," p. 152; "Irish Topographical Poems," p. xxi. note 119; Colton's "Visitation," p. 126. Finnabhair is now corruptly called Findermore, a townland in the parish and barony of Clogher, county Tyrone.—Ordnance sheets, 58 and 64, county Tyrone.

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[3] *Eochhaidh Mac Crimthainn.*—He was son of the Crimthainn mentioned under the note "Hy-Cremthand." O'Flaherty (book iii. chapter lxxvi. Hely's translation, vol. ii. p. 10), in tracing the history of the Orgiellians, the posterity of the three Collas, writes as follows: "Achy, Prince of Orgiellia, died in the time of St. Patrick, and was by his mediation restored to life and baptized. He had two sons after this: Bressal, the elder, who obstinately opposed the Gospel, on which he with his whole race were extirpated and extinguished, in consequence of the dreadful imprecations denounced on them by St. Patrick; his other son was Carbry, surnamed Damhairgid, who most willingly embraced the principles of truth, and enjoyed the blessings imparted to him and his posterity, from which a numerous succession of Orgiellian princes and many saints are descended."

[4] *Cairpre Damhairgit.*—From this Cairpre or Carbry, who had seven sons, according to O'Flaherty, were descended the noble families of Maguire, Mac Mahon, and O'Hegny ("Ogygia," iii. ch. 67). Colgan only mentions two sons, Natsluagh, from whom MacMahon, and Cormac, from whose descendant Udhir sprung Maguire. Colgan ("*Acta SS.*" pages 235 and 713) enumerates the following saints as descended from him: St. Enda, Abbot of Arran, off the coast of Galway, whose mother, according to the O'Clerys' Calendar, was Aibhfinn, daughter of Ronan, King of the Ards in county Down (venerated 21st March); St. Libeus of Arran, his brother (18th Feb. or 16th Dec.); their two sisters, St. Carecha Dergain of Cluain-Boirinn (7th Feb.), St. Lochinia (12th June); SS. Fergus (29th March), Muredach (12th August), Mochoemoc (13th April), all of Inis-Caoin, now Inishkeen, in Lough Erne, county Fermanagh, and their sister St. Nessa (4th Sept.); St. Tegan or Tecce (9th Sept); St. Dimina, or Damnada, or Damhnat (13th June); St. Fanchea, St. Mugan or Moghain Og, of Cluain-Boirinn, mentioned in Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba" (Dec. 15), and St. Darfroechea, *alias* Darerca, mother of St. Tighernach of Clones, and sister of St. Cinna of Druim-Dubhain, after mentioned (11th Nov. or 23rd March).

He resuscitated Eochaidh, son of Crimthann, from death. Eochaidh possessed a daughter, *i.e.* Cinnu,[5] whom her father wished to marry to a man of noble family, *i.e.* to the son of Cormac,[6] son of Cairpre Mac Neill; she, walking along, met Patrick with his companions on the way. Patrick preached to her, that she unite herself to the spiritual prophet; and she believed, and Patrick instructed her, and baptized her afterwards. When her father was subsequently seeking for her, to give her to her man, she and Patrick went to converse with him. Patrick requested that he would permit her to wed the Eternal Spouse: Eochaidh agreed to this, if heaven would be given to him therefor, and he himself not be compelled to be baptized. Patrick then promised these two conditions, though he thought it hard. The king afterwards consented that his daughter, *i.e.* Cinnu, should be united to Christ, and Patrick made her a female disciple to him, and commanded a certain virgin to instruct her, *i.e.* Cechtumbar of Druim-Dubhain,[7] in which place both virgins rest.

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[5] *Cinnu.*—The Calendar of the O'Clerys has, at 1st Feb., "Cinne, Virgin;" and Colgan ("*Acta SS.*") has her life at that day. After receiving the veil, she was placed under St. Cechtumbria in a nunnery at Druim-Dubhain (see *infra*), where she was living about 482, and was there interred. Cinne's sister, Dearfraoich, was mother of St. Tighernach, Bishop of Clones, in county Monaghan, according to O'Clerys' Calendar at 4th April.

[6] *Cormac.*—He was called Cormac Caech, and was father of Tuathal Maelgarbh, who was King of Ireland eleven years, and was slain in 538, by Maelmor, tutor of Diarmaid Mac Cearbhaill, who succeeded. The Annals of Ulster give Tuathal's death at 543; of Clonmacnois at 547; but O'Donovan, on the authority of Tigernach, says 544 is the true year; with which agrees the *Chron. Scotorum.*

[7] *Cechtumbar of Druim-Dubhain.*—Colgan ("*Acta SS.*" note, p. 235) writes this was a church beside Clogher. Cechtumbar is variously designated Cethuberis and Cectamana or Ethembria, and is stated by Colgan to have been the first of all the Irish virgins who received the veil from St. Patrick. She is believed to have been the person to whom St. Patrick refers, in his Confession, when he says, alluding to the conversions he had effected: "The sons of Scoti and daughters of chieftains appear now as monks and virgins of Christ. Especially one blessed Scottish lady, of noble birth and of great beauty, who was adult, and whom I baptized." According to Colgan, she was interred in her own church, with many other holy virgins, and seven bishops.

After many years, moreover, the aforesaid Eochaidh reached the end of his life; and when his friends would remain by him, he said, "Let me not be buried," said he, "until Patrick comes." And when Eochaidh finished these words his spirit departed. Patrick, moreover, was at this time in Ulster, at Sabhall-Patrick; and the death of Eochaidh was manifested to him, and he decided on going to Clochar-mac-Daimhin, where he found Eochaidh, who had been inanimate twenty-four hours. When Patrick went into the house where the body was, he sent out the persons who were about the body. He bent his knees to the Lord, and shed tears; and he prayed, and said in a clear voice: "Rise, O King Echaidh, in the name of Almighty God;" and immediately, at the voice of the servant of God, he arose. When he had composed himself, he spoke, and the grief and lamentations of the people were changed to joy. And forthwith Patrick instructed the king in the rule of faith, and baptized him. He also commanded him, before the people, that he would describe the pains of the impious, and the joy of the saints, and that he would speak to the people, that they might believe all that is said of the pains of hell and the joys of the blest to be true. And he spoke of these things, as he was commanded. And Patrick offered him a choice, *i.e.* fifteen years in the chief kingship of his country, if he would live piously and truthfully, or to go to heaven, if he preferred it. But the king said: "Though the sovereignty of the entire globe were given to me, and though I might live for many years, I would count it all as nothing in comparison with the good shown to me. Hence it is that I pray more and more that I may be freed from the miseries of the present life, and sent to the eternal joys exhibited to me." To whom Patrick said, "Go in peace, and journey to the Lord." Echu (or Eochaidh) gave thanks to God in the presence of his people, and he commended his soul to the Lord and Patrick, and his spirit departed to heaven.

Where Patrick went afterwards was to the territory of Ui-Meith-Tire,[8] to Tech-Thalain; and he left Bishop Cilline there, and other holy men of his people, and the relics of saints which he brought with him across the sea from the east.[9] Then it was that three robbers of Ui-Meith-Tire carried off the second goat that was wont to be bringing water, and they came to swear falsely to Patrick respecting him, but the goat cried from the bodies of the three who had acted treacherously. "My *debroth*," said Patrick, "the goat himself announces you as thieves. From this day forth, goats shall stick to your children and kindred:" which has been fulfilled.

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[8] *Ui-Meith-Tire.*—There were two territories in Ulster named Ui-Meith, so

Eoghan,[1] son of Brian, son of Muiredach, son of Imchadh, son of Colla-fo-Crich, was King of Ui-Meith when this people believed, and he (Patrick) blessed them. Eoghan besought Patrick to resuscitate his grandfather, *i.e.* Muiredach. Patrick afterwards resuscitated him, and buried him again in the Erende,[2] on the borders of Mughorna and Ui-Meith; but the place belongs to Mughorna. Then

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called from Muiredhach Meth, mentioned afterwards, viz.:—Ui-Meith-Mara, bordering on Carlingford Lough, and now known as O'Meath in Louth, opposite Warrenpoint; and the other southern portion as Cuailnge (Cooly), adjoining the town of Carlingford. The Ui-Meith-Tire of the text was sometimes called Ui-Meith-Macha, from its contiguity to Armagh, and was situate in the present barony and county of Monaghan. It comprised the parishes of Tehallan (the Tech-Thalain of the text), Monaghan, Kilmore, Tullycorbet, Clontibret, and Muckno, near Castleblayney.—"Book of Rights," p. 148, &c. The Calendar of the O'Clerys commemorates, at 2nd November, Aedhan, son of Aenghus, of Cill-Mor-Aedhain; at 26th January, Cruimther Calbh, of Telach-Carpait, both in Ui-Meith-Macha; and at 27th May, Cillin, Bishop of Tech-Talain, in Oirghialla. These churches are all in county Monaghan.

[9] *East.*—The Calendar of the O'Clerys commemorates, at 27th May, "Cillin, Bishop of Tech-Talain, in Oirghialla." Now the parish of Tehallan, in the north-east of county Monaghan.

[1] *Eoghan.*—The Muiredach, grandson of Colla da Crich, here mentioned, was generally called Muiredach Meth, from whom the Ui-Meiths were designated. See preceding note but one.

[2] *Erende.*—Colgan, in the Latin Tripartite ("*Tr. Th.*" p. 151), calls this place *Omna Renne.* It is probably the present Omra, or Oram, in the parish of Muckno, barony of Cremorne, county Monaghan, where there is a large mound, with a circle of stones, on the top of a mountain called Mullyash. It borders the county of Armagh, and is called, in the Ulster Inquisitions, Owramlisdonny.

Patrick went into the district of Mughorna,[3] to Domhnach-Maighen, especially. When Victor,[4] who was in that place, heard that Patrick had come to it, Victor went, to avoid Patrick, from the residence to a thorny brake at the side of the town. God performed a prodigy for Patrick. He lighted up the brake in the dark night, so that everything therein was visible. Victor went afterwards to Patrick, and gave him his submission; and Patrick gave him the church, and imposed the degree of bishop on Victor, and left him in Domhnach-Maighen. And Patrick blessed Mudhorna, and said that the most illustrious of laics and clerics should be of them. And he bade farewell to them, and left a blessing with them. Afterwards Patrick went to Fera-Ros,[5] to Enach-Conglais, where he remained a Sunday. There it was that the Ui-Lilaigh gave the poison to Patrick in the lumps of curds. Patrick blessed the pieces, and made stones of them.

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[3] *Mughorna.*—The Irish form of this territory was Crioch-Mughdhorna, which Colgan latinized into "regio Mugdornorum." It is now called the barony of Cremorne, the parish of Donaghmoyne (the Domhnach-Maighen of the Life) having been transferred to the barony of Farney. Adamnan, in his "Life of Columba," calls it "provincia Maugdornorum," on which Dr. Reeves writes, the name was derived from Mughdorn Dubh, son of Colla Mean (*circ.* 340), and that in Columba's time the Maugdorni might be considered co-extensive with the modern baronies of Cremorne and Farney, the latter of which was formerly called Donamaine from this parish. Shirley ("Farney," p. 162) writes that St. Lasserius, or Lasser, was one of the patron saints of Donaghmoyne, whose festival was held on the 18th of April, and that his well, called Tubber-Lasair, in the townland of Aghavilla, adjoined the church; but, in O'Clerys' Calendar, the entry at 18th April is, "Lassar, Virgin, daughter of Eoghan, of Maighin." Shirley also writes that St. Clera was patroness, of whom the O'Clerys, in their additional notes ("Martyrology of Donegal," p. xlv), write, "Ciar and Lasair, Virgines, tutelares in the parish church of Domnach-Moin, in an impropriate parish, diocese of Clogher," &c. There was preserved here a shrine of St. Adamnan, which (the "Four Masters," at 830) was carried away by the Danes; as also Tuathal, son of Feradach, who was Abbot of Rechra (now Lambay, near Dublin) and Durrow.

[4] *Victor.*—Colgan ("*Acta Sanctorum,*" p. 424) gives a short life of Bishop Victor, at 28th February. The Calendar of the O'Clerys has no St. Victor at that or any other date; but Colgan, in his notes to Jocelyn, suspects he was one of the Buadhbeos mentioned in the Martyrologies at 17th November, both of whom were of the Clanna Ruadhraighe of Ulster; the name Buadhbeo signifying victorious.—"Villaneuva," p. 376.

[5] *Fera-Ros.*—The territory of Feara-Ros lay in the south of the county Monaghan, and, according to O'Donovan ("Book of Rights," p. 154), contained the church of Eanach-Conglais, which, on Colgan's authority ("*Trias. Th.*" p.

When Patrick went on Monday across the ford southwards, the Ui-Lilaigh went with fifty horsemen upon the ford after him, to slay him. Patrick turned towards them upon the bank to the south of the ford; and he raised his left hand and said: "You shall neither come out of the ford here, nor go the other way; but you shall be in that water for ever." The water immediately went over them. Ath-O'Lilaigh[6] is the name of the ford for ever, and the stone lumps are at Enach-Conglaise, in commemoration of the miracle to this present day.

He afterwards went to Rath-Cuile,[7] where he blessed the Fera-Cuile,[8] *i.e.* the Ui-Seghain. He went to Bile-Tortan after that, and

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184, note 21), is now Killaney; and he writes that it is almost absolutely certain that it comprised the parish of Machaire-Ros (Magheross), with the town of Carrickmacross. The Four Masters have, at A.D. 825, Maenach, son of Crunmael, Prior of the Fer-Ross, died; and, at 845, Ceallach, son of Mael Patrick, Prior of Fer-Ross, died. The parish of Killaney extends into the counties of Monaghan and Louth, and the ruins of the old church are in the latter county, on the borders of the former. Mr. Shirley ("Farney," p. 179) writes that in the townland of Aunahean, in the Monaghan portion of the parish, is an old place of sepulture, a small stone cross marking the consecrated spot, and (p. 205) he states that, according to an old survey of 1655, there was in this townland a Wood Hill called Armagh-Solish, which is absurdly translated as if *Ath-na-g-coils*, the Ford of the Cabbages, it being evidently a corrupt form of the old church of *Enach-Conglais*, the Marsh of the Dogs rivulet, the river Lagan separating this part of the parish from Louth.—See Reeves' "Adamnan," p. 81.

[6] *Ath-O'Lilaigh.*—This name is now obsolete, nor is the tribe name mentioned by O'Dugan or O'Heerin in their topographical poems. It was evidently a ford on the river Lagan, in some part of the parish of Killaney, on the borders of Monaghan and Louth.

[7] *Rath-Cuile.*—There are several places named Rathcoole in Ireland, of which one is in the parish and barony of Ratoath, county Meath, but quite remote from the barony of Kells, in which Fera-Cuile, according to O'Donovan, was situate. (See next note.) It was, most probably, the place now called Coole, in the parish of Kilmainham Wood, adjoining Moybolgue to the south-west, in the barony of Lower Kells.

[8] *Fera-Cuile.*—O'Donovan, under 693, writes this territory was in Bregia; hence it was occasionally called Feara-Cul-Breagh, and appears to have been

constructed a church for Presbyter Justin, near Bile-Tortan,[9] which is near the community of Ard-Breccan. When Patrick was journeying to the territory of Leinster from Domhnach-Tortan, he remained a night at Drum-Urchaille.[1] Patrick went afterwards to Naas.[2] The site of his tent is in the green of the fort, to the east of the road, and his well is to the north of the fort (*dún*), where he baptized Dunlaing's two sons, Ailill and Illann,[3] and where he

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conterminous with the present barony of Kells, county Meath, comprising, *inter alia*, according to O'Clerys' Calendar, the parish of Moybolgue, where St. Siric was bishop, and venerated on 26th November; also Emlagh-Fiaich, where St. Becan was venerated on the 5th of April. The chiefs of this territory are mentioned in the "Four Masters" thirteen times. O'Dugan, in his topographical poem, writes,

> "O h-Ainbhith, of no stubborn meeting,
> Is lord over noble Ui-Seaain,"

which O'Donovan, in his notes, states should correctly be, "Ui-Seghain—a people situated to the north of Ardbraccan, in the county of Meath," thus taking in Upper and Lower Kells baronies. After the introduction of surnames, we frequently find the O h-Ainbhiths, *anglice* O'Hanvey, lords of Oirghiallia and Ui-Meith, as also of Farbill in Westmeath.

[9] *Bile-Tortan.*—O'Donovan ("Book of Rights," p. 151) was unable to state further concerning the Ui-Dortain or Ui-Tortain than that they were seated in that part of Meath in which was the celebrated old tree called Bile-Tortan, which stood near Ardbraccan, as stated in the Life.

[1] *Drum-Urchaille.*—Colgan ("*Trias. Th.*" pp. 151 and 272) writes this was a church in Meath. At 837 the Four Masters record the death of Domhnall, its abbot; and, in a note, O'Donovan explains the name as the "Ridge of the Greenwood," conjecturing that it might be Cnoc-Urchoille or Spaniel Hill, in the county Clare—a surmise indisputably wrong.

[2] *Naas.*—The present town of Naas, in county Kildare, The great rath or dun still stands in the centre of the town.

[3] *Dunlaing's two sons, Ailill and Illan.*—Dunlaing was King of Leinster, in which he was succeeded by these sons, Illan dying in 506. From Ailill, *alias* Oilioll, descended many kings of Leinster, as also the great St. Lorcan or Laurence O'Toole. At A.D. 489, the Four Masters record that Ailill and Illan assisted Muircheartach Mac Earca at the battle of Cill-Osnadha, now Kelliston, in the barony of Forth, county Carlow, where Aengus (son of Nadfraech), first Christian King of Munster, was slain. The descent of the O'Tooles, subsequently lords of Feara-Cualann, now Powerscourt, is traced by O'Donovan at A.D. 1590.

baptized Ailill's two daughters, Moghain and Feidelm.[4] And their father dedicated them to God and Patrick, from their consecrated virginity, and he (Patrick) blessed the veil on their heads.

Messengers went from Patrick to call the steward of the fort of Naas, *i.e.* Fallen. He avoided Patrick; and he pretended to be asleep, through enmity and ridicule of Patrick. And Patrick was told that the steward was asleep. "My *debroth*," said Patrick, "I should not be surprised if it were his last sleep." His people went to awake him, and they found him dead, through the disobedience he showed to Patrick. And hence is the proverb amongst the Irish: "Fallen's sleep in the fort of Naas."

Dricriu[5] was the King of Ui-Garchon at Patrick's coming, and the daughter of Laeghaire Mac Neill was his wife. And he refused Patrick regarding his feast, at Rath-Inbhir,[6] on Laeghaire's account. But Cilline[7] gave him welcome, and killed his own cow for him, and gave to Patrick the quantity of flour that he brought for his support from the king's house, whereupon he (Patrick) prophesied that Cilline's son should be king of Ui-Garchon.

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[4] *Moghan and Feidelm.*—They were venerated at 9th December, according to O'Clerys' Calendar, which has: "Feidhlim, Virgin, and Mughain, two daughters of Ailill, son of Dunlang; and Cill-na-n-ingean, in the west of Magh-Life, by the side of Liamhain, is the name of his place. They are of the race of Cathaoir Mor." The same Calendar, at 26th October, when mentioning Darinnill and three other virgins also venerated in this church, describes it as by the side of Tamhlacht (now the village of Tallaght, barony of Upper Cross, county Dublin), to the south. Two other entries at 6th March, referring to the daughters of Leinin, of the race of Aenghus, son of Mogh Nuadhat, call it variously Cill-inghen-Leinin and Cill-na-ningen, and as lying in the territory of Ui-Briuin-Cualann, which O'Donovan ("Four Masters," 837) places in the barony of Rathdown, county Dublin, and the northern part of county Wicklow, and identifies Cill-inghen-Leinin as Killiney. From the foregoing entries, we consider it lay nearer Tallaght. This territory was so called from Brian, brother of Niall of the Nine Hostages, whose descendants settled in the district round Sliabh-Cualann, now Sugarloaf Mountain ("Wars of the Gaedhill with the Gaill"). Colgan ("*Acta. SS.*" p. 104) states that St. Brighit, a daughter of the Leinin before mentioned, who was honored here on the 6th of March, was sister of the great St. Colman of Cloyne.

[5] *Dricriu.*—This king's name does not appear in the Annals, but he was doubtless a near connection of Nathi, who opposed St. Palladius and Patrick in the same country, and a person of considerable importance, being member of the same family as the Kings of Leinster, and married to the daughter of the Irish monarch, as appears by the text. This territory took its name from Garchu, a descendant of Ugaine More, King of Ireland; and we learn from the Scholiast on the Martyrology of Aengus the Ceile De, that it was in one of the Fotharta of Leinster (Todd's "St. Patrick," pp. 253, 286, 290, 338). The Calendar of the O'Clerys shows that it comprised Glenn-faidhle, now Glenealy parish, near the town of Wicklow, where St. Momhernog was venerated, 30th January; Cill-aird, where St. Tartinna was venerated, 3rd

He went afterwards to Magh-Lifé,[8] and founded cells and houses there; and he left Usail in Cill-Usaille,[9] and Iserninus[1] and Mac

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July; Rath-noi, now Rathnew, the parish in which Wicklow town is situate, where St. Ernin, or Mernog, was venerated, 18th August, and who was also patron of the two Kilmarnocks, and Inch Marnoc in Scotland (Reeves' "Adamnan," p. 25). It was in this country that Palladius erected his three wooden churches, Cell-Fhine, Teach-na-Romhan, and Domhnach-Arta. The second is admitted to be Tig-Roney, in the parish of Castlemacadam, county Wicklow; the third to be Donard, near Dunlavin, in the west of the same county; and Cell-Fhine has been conjectured to be an adjoining church, about three miles west of Dunlavin, called Killeen Cormac, situate in the townland of Colbinstown, parish of Davidstown, in the county Kildare.—See paper by the Rev. J. F. Shearman, "Irish Ecclesiastical Record," June, 1868.

[6] *Rath-Inbher.*—O'Donovan ("Four Masters," A.D. 776 and 953) believes this to be the rath at the mouth of the river Dea, near Bray, county Wicklow.

[7] *Cilline*—According to the pedigree of the Ui-Garchon given by Dr. Todd ("St. Patrick," p. 253), his name was Marcan. A Leinster chief of the same name is mentioned by the Four Masters at 647. It should, however, be observed that the pedigree appears to be incorrect and defective.

[8] *Magh-Life.*—The plain of the Liffey in the counties of Wicklow, Kildare, and Dublin, but principally in Kildare, from which the river took its name, and not the plain from the river.—"Book of Rights;" Todd's "St. Patrick."

[9] *Usail in Cill-Usaille.*—Usail was the Irish name for St. Auxilius. According to the Four Masters he died 27th August, 454, on which day the Calendar of the O'Clerys has, "Usaille, son of Ua-Baird, Bishop of Cill-Usaille, in Leinster." It is, therefore, a mistake of the writer in the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record" for March, 1868, p. 275, note 5, that St. Auxilius was the "Cobhair," or "Cobuir, son of Góll," commemorated in the Irish Martyrologies on 30th July. His church is now called Killossy, or Killashee, giving name to a parish in the barony of Naas, county Kildare. The deaths of two of its abbots, Maeldobharchon, and Loingseach, son of Faellen, are recorded at 827 and 870. O'Donovan writes, at 454, that "no part of the old church now remains, but there is a part of an ancient round tower, with a square base."

[1] *Iserninus.*—Bishop Iserninus, who was one of the coadjutors of St. Patrick,

Tail in Cella-Cuilinn, and other saints. On his going into Western Lifé, the sons of Laighis prepared water-pits in the way before him, and a covering over them. "For God's sake," said the little boys, "drive on your horses." "Drive on, then, for God's sake, your horses," said Patrick. But no injury was done to them; and he cursed Laighis (*i.e.* Laighis, son of Find), where Moin-Choluim[2] is to-day; and Patrick said that there would be neither a king nor a bishop from them, and that a foreign lord should be over them for ever.

Brig,[3] the daughter of Fergnad, son of Cobtach, of the Ui-Ercain, went to report to Patrick the enmity that was in store for him. Patrick blessed her, and her father, and her brothers, and the Ui-Ercain altogether, and he said that they would never be without distinguished laics and clerics of them.

Then Patrick alighted on the hillock which was then called Bile-Mac-Cruaich; to-day, however, it is called Forrach-Patrick;[4] and he said that there would never be a foreign king or steward over

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and was ordained with him, founded this church in the district of Ui-Briuin-Cualann (see note under Ailill's daughters, *supra*). He died 467 ("*Trias Th.*" p. 19). St. Mac Tail, whose proper name was Aengus, of the race of Lughaidh, King of Munster, and brother of St. Colman of Cill-Cleitighe, succeeded, and died 11th June, 548, of the plague. He was patron of Kilcullen, county Kildare. Several of its abbots and bishops, and other incidents in its history, are recorded by the Four Masters.

[2] *Moin-Choluim.*—This is now the old church of Moone, giving name to a parish and barony near Timolin, in the south of the county Kildare. The Four Masters, at 1014, call it Maein-Choluim-Chille, when recording the death of its abbot Colum Ua-Flannagain. They also mention it as being plundered in 1040. It has a fragment of Colum-Cille's Cross, and eventually it became a Franciscan house.—"Four Masters," and Reeves' "Adamnan," p. 280.

[3] *Brig.*—The name Brig was different from Brigid, as we find that the mother of St. Comghall of Bangor, who was born in Magheramorne, near Larne, county Antrim, was named Brig, and the Calendar of the O'Clerys mentions four persons named Brigh, one of whom was commemorated at Coirpre (Carberry), 7th January, and another at Cill-muine (now Kilmoone, county Meath).

[4] *Forrach-Patrick.*—This means "Patrick's seat." It was the name of an old church in the south of the county Kildare, the site of which is still known.

them; and when the King of Leinster would be distributing the feast in his royal house, he would have one shin (of beef), and the king of Ui-Ercan[5] the other; they should have Patrick's respect, Patrick's *forrach* (seat), the dignity of laics and clerics, wealth, and immortality. Eight princes they had up to the reign of Conchobhar, son of Donnchadh,[6] in Tara. Laighis, moreover, was the tribe-name of the youths who committed the misdeed; and neither king nor bishop shall be from them; but strange lords shall govern them, and they shall never have rest from persecution and complaints.

Patrick went from Tara until he met Dubhtach Mac Ui-Lugair at Domhnach-mór[7] of Magh-Criathar, in Ui-Cinnselaigh, who believed for Patrick. Patrick requested from him a handsome youth, who would not be of low family—a man of one wife, for whom but one son was born. "Hem," said Dubhtach, "that is Fiacc,[8] son of Erc, I am afraid—the man of those qualities, who went from me to the territory of Connacht, with poems for the kings." At these words he (Fiacc) came. "What are you considering?" asked Fiacc. "Dubhtach for the crozier," said Patrick. "That will be a blemish to many, indeed," said Fiacc; "why should not I be taken in place of him?" "You will be received, indeed," said Patrick. He was tonsured, baptized, an alphabet was written for him, and he read his psalms in one day, as has been related to me. He was ordained in the grade of bishop, and the bishopric of Leinster was given to him by Patrick; and his only son, Fiachra,[9] was also ordained. This Fiacc was, therefore, the first bishop ordained in Leinster. Patrick gave Fiacc a case, viz., a bell, a reliquary, a crozier, and a book-satchel; and he left seven of his people with him, viz., Mochatoc[1] of Inis-Fail, Augustin of Inis-Bec, Tecan, and Diarmait, and Nainnid, Paul, and Fedilmidh.[2]

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[5] *Ui-Ercan.*—This tribe seems to have been seated in the south of the last named county (Kildare).

[6] *Donnchadh.*—Donnchadh was son of Domhnall, Monarch of Ireland, and Conchobhar his son ascended the throne in 818, and died in 831.

[7] *Domhnach-mór.*—O'Donovan ("Book of Rights," p. 208) places Domhnach-mór near Sleaty, in Ui-Cinnselaigh. Sleaty is in the barony of Slievemargy, in the Queen's County.

[8] *Fiacc.*—See *ante*, p. 46.

[9] *Fiachra.*—He was venerated on the 12th of October, the same day as his father; and, from the entry in O'Clerys' Calendar, was of the same church (Sleibhte). He received orders from St. Patrick.

He (Fiacc) afterwards resided in Domnach-Feic, and he was there until threescore of his people died with him. Then the angel went to him, and said to him: "It is on the west of the river (Barrow) thy (place of) resurrection is, in Cul-maighe;"[3] and he said that where they would meet a boar, there they should build their refectory; but where they would meet a hind, there they should place the church. Fiacc said to the angel that he would not go until Patrick would come to mark out the boundary of his place, and to consecrate it, and that he might get the place from him. Patrick went then to Fiacc, and marked out his place with him, and fixed his site. And Crimthan presented that place to Patrick, for it was Patrick that baptized him; and it is in Sleibhte he is buried. It was there, afterwards, Fiacc was ordained.

They (the Ui-Ercan) were at that time persecuted by the King of Leinster, Crimthann,[4] son of Enna Ceinnselach, so that they went into exile. Of them are the *manachs* in Hy-Crimthann,[5] and the *manachs* in Ulster, and Cenel-Enna[6] in Munster. Of them is Fiacc, of whom we have spoken before. Fiacc, Aengus,[7] Ailill Mar, Conall, and Etirscel were five brothers. Their father was the son of Erc.[8]

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[1] *Mochatoc.*—See *ante*, p. 47.

[2] See *ante*, p. 40-50, for all these names.

[3] *Cul-maighe.*—This signifies "the back of the plain," and would now be called Culmoy, or Coolmoy. On the same Ordnance sheet with Sleaty, the present name of Sleibhte, are several townlands having the prefix *Cool*, namely, Coolanagh, Coolhenry, and Coolrain.

[4] *Crimthann.*—It was from the latter, who was fourth in descent from Cathaoir Mor, Monarch of Ireland, that Ui-Ceinnselach was named. He was King of Laighin, or Leinster, about the year 358 ("Book of Rights," p. 208)—but his death, the date of which is not recorded, must have been much later.

[5] *Hy-Crimthann.*—This territory, distinct from that of the same name in Meath, was a part of Laeighis, and is included in the present barony of East Maryborough, in the Queen's County.—"Book of Rights," p. 216.

[6] *Cenel-Enna.*—There was Cinel-Enna in the barony of Raphoe, county

Through the action of Patrick, the king granted him (Fiacc) land, the fifth part of his father's possessions, and thereon it was that he built Sleibhte.

The Aengus in question afterwards killed the king, Crimthann, son of Enna Ceinnselach, to avenge his exile. In thirties and forties are the churches which he gave to Patrick in the east of Leinster, and in Ui-Cennselaigh, including Domnach-mor of Magh-Criathar and Inis-Fail,[9] where Mochonoc and Mochatoc are, and Erdit and Augustin in the smaller island (but their shrines are in Sleibhte, since the place was occupied by Gentiles);[1] Domnach-mór[2] of Magh-Reta. Patrick was a Sunday here (*i.e.* in Domnach-mór

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Donegal, and another sept of the same name near the Hill of Uisnech in Westmeath, but none is mentioned as in Munster except in this Life.

[7] *Aengus.*—This Aengus was brother to St. Fiacc, and is called in the "Four Masters," at 465, Eochaidh Guineach, when they record that Crimthann, son of Enda Censelach, King of Leinster, was killed by the son of his own daughter, *i.e.* Eochaidh Guineach, one of the Ui-Bairrche. The true year, however, was 479, when the entry shows that Eochaidh was assisted by the people of Ara-Cliach, a place in Idrone, county Carlow. Eochaidh was alive in 489, as in that year he assisted Muircheartach Mac Earca at the battle of Cill-Osnadha, where Aengus, King of Munster, was slain.

[8] *Erc.*—From an entry in the "Four Masters," at 465, it appears Mac Erc was married to a daughter of King Crimthann, and consequently grandfather to St. Fiacc.

[9] *Inis-Fail.*—Now Begery, otherwise Beg-Erin, a small island, close to Wexford haven. Neither Colgan nor O'Donovan appears to have known it was anciently called Inis-Fail, which was discovered by O'Curry ("Lectures," vol. i. p. 480, note 22). St. Jobhar, its bishop, was venerated on the 23rd of April, at which day the Calendar of the O'Clerys states that he died, A.D. 500, when 104 years old. The Abbot Diarmaid died in 884, and Crunnmhael in 964. It was plundered in 819.—"Four Masters."

[1] *Gentiles.*—The paragraph in parentheses was evidently added by the lecturer or transcriber, after 819, when Inis-Fail, or Beg-Erin, was plundered, as stated in the preceding note.

[2] *Domnach-mor.*—Magh-Rechet, *alias* Magh-Riada, is stated by O'Donovan A.M. 3,529, to be, according to Keating, in Laoighis, or Leix; but, according to the Preface to the Feilire-Aenguis, its position is in Offaly; and

of Magh-Reta), and they were on that Sunday building Rath-Baccain,[3] the royal fort of the district. Patrick sent to prevent this, but no notice was taken thereof. Patrick said, "Its building shall be troublesome, unless 'offering' is done there every day." He also said that the fort would not be inhabited, until the wind (*gaeth*) would come from the lower part of hell. This was Gaithini, son of Cinaed, who rebuilt the fort in the time of Fedhlimidh,[4] and of Conchobhar in Tara.

After that Patrick had founded churches and establishments in Leinster, moreover, he left a blessing upon Ui-Cennselaigh, and upon the Leinstermen all; and he afterwards ordained Fiacc Find in Sleibhte, as bishop of the province.

He then went along Bealach-Gabhran,[5] into the district of Ossory, and founded churches and establishments there; and he said that distinguished laics and clerics should be of them, and that no province should have command over them, whilst they remained obedient to Patrick. Patrick took leave of them afterwards, and he left the relics of holy men with them, and some of his people, in the place where Martar-tech[6] is this day in Magh-Roighne. At Druim-Conchind, in Mairge, the cross-beam of Patrick's chariot broke, when he was going to Munster. He made another of the wood of the *druim*.[7] It broke immediately. He made one again, and

now called in English Morett, a manor in the barony of Portnahinch, in the Queen's county, containing the church of Cuil-Beannchoir, *alias* White Church. The old Map of Leis, in the "Kilkenny Journal," shows that Muret was near the border of Leis, in that part of Offaly, called Clanmalier, of which the O'Dempseys were chiefs. See "Book of Rights," notes, pp. 192, 205, 210. There is no place in Clanmalier now incorporated in the barony of Portnahinch, Queen's county, named Domnach-mor, though, no doubt, it lay in that territory.

[3] *Rath-Baccain.*—There is no place called Rath-Baccain or Beggan in the manor of Morett, which was granted to the earls of Kildare; but there is a townland named Rathmore in the adjoining parish and barony of Stradbally, a little to the south.

[4] *Fedhlimidh*, son of Crimthann, King of Munster, ob. 847.—*Chron. Scot.*

[5] *Bealach-Gabhran.*—*Ante*, p. 326.

[6] *Martar-tech*—*i.e.* "house of relics."

[7] *Druim*—*i.e.* dorsum, or ridge.

it broke also. Patrick said that there should never be any implement made of the timber of that wood, which has been fulfilled, for even a pin is not made of it. Patrick's Disert is there, but it is waste.

Patrick went afterwards to the territory of Munster, to Cashel of the Kings. When Aengus, son of Nadfraech, got up in the morning, all their idols were prostrate; and Patrick and his people came to the side of the fort, and he (Aengus) bade them welcome, and took them into the fort, to the place where Lec-Patrick is today. And Patrick after that baptized the sons of Nadfraech, and the men of Munster besides, and left a blessing and prosperity upon them. And he blessed the fort, *i.e.* Cashel, and said that only one race should be there for ever. And he was seven years in Munster. The learned calculate that he made an offering on every seventh ridge that he traversed in Munster.

When Patrick was baptizing Aengus, the point of the crozier went through Aengus's foot. Patrick asked, "Why was it that you did not tell me?" "Because," said he, "I thought it was the rule of the faith." "You shall have its reward," said Patrick; "your successors[8] from this day forth shall not die of wounds." No one is King of Cashel until Patrick's comarb ordains him, and imposes the grade on him. Patrick said :—

"The sons of Nadfraech, of sounding fame;
Of them shall be kings and chieftains;
Aengus, from the lands of Feimhen,
And Ailill, his brother."

And twenty-eight kings, of the race of Ailill and Aengus, reigned in Cashel, ordained with the crozier, until the time of Cenngegan.[9]

Patrick went after this to Muscraidhe-Breogain,[1] and founded churches and establishments there.

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[8] *Successors*—*i.e.* the descendants of Aengus and Ailill, sons of Nadfraech.

[9] *Cenngegan*—*i.e.* Finghuine. King of Cashel, slain, A.D. 897.

[1] *Muscraidhe-Breogain.*—This territory, otherwise called Muscraidhe-Chuirc, from the family of O'Cuirc, now Quirk, with that of the west of

One day he was washing his hands in a ford there, when a tooth fell out of his mouth into the ford. Patrick went upon the hillock to the north of the ford; and persons went from him to look for the tooth; and forthwith the tooth glistened in the ford like a sun; and Ath-fiaclai[2] is the name of the ford, and Cill-fiacla[2] is the name of the church where Patrick left the tooth, and four of his people, viz., Cuircthe and Loscan, Cailech and Bedan. He bade them (*i.e.* the Muscraidhe) farewell, and left them a blessing.

He went afterwards to Aradha-Cliach,[3] until he was in Iochtar-Cuillenn in Ui-Cuanach;[4] and Ailill, son of Cathbadh, son of Lughaidh, of the Eoghanacht of Airther-Cliach, met him. His wife went on the hillock where they (the clerics) were, and said: "The pigs have eaten our son Ailill, through savageness," said she. And Ailill said, "I will believe if you resuscitate my son for me." Patrick commanded the boy's bones to be collected, and he directed a Céle-Dé[5] of his people, *i.e.* Malach Britt, to resuscitate him. "I will not offend the Lord," said he. (He was seized with doubt.) Patrick said, "That is pitiful, O Malach; thy house on earth shall not be high; thy house shall be the house of one man." His

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Feimhin, are now included in the barony of Clanwilliam, in the south-west of the county of Tipperary.—"Book of Rights," p. 46. "Topographical Poems," No. 609.

[2] *Ath-fiaclai—Cill-fiacla.*—Now Kilfeacle, in the barony of Clanwilliam, county Tipperary.

[3] *Aradha-Cliach.*—This territory, according to O'Donovan, comprised the parish of Kilteely, and the entire barony of Ui-Cuanach (Coonagh), in the east of Limerick, mentioned in next note.

[4] *Iochtar-Cuillen in Ui-Cuanach.*—This is now the parish of Cullen, barony of Clanwilliam, county Limerick, formerly extending into Ui-Cuanach, now the barony of Coonagh, in the east of same county. O'Donovan ("Topographical Poems") writes that Ui-Cuanach was part of Ara-Cliach.

[5] *Cele-De.*—Dr. Reeves, in his essay "On the Celi-de, commonly called Culdees" ("Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. xxiv. p. 121), explains that the name Celé-Dé was equivalent to the special designation *servus Dei*, conferred on those, in the early Church, who adopted the practices of the monastic life. This is the earliest known application of the Irish equivalent Celé-dé, which Colgan, as Dr. Reeves observes, incorrectly rendered in Latin by *cuidam advenæ*, instead of *monacho*, or *servo Dei.*

house is in the north-eastern angle of the southern Deise; its name is Cill-Malaich.[6] Five persons can never be supported there.

Patrick afterwards commanded Bishops Ibar and Ailbhe to resuscitate the boy; and he prayed the Lord with them. The boy was afterwards resuscitated through Patrick's prayers. The boy subsequently preached to the hosts and multitudes in Patrick's presence. Ailill and his wife thereupon believed; and all the Ui-Cuanach believed, and were baptized in that place. And the seat of the four, *i.e.* of Patrick, Ailbhe, Bishop Ibar, and the young boy, is in the place where the boy was resuscitated. His father said, "God cures by the hand of the physician." Four persons stole Patrick's horses southwards. Patrick forgave it. One of them was a leech, whose name was Caencomhrac; another was a carpenter; another was a bondman; but the fourth was a groom, whose name was Aedh. Patrick called the latter, and blessed his hands, and told him that his name should be Lamaedh from that day; and from him are the Lamhraighe.

It was then that disease seized Ailill's wife, who was *enciente*, so that death was nigh unto her. Patrick asked what was the matter. The woman answered, "An herb I saw in the air, and I saw not the like of it on the earth; and I shall die, or the being in my womb shall die, or we shall both die, unless I taste that herb." Patrick asked her of what kind was the herb. "Like rushes," said the woman. Patrick thereupon blessed rushes, so that they were apparently the same. The woman then ate them, and was forthwith whole; and after some time she gave birth to a son, and blessed Patrick; and it is reported that Patrick said that all women who should eat of this herb would be healed.

He desired to remain by the side of Clar,[7] at the fort of Coirpre and Brocan, but he was not permitted; and Patrick said that there never would be a king or bishop of the race of Colman, who opposed him. He also said that the place would belong to himself afterwards, and left a man of his people there, after a long period, *i.e.* Caomhan of Cill-Rath.[8]

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[6] *Cill-Malaich.*—There are several Kilmallocks in Limerick, and three Kilmaloges in the south of Tipperary, but this appears to be Kilmaloo, in the parish of Kinsalebeg, in the south of the barony of Decies-within-Drum, county Waterford, marked on old maps as South Decies. It is in the diocese of Lismore.

[7] *Clar.*—"Sliabh-Claire, a considerable hill, on which stands a remarkable

Ibar then selected a place of residence in Grian,[9] in Aradha-Cliach. Dola opposed him. Patrick said that there would not be a house of his (Dola's) there, or if there should be, it would be only for (the lives of) two or three. This was fulfilled. They (Dola's descendants) removed to Airther-Cliach, and Dal-Modola[1] is their name until this day.

Nena went to him (Patrick), who refused to receive him, and said that he would not be prosperous. No successors of his occupied the place there since, but they are enslaved by Muscraighe-Mittine.[2] "Menraighe" they are called.

As Patrick was leaving this place, the women of Grian came to bewail his departure from them. Patrick blessed them, and said that the children they would bear to extern tribes would be illustrious.

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cromlech, the tomb of Oilioll Olum, King of Munster in the third century, situated a short distance to the east of the church of Duntryleague, in the barony of Coshlea, and county of Limerick, and about three miles to the north-west of the village of Galbally."—O'Donovan, "Four Masters," at A.D. 1600.

[8] *Caemhan of Cill-Rath.*—This is probably Raheen, in the parish of Ballyscaddan, adjoining Knocklong, barony of Coshlea, county Limerick. It is convenient to Sliabh-Claire, near which O'Flaherty, in his MS. notes to Colgan, wrote that Kilrath was situated.—Archdall, "*Mon. Hib.*" p. 424.

[9] *Grian.*—Now the church and parish of Grean, containing the town of Pallas-Green, in the baronies of Coonagh and Clanwilliam, county Limerick.

[1] *Dal-Modola.*—There are two townlands named Dollas, parish of Croone, barony of Coshma, county Limerick.

[2] *Mittine.*—There were six territories called Muscraidhe, all in Munster, that of Mitaine, otherwise Muscraidhe-Ui-Fhloinn, comprised fifteen parishes, in the north-west of the county Cork.—"Book of Rights," p. 42. In the "Topographical Poems," O'Donovan writes that it was in the barony of West Muskerry. Colgan calls this place Menrighe, and says that it was in the county Cork.

Patrick was in Aradha-Cliach, at Tedil[3] (the name of a hill). When he was bidding farewell, two of his people remained behind. They were sent for, and found asleep under a bush there. This was told to Patrick. "Here their resurrection will be," said he: which is true. Muin and Lomchu [who are] in Cill-Tidil [were left there] by Patrick.

He went after this to Hy-Fidhgente,[4] where Lonan, son of Mac-Eirc, provided a banquet for him. Mullach-Cae, over against Carn-Feradhaigh[5] on the south; and a man of Patrick's people was preparing the banquet along with the king, *i.e.* Deacon Mantan. A band of artists came up to Patrick, to solicit food, and would have no excuse. "Go to Lonan, and to Deacon Mantan, that they may relieve me," said Patrick. Who answered, "No, until our banquet is blessed." Then Patrick said:—

"The youth who comes from the north,
To him is vouchsafed the triumph;
To Cothraige he comes;
With his little wether on his back."

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[3] *Tedil.*—Now the church and parish of Kilteely, in the baronies of Coonagh and Smallcounty, in the east of county Limerick, forming part of the ancient Ara-Cliach. Colgan says SS. Mumis and Lomchuo were buried there, as also seven bishops. Archdall ("*Mon. Hib.*" 425) writes that the Knights Templars had a church on an eminence in this place.

[4] *Hy-Fidhgente.*—This territory adjoined Ara-Cliach, from which it was separated by the river Samhair, now the Morning Star. It lay in the south of the county Limerick. O'Donovan, at 1560, writes that it was bounded on the north by the Shannon, on the south by Slieve Luachra, on the east by the rivers Maigue and Morning Star, and on the west by Kerry.

[5] *Carn-Feradhaigh.*—Sliabh Cua, now Slieve Gua, a range of mountains in the parish of Sheskinan, barony of Decies-without-Drum, county Waterford, which county they separate from Tipperary. The range is sometimes called Knockmeilidown ("Four Masters," at 3790). O'Donovan, at A.M. 3656, writes that Carn-Feredaigh is referred to in the Book of Lecan as on the southern boundary of the territory of Cliu-Mail, and conjectures it to be the ancient name of Seefin, barony of Coshlea, in the south of Limerick. If this is correct, Slieve Gua is too far distant, and Cae should be in or near Coshlea. It is, possibly, the mountain called Knock-Cae, in the south of Ardpatrick parish, not far from Seefin.

At that very time came another youth, attended by his mother, carrying on her back a cooked wether to the king's supper. Patrick begged of him to give him the wether, to save his honor. The son at once gave it cheerfully, though the mother was unwilling to do so, through fear of the king. Patrick gave the food to the players; and immediately the earth swallowed them. Derc, son of Scirire, of the southern Desi, was their chief; and Patrick said there would not be a king, or heir apparent, or bishop of his family[6] of Lonan for ever; and he assured Mantan, the deacon, that his church would not be exalted on earth, but should be the abode of the dregs of the people, and that swine and sheep would trample on his own remains; but to Nessan, who had saved his honor, he promised that he should be honored among the nations. And he baptized him, ordained him deacon, and founded for him a church, *i.e.* Mungarit.[7] His mother excused herself, and he said she should not be buried in her son's church. This came to pass, for her grave is to the west of Mungarit, and the bell of the great church is not heard in that place; they are almost together, only separated by a wall.

The men of north Munster, to the north of Luimnech, went in fleets of boats to meet Patrick, southwards as far as Domhnachmor of Magh-Aine, *i.e.* to Dun-Nocfene, then and now so called; and he baptized them in Tir-glass,[8] to the south-east of it. He

[6] *Family.*—Loncis is added in a gloss, as the tribe name of the family.

[7] *Mungarit.*—Now Mungrett, about three miles south-west of Limerick. St. Nessan, who died A.D. 551, was venerated here on the 25th of July; St. Toman, on the 26th of same month; and St. Molua, on the 21st of December. The Four Masters record the death of several of its abbots and airchinnechs, and of its devastations by the Danes. A portion of the abbey and its church still remains.

[8] *Tir-glass.*—Now Terry-glass, on the east side of Lough Derg, in the barony of Lower Ormond, county Tipperary. The abbey here was founded by St. Colum, son of Ninnidh, of the race of king Cathaoir Mor, who died 13th December, 548, on which day his festival was kept; as also the abbots, St. Nathcheimhe, brother of St. Kevin of Glendaloch, who died 1st May, 584, and St. Aidhbe, who was also bishop, on 24th May. The deaths of many of their successors, and the burnings of the abbey, are given in the Annalists.

afterwards went to Finnine, to the north-west of Domhnach-mor, a hill from which he could see the country to the north of Luimnech, when he gave a blessing to the men of north Munster, who had gone with a profusion of gifts to meet Patrick.

Cairthend,[9] son of Blat, the senior of the Clann-Toirdhelbhaigh, believed in the Lord, and Patrick baptized him at Sangul[1] (*i.e.* a different angel that went to converse with him that day, and not Victor). No children were born to Cairthenn, except deformities, up to that time. It was then that Eochu Ballderg[2] was born to Cairthenn. Patrick that procured this; and he formed a clot of gore, which was on his (Eochu's) body, as a sign of that miracle. Patrick himself did not go into the country, but he saw from him about Luimnech to the west, and to the north; and he blessed the district and its islands, and prophesied of the saints who would appear in them, of their names, and the time in which they would come. "The green island in the west," said Patrick, "in the mouth of the sea; the lamp of the people of God shall come into it, who will be the head of counsel to this district, *i.e.* Senan of Inis-Cathaigh,[3] six score years from this." (Senan, son of Gerrgenn, son of Dubhthach.) He did not go across Luachair,[4] indeed, into west Munster. He prophesied of Brenainn, son of Ua-Altae, who was to be born 120 years after, which was fulfilled.

Patrick then went into the southern Desi[5] and set about building

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[9] *Cairthend.*—Cairthen Finn, son of Bloid, eighth in descent from Olioll Olum, was ancestor of Brian Boroimhe and the O'Briens of Thomond.

[1] *Sangul.*—A play upon the words *Sain-aingel*, "particular angel." See *ante*, p. 333.

[2] *Eochu Ballderg.*—Eochaidh Balldearg (Eochy of the Red Spot) was eldest son of Cairthenn Finn. Eochy was father of St. Brecan of Ara, who, Colgan says, was venerated on 12th October; but the Calendar of the O'Clerys assigns 1st May as his festival. Dimma Dubh, Bishop of Connor, whose festival was held on the 6th of January, was son of Aenghus, brother of this Eochy, the son of Cairthen Finn.

[3] *Inis-Cathaigh.*—Now Scattery island, in the river Shannon.

[4] *Luachair.*—Now Slieve-Logher, a range of mountains, which divides the county of Limerick from Kerry, and extends into Cork. For a full description, see O'Curry's "Battle of Magh-Lena," p. 24.

[5] *Desi.*—This is Deis-Beag, mentioned in the "Four Masters" at 1500 and

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a church in Ard-Patrick;[6] and Lec-Patrick (Patrick's flag) is there, and the limits of his church. Derball, son of Aedh, opposed him. Derball said to Patrick, "If you would remove that mountain there, so that I could see Loch-Lunga across it to the south, in Fera-Maighe-Feine,[7] I would believe." Cenn-Abhrat[8] is the name of the mountain, and Belach-Legtha (melted pass) is the name of the pass which was melted there. When the mountain began to dissolve, Derball said that whatever he (Patrick) did would be of no use. Patrick said to Derball, "There shall be no king nor bishop of your family, and it will be allowable to the men of Munster to plunder you all every seventh year for ever, as bare as a leek."

As Patrick was in the district of the Desi, awaiting the king of the country, *i.e.* Fergair, son of Rossa, Patrick said to him, after his arrival, "How slowly you come!" "The country is rough" [said he]. "True, indeed," said Patrick. "There shall be no king from you for ever. What delayed you to-day?" asked Patrick. "The rain delayed us," said the king. "Your meetings shall be showery for ever," said Patrick. Patrick's well is there, and also the church of Mac Clairidh, one of Patrick's people. And assemblies are not

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1580, and which O'Donovan shows to be a territory lying around the hill of Knockany, and containing Brugh-na-Deise, now the town of Bruff, barony of Coshma, county Limerick. He quotes an extract from a historical tale in the Book of Leinster, where the hero Cuchullin is introduced as standing on the top of Knockany, near Bruff, and thus points out the mountains and other features of the country to his tutor, Laigh: "Say, my tutor Laigh, dost thou know what territory we are in?" "I know not indeed." "I know then," said Cuchullin: "Ceann-Abhrat Sleibhe-Cain, this [mountain] to the south; the mountains of Eibhlinni, these to the north; the river of Luimneach is that bright river which thou seest; Druim-Collchoilli is this on which we are, which is called Aini-Cliach, in the territory of Deis-Beg; to the south of us is the army in Cliu-Mail-mic-Ugaine, in the land of Curoi, son of Dari." Slieve Eibhlinni extended from near Roscrea to the north-eastern boundary of Limerick.

[6] *Ard-Patrick.*—Now a church and parish in the barony of Coshlea, south of county Limerick. It has a round tower.

[7] *Fera-Maighe-Feine.*—Now the barony of Fermoy, county Cork.

[8] *Cenn-Abhrat.*—One of the Ballybowra mountains, county Cork.

held by the Desi except at night, because Patrick left that sentence upon them, for it was towards night they went to him. Patrick then cursed the streams of that place, because his books were drowned in them, and the fishermen gave his people a refusal. Patrick said that they would not be fruitful, and that there would never be any mills upon them, except the mills of strangers, notwithstanding their great profusion up to that time. He blessed the Suir, moreover, and the country around; and it is fruitful in fish, except the places where those streams (*glaise*) flow into it.

Patrick went into Muscraighe-thire,[9] to baptize, and to preach and plant the faith there. He met three brothers of that nation, men of power, Furic, and Muinnech, and Mechar, the sons of Forat, son of Conla. Muinnech believed at once, and Patrick baptized and blessed him, and said that illustrious heroes and clerics should descend from him for ever; and that the chief kingship of his country should be [filled up] from him for ever, as the poet said:

"Muinnech the Great believes
In Patrick, before all;
That there might be over his country
Chieftains of his race for ever.

"Mechair believed,
For he was a true, just man.
Patrick gave him a lasting blessing—
The companionship of a king.

"Fuirec, the furious man,
Opposed, though he was hoary and old;
His ultimate fate, after this world,
Is not to be deplored.

"When Cothraige imposed
A tribute (*cain*) upon noble Eri,
On the host of this island
He conferred a lasting blessing.

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[9] *Muscraighe-thire.*—This was the ancient name of the district now comprised in the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond in the north of the county of Tipperary, and contained the churches of Cill-Cheire (Kilkeary, near the town of Nenagh), and Leatracha (Latteragh, about eight miles south of the same town).

"Choice was this blessing,
Which he conferred seven-fold
On each one who would observe
His plain rule, his law.

"Whoever would disobey
The noble, just rule,
Should not see him, he said,
In the region of the saints.

"Patrick's *cain* in great Munster
Was imposed on each family,
Until Dungalach violated it,
[Who was] of the race of Failbhe Flann.

"Dungalach, son of Faelghus,
Grandson of just Nadfraech,
Was the first who transgressed
Patrick's *cain* from the beginning.

"It is related in histories,
All ages know it,
That his successorship is not found
In Cashel of the Kings.

"There is not of his progeny
(Though he won battles)
A noble bishop, or herenagh,
A prince, or a sage.

"Saergus the Young, also—
. . . .
Violated the *cain* he had adopted,
For the vehement Dungalach.

"It is seen that illustrious men
Are not of his wondrous family;
If there are now, they will not
Be found till Judgment comes."

Now, after that Patrick had founded cells and churches in Munster, and had ordained persons for every grade, and healed all sick persons, and resuscitated the dead, he bade them farewell, and left his blessing with them. He then went to Brosnacha, and the men of Munster followed after him, as if with one accord: and their households (hillocks? *telcha*) followed them, to go after Patrick.

Patrick thereupon blessed the households (hillocks?), and they remained in their places.

Where the men of Munster overtook Patrick, men, youths, and women, was at Brosnacha, when they raised great shouts of joy at seeing him; hence it is called Brosnacha.[1] It was here Patrick resuscitated Fot, son of Derad, a Munsterman, who had been twenty-seven years dead. It was here, too, he blessed the banquet of the youth at Craibhecha, with Bishop Trian,[2] a pilgrim of the Romans, by which the men of Munster were satisfied, and the saints of Eri besides. He again bade farewell to the men of Munster, and gave them his blessing, saying:—

"A blessing on the men of Muman,
Men, sons, women.
A blessing on the land
That gives them food.
A blessing on all treasures
Produced upon the plains.
A blessing upon Munster.
A blessing on their woods,
And on their sloping plains.
A blessing on their glens.
A blessing on their hills.
As the sands of the sea under ships—
So numerous be their homesteads,
In slopes, in plains,
In mountains, in peaks.
A blessing."

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[1] *Brosnacha.*—This shows that Colgan was wrong in placing Brosna in Munster. There are two rivers and a small village named Brosna, in King's county, the larger one rising at Bunbrosna, in Westmeath, and traversing the latter fifteen or sixteen miles in a westerly direction to the Shannon, which it joins at Shannon Harbor. The little Brosna rises near the village of that name, in the parish of Kilmurray, to the east of Shinrone, runs a few miles northwards to Parsonstown, forming the boundary between King's county and Tipperary to its entrance to the Shannon. The village is said to derive its name from the Irish word *brosna*, a faggot, or bundle of sticks, but this Life gives a different and more ancient derivation from the word *brosnugad*, an incentive or excitement.

[2] *Bishop Trian.*—He is said to have lived at a place called Craibhech. There is a place called Creevagh in the parish of Clonmacnois, King's county, and a Creeve in the parish of Ardnurcher, or Horseleap, in the south of Westmeath, both of which lie near the northern Brosna river.

Patrick afterwards went to the territory of Hy-Failge,[3] and Foilge Berrad[4] boasted that, if he met Patrick, he would kill him, in revenge of the idol Cenn Cruach; for it was this that was a god to Foilge. This boast of Foilge was kept back from Patrick by his people. One day Odran,[5] his charioteer, said to Patrick, "Since I have been a long time driving for you, O Patrick, let me take the chief seat for this day. Be you the charioteer, O father!" Patrick did so. After this Foilge came, who dealt a thrust through Odran, in the guise of Patrick. "My curse," said Patrick. "Upon the tree of Bridam,"[6] said Odran. "Be it so," replied Patrick. Foilge died at once, and went to hell. As to Foilge Ross, indeed, it is his children who are in the district at this day; and Patrick blessed him,[7] and from him is the sovereignty of the district filled for ever.

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[3] *Hy-Failge.*—This territory, before the English invasion, comprised the present baronies of Ophaley (Ui-Failge), county Kildare, and parts of the King's and Queen's counties. It obtained the name from Ros Failge (Ross of the Kings, eldest son of Cathaoir Mor, King of Leinster and Monarch of Ireland, who was slain A.D. 122), and from him were descended the great families of O'Conor Faly, O'Dempsey of Clanmalier, and O'Dunne of Regan.—"Book of Rights," pp. 193, 216.

[4] *Foilge Berrad.*—Colgan, in his Latin edition, writes, otherwise Failge Ros, it being his intention to show that he was of the race of Ros Failge, as he mentions his noble descendants the O'Conors in his note. The name Failge Berrad does not occur in the right line of the O'Conor Faly pedigree, but he is mentioned by the same name by the Four Masters, at A.D. 501, as having slain Fiacha, son of Niall, at the battle of Freamhain, now the hill of Frewin, in the townland of Wattstown, parish of Portlenon, county Westmeath. He was probably the Bruidhe of the O'Conor pedigree, the great grandson of Ros Failge: A.D. 648, Cillene, son of Forannan, the fourth in descent from Bruide, and lord of Ui-Failge, was slain.

[5] *Odran.*—Evin, in his Life of the saint, calls him St. Odran, of Disert-Odhrain, of Hifalgia, Auriga. There are nine Saints Odran in O'Clerys' Calendar, but none of them refer to Hifalgia. Colgan, in his note on the parallel passage in the Fourth Life, quotes a passage from Ferrar's Catalogue of a St. Odhran, martyr and disciple of St. Patrick, as venerated on the 6th of the kalends of November. Archdall conjectured Disert-Odhrain to be Tir-Oenaichs in the Queen's county, where his festival was held on the 19th February.

[6] *Bridam.*—Called by Colgan, Bridamh, signifying "the hill of the oxen," the name of a hill over a stream called the Suainin, in the parish and barony of Geshill, Queen's county. It was the site of several battles, recorded by the Four Masters, at A.M. 3501, and A.D. 596; and Reeves' "Adamnan," note c, p. 42.

On one occasion, as Patrick was going the way of Midluachair,[8] in order to come to Uladh, he met carpenters cutting down trunks of yew. Patrick saw their blood ooze from their palms in the operation. "Whence are ye?" said Patrick. "We are slaves belonging to Trian,[9] son of Fiac, son of Amalgad, *i.e.* brother to Trichem, who are in subjection and affliction, so much so that we are not allowed to sharpen our axes (irons), in order that our work may be the heavier and more difficult, so that blood flows from our hands." Patrick blessed the irons, so that they could easily cut with them; and he went to the king, to Trian's fort. Patrick fasts on him.[1] He disobeyed. He returns on the morrow from the fort. He spat on the rock which was there on his way, so that it broke into three pieces; one-third part was cast to a distance of one thousand paces. Patrick said, "Two-thirds of the fast on the rock, another third on the fort and king, and on the district. There will not be a king nor *roydamhna* of the children of Trian. He shall die prematurely himself, and shall go down to a bitter hell." The wife of the king came following Patrick. She performed penance and knelt. Patrick blessed her womb, and the beings in it, *i.e.* Setna,[2] son of Trian, and Iarlaid, son of Trian. Sechnall that baptized Setna, Patrick that baptized Iarlaid, and Patrick said that he would be his successor afterwards. Trian himself proceeded to bind and maltreat the slaves who reported him. His horses bore him off in the chariot, and his driver, so that they went into the lake. Loch-Trena is its name. This was his last fall. He will not arise out of that lake till the vespers of judgment; and it will not be to happiness even then. There was a certain wicked man in the country of Uladh, *i.e.* Magh-Inis, at that time; an impious man, and a son of death, *i.e.* Mac Cuill,[3] who was plundering and killing the people. On one occasion Patrick and his companions passed by him a certain day, and he desired to kill Patrick. This is what he (Mac Cuill) said to his followers: "Behold the *tailcenn* and false prophet, who is deceiving everyone; let us arise and make an attack on him, to see if perhaps his God will assist him." This is what they planned afterwards: to bring one of their people on a bier, as if dead, to be resuscitated by Patrick, and to deceive Patrick; and they threw a cover over his body and over his face. "Cure," said they to Patrick, "our companion for us, and beseech your God to awake him from death." "My *debroth*," said Patrick, "I would not wonder if he were dead." Garban was the name of the man; and it is of him Patrick said: "The covering of Garban shall be the covering of a dead body; but I shall tell you more, it is Garban who will be under it." His friends removed the covering from his face, so that they found it so. They afterwards became mute, and then said, "Truly this is a man of God." They all believed at once. Mac Cuill believed also; and he went on sea in a cot of one hide, by the command of Patrick. Garban was awakened from death through the prayers of Patrick. Mac Cuill, however, went that very day on sea, and his right hand towards Magh-Inis, until he reached Manann; and he found two venerable persons before him on the island. It was they who preached the word of God in Manann, and it is through their teaching that the people of that island were baptized, and believed; their names are Coninnri and Romael. When those men saw Mac Cuill in his cot, they took him off the sea; they received him kindly; and he learned the divine knowledge with them, and spent his whole time with them, until he got the episcopacy of the place after them. This is Mac Cuill, of Mann, famous bishop and abbot. May his holy favor assist us.

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[7] *Blessed him.*—See *ante*, p. 340.

[8] *Midluachair.*—The Four Masters, at A.D. 123, record that in that year were discovered five principal roads leading to Tara, of which Slighe-Midhluachra was one. O'Donovan, in his note, writes that it is often mentioned as a road leading into the north of Ireland, but that its exact position has not been determined. It is also mentioned at A.D. 1101; and from several writers it plainly extended into the present county Down. In the "Ulster Journal of Archæology," there is an article on the Kilnasagart stone and inscription, where Kilnasagart is said to be close to the Slighe-Midluachra. The Slighe is really the *Moyra Pass*, between Dundalk and Newry.

[9] *Trian.*—This pedigree agrees with others given by Colgan, only that Amalgad appears to be a mistranscript for Imchadh. Trian was therefore brother of Dichu, St. Patrick's first convert.

[1] *Fasts on him.*—This curious statement is fully explained in the "Introduction to the Brehon Laws of Ireland" (vol. i. p. xlvi). "The plaintiff or creditor, having first given the proper notice, proceeds, in the case of a defendant or debtor not of chieftain grade, to distrain. If, however, the defendant or debtor were a person of chieftain grade, it was necessary not only to give notice, but also to 'fast upon him.' This fasting upon him consisted in going to his residence, and waiting there for a certain time without food. If the plaintiff did not within a certain time receive satisfaction for his claim, or a pledge therefor, he forthwith, accompanied by a law agent, witnesses, and others, seized his distress. The distress when seized was in certain cases liable to a 'stay' (*anadh*), which was a period varying according to fixed rules, during which the debtor received back the distress, and retained it in his own keeping, the creditor having a lien upon it." The further proceedings up to and in case of forfeiture are also fully explained.

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[2] *Setna.*—Setna, son of Tren, became a bishop, and, according to the Calendar of the O'Clerys, was venerated on the 16th June. He and his twin-brother, whose life Colgan gives, at February 11, St. Jarlath, were born at Rath-Trena, of the noble and ancient family of the Dal-Fiatach. Colgan writes St. Jarlath was born in the eastern parts of Ulster, and quoting Jocelyn, who writes it was in Midernia, he corrects it to Mudorna, which Harris, in his edition of Ware's "Bishops," writes was the present barony of Mourne, in the south of the county Down. O'Donovan says that barony did not obtain that name till the twelfth century, and that St. Jarlath was born in Cremorne (Crichmudhorna), county Monaghan; but there is no record of the Dal-Fiatach being chiefs or lords in Monaghan; their country being the present county Down. Dimdrine is at present in Iveagh, but that name was not imparted to that territory till long after St. Patrick's time; but the name of the district in which it lay was Uacthar, as appears by the grant of James I. to Phelomy Magenis of the Castlewellan estate, and which shows that Uachthar-Thire extended as far west as Slievenaboley, and was not confined to the districts from Magheracat (now Clough) to Maghera, as supposed by O'Donovan in his note at A.D. 1046.

[3] *Mac Cuill.*—See *ante*, p. 343.

One time Patrick slept on a Sunday, on a hill over the sea, at Drombo, when he heard the noise of gentiles digging a rath on the Sabbath. He called them, and told them to cease. They heeded him not, but began to mock him. And Patrick said, "My *debroth*, your labor shall not profit you." This was fulfilled; for on the following night a great tempest arose and destroyed their work, according to the word of Patrick.

Patrick said to Eochaidh, son of Muiredach, that there should never be a king from him, nor enough of his race to constitute an assembly or army in Ulster, but that his tribe would be scattered and dispersed; that his own life would be short, and that he would meet a tragic fate. This was the cause Patrick had against Eochaidh, as the learned say: Two virgins, who had offered their virginity to the Lord, he bound and sent on the waves to be drowned, as they refused to adore idols and to marry. When Patrick heard this, he besought the king regarding them, but in vain. "Your brother Cairell[4] has got thy luck since he granted me a good request," said Patrick, "and you have lost it through your disobedience. He (Cairell) shall be a king, and there shall be kings and chiefs of his race over your children, and over all Ulster;" so that of him sprung the race of kings, and of his son Deman,[5] son of Cairell, son of Muiredhach, according to the words of Patrick. Eochaidh's wife cast herself at the feet of Patrick. He baptized her, and blessed the child in her womb, *i.e.* the excellent and illustrious son, Domangart, the son of Eochaidh.[6] He it was whom Patrick left in his body, and he will be there for ever. He turned back to the Fera-Ross,[7] and commenced a church in Druim-Mor,[8] in the territory of Ross, over Cluain-Cain. It was here the angel went to him, and said, "It is not here you have been destined to stay." "Where shall I go?" said Patrick. "Pass on to Macha northwards," said the angel. "The *cluain* below is fairer," replied Patrick. "Be its name Cluain-Cain" (*fair cluain*), answered the angel. "A pilgrim of the Britons shall come and occupy there, and it shall be yours afterwards." "*Deo gratias ago*," said Patrick. Where Patrick went then was to Ard-Phadraig,[9] on the east of Lughmadh, and he proposed to build an establishment there. The Dal-Runter[1] went after him, to keep him, as one presented him to another. He blessed them afterwards, and prophesied that distinguished chiefs and clerics should be of them, and that they should have possessions outside their territory, because they went forth out of their own country after him. Patrick used to come every day from the east, from Ard-Phadraig, and Mochta[2] used to come from the west, from Lughmadh, that they might converse together every day at Leac-Moctae. One day the angel placed an epistle between them. Patrick read the epistle, and what was in it was: "Mochta, the devoted, the believing, let him be in the place he has taken." Patrick goes by the order of his king to smooth Macha, and he assigned the twelve lepers left in Ard-Phadraig to Mochta, and their food used to be given to them each night by Mochta. Patrick went afterwards to the *macha*, by order of the angel, to a place where Rath-Daire is this day. There was a certain prosperous and venerable person there. Daire[3] was his name, *i.e.* Daire, son of Finchad, son of Eogan, son of Niallan. Patrick asked for a site for his *regles* from him. Daire answered, "What place do you desire?" "In this great hillock below," says Patrick, where Ardmacha is to-day. "I will not give it," said Daire, "but I will give you a site for your *regles* in the strong rath below," where the *ferta* are to-day. Patrick founded a church there, and remained a long time. One day two steeds of Daire's were brought to him, to his *regles*, for the *relig* was grassy. Patrick became very angry. The horses died at once. His servant told this to Daire, saying: "That Christian," said he, "killed your steeds, because they ate the grass that was in his *regles*." Daire was angry at this, and ordered his servants to plunder the cleric, and expel him from his place, *i.e.* the *ferta*. A colic seized on Daire immediately, so that death was near him. His wife recalled the plunder of Patrick, and told Daire that the cause of his death was the attack on Patrick. She sent messengers to beg prayer-water for Daire, from Patrick. Patrick said: "Only for what the woman has done, there would never be any resurrection from death for Daire." Patrick blessed the water, and gave it to the servants, with orders to have it sprinkled over the horses and over Daire.[4] They did so, and immediately they all returned from death. A brazen cauldron was brought to Patrick, as an offering from Daire. "*Deo gratias*," said Patrick. Daire asked his servants what Patrick said. They answered, "*Gratzicum*." "This is little reward for a good offering, and a good cauldron," said Daire. He ordered his cauldron to be brought to him. "*Deo gratias*," said Patrick. Daire asked what Patrick said when they were bringing the cauldron from him. The servants answered: "It was the same thing he said when we were bringing it away from him—*Gratzicum*." "This is a good word with them, this *Gratzicum*," said Daire; "*Gratzicum*, when giving it to him, and *Gratzicum* when taking it away from him." Daire and his wife then went with his submission to Patrick, and gave Patrick the cauldron willingly back again, and the hill which he before asked; and Patrick accepted, and blessed them, and founded a church in that place called Ard-Macha. Patrick and his divines, and Daire, with the nobles of Airther besides, came to the hill to mark out its boundaries, and to bless it, and consecrate it. They found a doe, with its fawn, in the place where the Sabhall is to-day, and his people went to kill it. *Prohibuit Patricius, et dixit*, "*Serviat sibi postea*," and sent it out of the hill northward, to the place where Telac-na-licce[5] is to-day, *ibi magna mirabilia fecit*.

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[4] *Cairell.*—Cairell, brother of Eochaidh, reigned over Uladh, and died A.D. 526, when he was succeeded by another Eochaidh, of the Clanna Rury, from whom descended St. Fergus, Bishop of Down, who died 30th March, 583 (Colgan's "*Acta SS.*" p. 794), the founder of Cill-m-Bian.

[5] *Deman.*—He reigned fourteen years, and was slain A.D. 565, by the shepherds of Boirinn; either the Burren near Dromora, or adjoining Castlewellan. On his death he was succeeded by his brother Baodan, who reigned twenty years, and died A.D. 585.—Reeves' "Down," p. 353.

[6] *Domangart, the son of Eochaidh.*—This was St. Domangart, or Donard, from whom Slieve Donard, county Down, is named, where he had a church, as also at Rath-Murbhuilg, now Maghera, between Newcastle and Castlewellan, county Down, of which he was bishop, the entire parish being still see lands. Colgan gives his life at 24th March, he having died on that day, A.D. 506. A cairn marks the site of the mountain church, about half-way up. The remains of the other, with the stump of a round tower, are still in Maghera. St. Donard's mother was Derinilla, and, according to Aengus the Culdee, she was also mother of St. Mura, of Fahan, in Inishowen; St. Mochumma, of Druimbo; and, besides others, St. Cillen, of Achadhcail, in Lecale, beside the estuary of Dundrum, the site of whose church in Ballykinler is still to be seen, adjoining Ballykinler strand, and is now called Killyglinny.

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[7] *Fera-Ross.*—Colgan calls them the people of Fer-ross, a territory which extended into the barony of Farney, in the south of county Monaghan, and part of the present county Louth (Shirley's "Farney," p. 2). An abbey was founded here, called Kill-Rois, by Adamnan, the obits of two of whose priors are recorded at A.D. 825 and 845; and a church called. in Pope Nicholas's Taxation of 1306, Ecclesia de Ros, the name of which is preserved in the parochial title, Magheross, and the town of Carrickmacross lying in it.

[8] *Druim-Mor.*—Colgan, in his notes, p. 185, writes that Druim-Mor was Druim-Charadh, in the diocese of Armagh and county Louth. The Four Masters, at A.D. 868, call this Druim-Caradh of Ard-Cianachta, which O'Donovan, in his notes, writes, is now Drumcar, a townland in a parish of the same name, in the barony of Ferrard, county Louth. O'Donovan, at A.D. 836, identifies Cluain-Cacin, "the beautiful lawn or meadow," as does Dr. Reeves ("Adamnan," note *c*, p. 47), as Clonkeen, in the barony of Ardee, county Louth.

[9] *Ard-Phadraig.*—Ardpatrick lies about a mile to the east of Louth, where St. Mochta afterwards founded his monastery. It was afterwards annexed to St. Columba (Reeves' "Adamnan," pp. 7 and 461), and was a ruin in Usher's time.

[8] *Dal-Runter.*—This family is called Mocuruntir, *recte* Mac-Ui-Runtir in "Adamnan," ch. xviii., where it is stated St. Columba ordered one of his monks, named Trenan, of this tribe, to proceed on a mission to Ireland. The Book of Armagh states that the three magi who opposed St. Patrick were members of it, and it appears the *locale* of the family was at Clonkeen, in Fer-Ross.—Reeves' "Adamnan," p. 47.

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[2] *Mochta.*—He was a native of Britain, and landed at Omeath, on the coast of Louth, with twelve followers. He founded the abbey of Louth, and is called a bishop in O'Clerys' Calendar, at 19th August, though our writers doubt as to whether he obtained the episcopal order. The Annals of Ulster record his death at A.D. 534, and Colgan has his acts incorrectly at 24th March. Before his death he received the Holy Viaticum from St. Daigh of Inniskeen, as in note under Druim-Mor.—Reeves' "Adamnan," p. 7, and Lanigan.

[3] *Daire.*—See *ante*, p. 349, for identifications and other details.

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[4] *Daire.*—This is the subject of the illustration at p. 393. The upper part represents the donation of the land for the church of Armagh by Daire. In the next compartment is shown the site marked out where the fawn was found; and below Daire is seen lying on his death-bed, and about to be sprinkled with the holy water sent by the saint. The dead horses are on the ground outside.

[5] *Telac-na-licce.*—In an Inquisition taken at Armagh, 9th September, 1633, this is called Tullyleckeny, now absorbed in the corporation, and being placed in the same group with the Desert, as parcel of Knockadreeine, the ancient name of the hill on which now stands the new Catholic cathedral; it was most likely the hill a little further north, over which the old road passed to

Daire's daughter[6] loved the person Benen; sweet to her was the sound of his voice in chaunting. Disease seized her, so that she died of it. Benen carried *cretra* to her from Patrick, and she suddenly afterwards arose alive, and loved him spiritually. She is Ercnait, the daughter of Daire, who is in Tamlaght-bo.

One time there came nine daughters of the King of the Longbards,[7] and the daughter of the King of Britain, on a pilgrimage to Patrick;

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the Callen or Geary's bridge, between Tullyelmer and Drumcairn, leading to Charlemont. There is a townland named Longstone adjoining the right of the lunatic asylum, a little to the north of Armagh, which may be the place here called Telac-na-licce, "the hill of the stones."

[6] *Daire's daughter.*—Her name was Ercnait. After a long life of religious devotion, she died, and was buried at Tamlaght-bo, now Tamlaght, in the parish of Eglish, to the north-west of Armagh, in the church which she had founded, and where her memory was observed on her festival, the 8th of January (Reeves' "Churches of Armagh," p. 12). So Dr. Reeves writes; but the Calendar of the O'Clerys gives Eargnat, Virgin, of Dun-da-en, in Dal-Araidhe, signifying, according to Joyce ("Origin and History of Irish Names," p. 266), "the fortress of the two birds," now the parish of Duneane, county Antrim. Her story is thus told in the Calendar of the O'Clerys, when treating of St. Benignus or Benen, at 9th November: "The holy Benen was benign, was devout; he was a virgin, without ever defiling his virginity: for when he was psalm-singer at Ard-Macha, along with his master, St. Patrick, Ercnait, daughter of Daire, loved him. And she was seized with a disease, so that she died suddenly; and Benen brought consecrated water to her from Patrick, and he shook it upon her, and she arose alive and well, and she loved him spiritually afterwards; and she subsequently went to Patrick, and confessed all her sins to him; and she offered her virginity afterwards to God, so that she went to heaven; and the name of God, of Patrick, and of Benen was magnified through it."

[7] *Longbards.*—Monessin was the name of the King of Britain's daughter. The question of the Longobards having settled in western Europe as early as the time of Patrick, has been much discussed. Colgan and O'Flaherty assert they were in Leatha or Italy at this time, in which latter country, according to Sabellicus and Baronius, they did not settle till A.D. 568. Colgan grounds his view on the opinion of Kranztius that they migrated from their primitive Scandinavian settlements as early as 382. But Leatha, with ancient Irish authors, signified *Letaria*, or Armorica, on the eastern coast of France, and, writing on this very passage (p. 40), Colgan says that the connection of the Longobard virgins with the daughter of the King of Britain gives some countenance to the conjecture that Britanny or Armorica may have been known, in ancient times, as a seat of the Lombards.

they stopped at the east side of Ard-Macha, where Coll-na-ningean[8] is to-day. There came messengers from them to Patrick, to know if they should proceed to him. Patrick said to the messengers that three of the maidens would go to heaven, and in that place (*i.e.* Coll-na-ningean) their sepulchre is. "And let the other maidens go to Druim-fenneda,[9] and let one of them proceed as far as that hill in the east." And so it was done.

Cruimthir went afterwards, and occupied Cengoba;[1] and Benen used to carry fragments of food to her every night from Patrick. And Patrick planted an apple-tree in Achadh-na-elti, which he took from the fort, in the north of the place, *i.e.* Cengoba; and hence the place is called Abhall-Patrick, in Cengoba. It was the milk of this doe, moreover, that used to be given to the lap-dog that was near the maiden, *i.e.* Cruimthir.

Another time, when Patrick was at rest in the end of night, at Tiprad-Cernai, in Tir-Tipraid, the angel went to him and awoke him. Patrick said to him: "Is there anything in which I have offended God, or is His anger upon me?" "No," said the angel; "and you are informed from God," added the angel, "if it is it you desire, that there shall be no share for any else in Eriu, but for you alone. And the extent of the termon of your see from God is to Droma-Bregh,[2] and to Sliabh-Mis, and to Bri-Airghi." Patrick replied: "My *debroth*, truly," said Patrick, "sons of life will come after me, and I wish they may have honor from God in the country after me." The angel responded: "That is manifest. And God gave all Eriu to you," said the angel, "and every noble that will be in Eriu shall belong to you." "*Deo gratias*," said Patrick.

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[8] *Coll-na-ningean.*—"The hazel tree of the virgins," called by Jocelyn, Ferta Minor, but the name is now obsolete. There was the denomination Fertamore, portion of the primatial lands of Armagh, in the territory of Dounagh-Munter-Cullen, alias Clonfeacle, which adjoined Blackwatertown, in the county of Armagh.

[9] *Druim-fenneda.*—The ridge of the declivity. The name is now obsolete.

[1] *Cengoba.*—Dr. Reeves explains this as "the hill of grief." In Colgan it is called a mount, in the eastern vicinity of Armagh. Dr. Petrie ("Round Towers," p. 345) writes it was a stone oratory, and that some of its ruins remained in his time, which, however, Dr. Reeves was unable to discover, but writes that the tradition of the country connected the memory of the nine pilgrim virgins with Armagh-Breague, in Upper Fews. The latter, however, is eight or nine miles south of Armagh; nor can it be the great fort of Kinnigo, which lies four miles north. A religious cell was founded here by Crumtheris, one of the pilgrim virgins.

[2] *Droma-Bregh.*—Droma-Bregh was part of the territory of Breagh, or

Patrick was enraged against his sister, *i.e.* Lupait,[3] for committing the sin of adultery, so that she was pregnant in consequence. When Patrick came into the church from the eastern side, Lupait went to meet him, until she prostrated herself before the chariot, in the place where the cross is in Both-Archall. "The chariot over her," said Patrick. The chariot passed over her thrice, for she

Bregia, in the north of the county Meath, adjoining Cavan ("Four Masters," at 513, and "Book of Rights," p. 11). Sliabh-Mis was the well-known mountain of Slemish, in county Antrim. But Sliabh-Breagh, now Slieve Brey, in the south of the county Louth, was mentioned by the Synod of *Rath-Braesail* as the southern boundary of the diocese of Armagh; *Cuaille Ciannacta*, now the mountain top of Coolkenagh, in the parish of Errigal-Keerogue, county Tyrone, being then, as now, the northern boundary. *Bri-n-aivige*, called by Colgan, Brigraidhe, lay to the west. *Bri*, signifying a hill or rising ground, is pronounced Bree, which is the name of a townland in the parish of Muckno, county Monaghan, on the west of the county and diocese of Armagh. Presuming the identifications to be correct, it would appear that at this period the church of Armagh had a territorial jurisdiction over what now constitutes the diocese of Armagh, part of Meath and Connor, and the entire of Down and Dromore. This is an additional evidence of diocesan episcopacy to that afforded by the synod of Uisnech, held in 1107, at which the "*Chronicum Scotorum*" records the division of the old diocese of Meath between the Bishops of Cluain-mac-Nois and Clonard. According to the theory of King, Reeves, and Todd, diocesan episcopacy, in its present acceptation, was not introduced into Ireland until 1118.

[3] *Lupait.*—There is much obscurity and contradiction about this story of St. Patrick's alleged sister—Colgan, in his notes, arguing that the word sister must be taken to mean relative. In another part of the Tripartite, Lupait is stated to have been placed over the nunnery of Druimcheo, Ardagh, county Longford, of which her nephew, St. Mel, was bishop; and from a note of Colgan it appears she was buried in the Ferta, beside Armagh. Her festival, though not given by the O'Clerys, was held on the 27th of September. Innis-Lothair is now Inish-lirroo, in Lough Erne, county Fermanagh, or Inish-Lougher, in the parish of Devenish, in same county. The Calendar of the O'Clerys has St. Cassan of Iomdual, at 28th March, but does not state its situation. The only place of that name in Ireland now known is *Imdel*, in the parish of Drumballyroney, county Down.

used still to come in front of it; so that where she went to heaven was at the Ferta; and she was buried by Patrick, and her *ecnaire* (requiem) was sung. Colman,[4] grandson of Ailill, of the Ui-Bresail, that fixed his attention on Lupait at Imduail. Aedan, son of Colman, saint of Inis-Lothair, was the son of Lupait and Colman. Lupait implored of Patrick that he would not take away heaven from Colman with his progeny. Patrick did not take it away; but he said they would be sickly. Of the children of this Colman, moreover, are the Ui-Faelain and Ui-Dubhdara.[5]

One time Patrick's people were cutting corn in Trian-Conchobhair. They were seized with great thirst, whereupon a vessel of whey was taken to them from Patrick, who persuaded them to observe abstinence from tierce to vesper time. It happened that one of them died; and he was the first man that was buried by Patrick, *i.e.* Colman Itadach,[6] at the cross by the door of Patrick's house. What Patrick said when it was told to him was, "My *debroth*, there will be abundance of food and ale and prosperity in this city after us."

Once the angels went, and took from off the road the stone which was before the chariot, and its name is Lec-na-naingel. It was from that place, *i.e.* from Druim-Chaile, that Patrick with his two hands blessed the *macha.* The way in which Patrick measured the rath, *i.e.* the angel before him, and Patrick behind, with his people, and with the holy men of Eriu, and the Bachall Isa in Patrick's hand. And he said that great would be the crime of any

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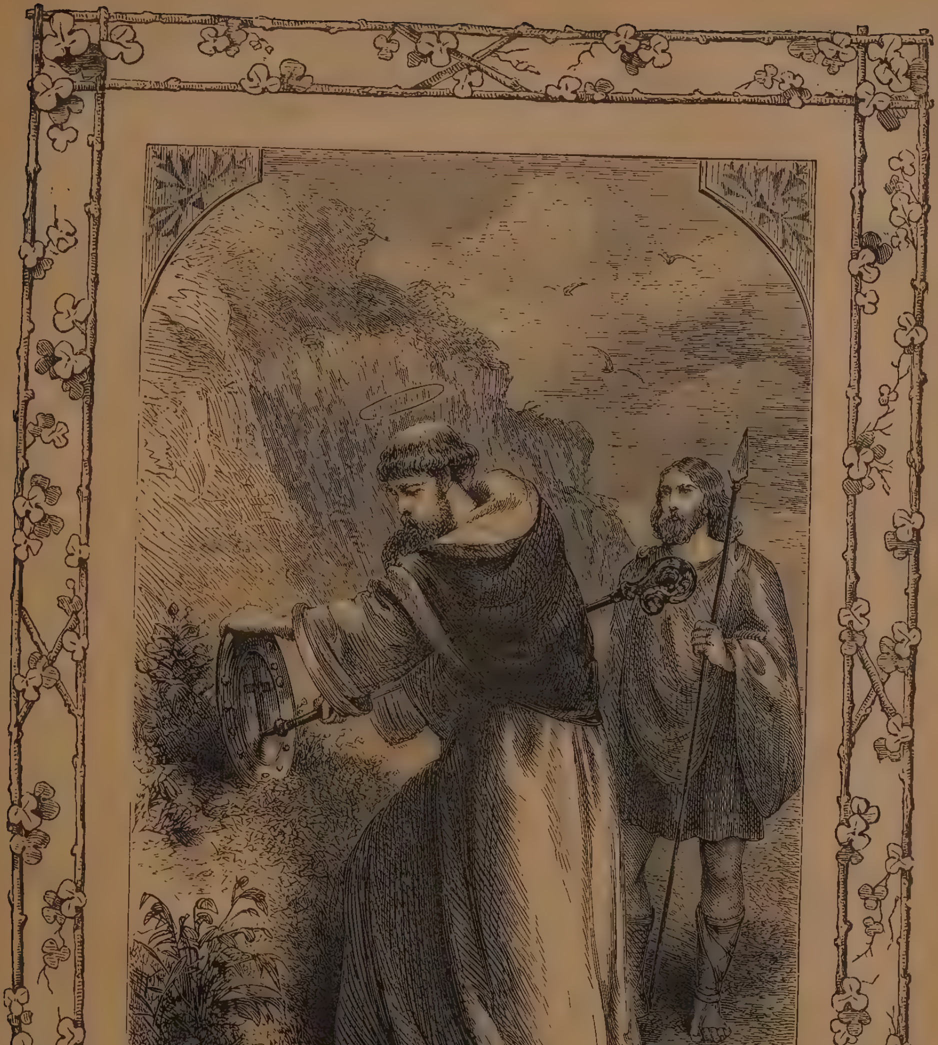
[4] *Colman.*—Colgan, in his text and notes, writes Colman, son of Aid, of the family of Hi-Bressail. This territory, afterwards called Clanbrassil, lay to the south of Lough Neagh, in the counties of Armagh and Down, being in the latter called Clanbrassil Mac Coolechan: the former obtained its name from Bressal, great grandson of Colla da Crioch; the latter from Breasal, son of Aedh Roin.

[5] *Ui-Faelain and Ui-Dubhdara.*—Ui-Faelain was the name of a tribe, and of a territory containing about one-half of the northern part of the present county of Kildare ("Book of Rights," note, p. 205). The Ua-Dubhdaras were ancient chiefs of Fermanagh, and sometime of Farney. See "Four Masters," at 1076, 1097, and 1118.

[6] *Colman Itadach.*—That is, Colman the thirsty.



St. Patrick Marking Conall's Shield with the Cross.

one who would transgress in it, as the reward would be great of such as fulfilled the will of God in it.

The way in which Patrick measured the *ferta* was thus, viz., one hundred and forty feet in the *lis*, and twenty feet in the great house, and seventeen feet in the kitchen, and seven feet in the chamber; and it was thus he always constructed the establishment.

The angel went to Patrick in Ard-Macha. "This day," said he, "the relics of the apostles are distributed in Rome, throughout the four parts of the globe; and it would be becoming in you that you should go there." And the angel bore Patrick in the air. At the southern cross, in Aenach-Macha, it was that four chariots were brought to Patrick; at the northern cross, moreover, it was that God manifested to him the form he will have in the Day of Judgment. And he went-in one day to Comur-tri-nuisce.[7] He left Sechnall[8] in the episcopacy with the men of Eriu, until the ship would come which would bear him from the shore of Letha.

Patrick went subsequently, and arrived at Rome; and sleep came over the inhabitants of Rome, so that Patrick brought away a sufficiency of the relics. These relics were afterwards taken to Ard-Macha with the consent of God, and with the consent of the men of Eriu.

What was brought was the relics of three hundred and sixty-five martyrs, and the relics of Peter and Paul, and Laurence, and Stephen, and of many more; and a cloth in which was the blood of Christ, and the hair of the Virgin Mary. Patrick left this collection in Armagh, according to the will of God, of the angel, and of the men of Eriu.

His relics—the relics of Letha—were stolen from Patrick. Messengers went from him to the Abbot of Rome. They brought an epistle from him, directing that they should watch the relics with lamps and torches by night for ever, and with Mass and psalmody by day, and prayers by night, and that they should elevate them every year (for multitudes desired to see them).

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[7] *Comur-tri-nuisce.*—Colgan, in his notes, writes this was a place in Lagenia (Leinster), where the three rivers, Suir, Feor (the Nore), and Barbha (the Barrow), met near Waterford.

[8] *Sechnall.*—Otherwise St. Secundinus.

Two brothers of the Ulstermen, Dubhan and Dubhaedh, stole Patrick's two garrons from the land (*tir*) to the east of the Nemhed (Tir-suidhe-Patrick is its name). They carried them off into the moor to the south. Dubhan said: "I will not take what belongs to the *tailcenn*." "I will take what comes to me," said Dubhaedh. Dubhan went and did penance. "Your comrade's journey is not a good one," said Patrick. He got a fall, so that his head was broken, and he died. Dubhan became a disciple, and was ordained; and Patrick said: "Here thy resurrection shall be." Another time, in carrying a bag of wheat from Setna, son of Dallan,[9] to Patrick, the manna which dropped from heaven, in a desert place, over Druim-mic-Ublae,[1] Patrick's horse [fell] under it. A grain of the wheat dropped out of the bag, and the horse could not rise until there came from Patrick. "This is the reason," said Patrick through prophecy, "a grain of wheat that fell out of the sack, in the spot where the cross is on the way southwards to the Nemhed." "Nemhed[2] then will be the name of the place where the horse stopped," said Patrick; and so it is.

Another time Sechnall went to Armagh, and Patrick was not there. He saw before him two of Patrick's horses unyoked, and he said: "It were fitter to send those horses to the bishop, *i.e.* to Fiacc." When Patrick returned, this thing was told to him. The chariot was attached to the horses; and he sent them on without a man with them, until they were in the *disert* with Mochta. They went right-hand-wise on the morrow to Domhnach-Sechnaill. They then went eastwardly to Cill-Auxili. They went afterwards to Cill monach; then, after that, to Fiacc to Sleibhte. The reason for giving the chariot to Fiacc was because he used to go every Whit-Saturday as far as the hill of Druim-Coblai, where he had a cave. Five cakes with him, as report says. On Easter Saturday he used to come to Sleibhte, and used to bring with him a bit of his five cakes. The cause of giving the chariot to Fiacc was that a chafer had gnawed his leg, so that death was nigh unto him.

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[9] *Dallan.*—The Calendar of the O'Clerys mentions that St. Sedna, of Druim-mac-Ublai, was venerated there on the 9th of March.

[1] *Druim-mic-Ublae.*—Colgan, in his notes, describes it as in Crimthain, in Oirgiell, which was comprised in the baronies of Upper and Lower Slane; but O'Donovan, in his notes, at A.D. 830, where its plundering by the foreigners is described, writes that there is no church of the name to be now found in these baronies.

[2] *Nemhed.*—Dr. Petrie ("Round Towers," p. 61) translates Nemed, or Neimheadh, as a sanctuary, or glebe land, a holy wood, or wood of the sanctuary or glebe.

Sechnall said to Patrick, "When shall I make a hymn of praise for thee?" "You are not required," observed Patrick. "I have not said to thee, 'Shall it be done?'" said Sechnall, "for it will be done, truly." "My *debroth*," said Patrick, "it is time it were finished now;" for Patrick knew that it would not be long until Sechnall's time [arrived], for he was the first bishop who went under the clay of Eriu.

When he was composing the hymn, they were holding an assembly near him. It was commanded to them from him that they should go away from the place. They began to mock him. He told them that the ground would swallow them; and it swallowed twelve chariots of them at once. Sechnall said to Patrick's people, at Ferta-Marta, "A good man is Patrick, but for one thing." When he heard these words with his people, he asked Sechnall for the previous message, and Sechnall said, "O my lord, the reason I have said it is because little do you preach of charity." "Young man," said Patrick, "it is for charity that I preach not charity; for if I did preach it, I would not leave a stud of two chariot horses to any of the saints, present or future, in this island; for all belong to me and them."

Sechnall went with his hymn to Patrick, and Patrick went along Belach-Midhluachra into the territory of Conaille.[9] He returned along the mountain westwards. He met Sechnall. They saluted one another. "I should like that you would hear a [hymn of] praise which I have made for a certain man of God," said Sechnall. "The praise of the people of God is welcome," answered Patrick. Sechnall thereupon began "Beata Christi custodit," fearing that Patrick would prohibit him at once if he heard his name. When he sang "Maximus namque," Patrick arose. The place where he sang so far is called Elda. "Wait," said Sechnall, "until we reach a secret place which is near us; it is there the remainder will be recited." Patrick inquired on the way how "Maximus in regno cœlorum" could be said of a man. Sechnall replied: "It [*maximus*] is put for the positive [*magnus*,]" or because he excelled the men of his race of the Britons or Scoti. They came then to a place called Dal-Muine,[4] where he, Patrick, prayed and sat; and Sechnall afterwards sang the remainder of the hymn; and Patrick heard his name, and thereupon thanked him. Three pieces of cheese, and butter, were brought up to him from a religious couple, viz., Berach and Brig. "Here is for the young men," said the woman. "Good," said Patrick. A druid came there, whose name was Gall-drui ("foreign druid"), who said, "I will believe in you if you convert the pieces of cheese into stones," which God performed through Patrick. "Again convert them into cheese;" and he did. "Convert them into stones again;" and he did. "Convert them again." Patrick said, "No, but they will be as they are, in commemoration, until the servant of God, who is Dicuill of the Ernaidhe,[5] shall come here." The druid (*magus*) believed.

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[9] *Conaille.*—Crich-Conaille, according to O'Donovan's Index to the "Four Masters," was another name for Conaille Muirtheimhne, the plain which extended from the river Boyne to the mountains of Cooly or Carlingford, and is an additional proof that the great road of Midluachar traversed the county Louth.

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[4] *Dall-Muine.*—The territory called in Irish Dal-in-Buinne, Latinized Dalmunia, and Anglicized Dalboyn and Dalvanie, embraced a tract of country on either sides of the river Lagan, from Spencer's Bridge, near Moira, to Drum Bridge, near Belfast, in which lay the churches of Tullyrusk, Glenavy, and Muckamore, and those adjoining. For a full description see Reeves' "Down and Connor," pp. 44 and 164-233. It derived its name from Buinn, son of Fergus Mac Roigh, King of Ulster, who was dethroned in the year before Christ 12.

[5] *Dicuill of the Ernaidhe.*—Colgan writes that Dichuill, from being Abbot of Ernatiensis, became Abbot of Louth, A.D. 700. Ernatiensis was the Latinized form of Ernaidhe or Urnaidhe, which in the original Irish primarily signifies a

Patrick flung his little bell under a dense bush there. A birch grew through its handle. This it was that Dicuill found, the *betechan*, Patrick's bell—a little iron bell—which is in the Ernaidhe of Dicuill. And two of the stones made of the cheese are there; the third one was, moreover, carried by Dicuill to Lughmagh, when he was abbot there. It is to-day in Gort-Conaidh.[6]

Sechnall[7] asked something for the hymn. "As many as there are hairs in your *casula*," said Patrick, "if they are pupils of yours, and violate not rules, shall be saved. The clay of your abode has also been sanctified by God," said Patrick. "That will be received," said Sechnall. "Whosoever of the men of Eriu," said Patrick, "shall recite the three last chapters, or the three last lines, or the three last words, just before death, with pure mind, his soul will be saved." "*Deo gratias ago*," said Sechnall. Colman Ela[8]

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prayer, but in a secondary sense a prayer-house, the same as the Latin Oratorium. It is now Anglicized Urney, Nurney, and Furney (Joyce's "Irish Names of Places," p. 294, and Colton's "Visitation," by Reeves, p. 17). Colgan ("*Tr. Th.*" p. 115) conjectures it to have been the same as Cluain-braoin, beside the church of Louth, probably from the fact that a St. Dichuill was venerated in that church on the 1st of May. Archdall ("*Mon. Hib.*" p. 452), adopting Colgan's view, placed Cluain-braoin in county Louth, but writes it was unknown. But the "Inquisitions," printed by Archdall himself, in his account of the abbey of Louth, affords the proper clue to where Ernaidhe was, the church of which it is probable Dichuill on his translation to that abbey annexed thereto. By an Inquisition, 4th James I., it was found that the king was seized of the priory of Louth and its possessions, *inter alia* the rectory of Faghart, including with others the tithes of Orney, *alias* Nurney. Another Inquisition of 2nd August, thirteenth year of the same king, there was found belonging to the same priory, *inter alia*, fifteen acres of glebe in the Urney; and accordingly we find, in Lewis's "Topographical Dictionary," that there are still some remains of the ancient church of Urney in the present small parish of Faughart, a little north of Dundalk, county Louth.

[6] *Gort-Conaidh*, "Field of the fire-wood," was the name of a monastery in the barony of Cremorne, and county Monaghan.—O'Donovan's note under A.D. 735, where the Four Masters record the death of Flann Feabhla, abbot of Gort-Conaigh, in Mughdhorn-Maighen. There is a townland called Gorteens, in the parish of Donaghmoyne, in Farney barony, likely to have been the site of this monastery.

[7] The original of the three following sentences is very corrupt.

[8] *Colman Ela.*—The Calendar of the O'Clerys thus notices him: "Colman Eala, abbot of Lann-Elo, in Fir-Ceall, in Westmeath. He was of the race of

recited it in his refectory thrice. Patrick stood in the middle of the house, when a certain plebeian asked, "Have we no other prayer that we could recite except this?" And Patrick went out afterwards. Cainnech, on the sea, in the south, saw the black cloud of devils passing over him. "Come here on your way," said Cainnech. The demons subsequently came, stating, "We went to meet the soul of a certain rich rustic observing the festival of Patrick; but his sons and people ate, and he sang two or three chapters of the hymn of Patrick; and, by your dignity, we thought it more a satire than praise of Patrick as they sang it; but by it we have been vanquished." The miracles of Patrick are these, viz.: The hound in the territory of Gailenga,[9] at Telach-Maine; the buck speaking out of the bodies of the thieves in the territory of Ui-Meith; the travelling of the garron without any guide to Druim-mic-Ublae, when he lay down beside the grain of wheat; the chariot, without a charioteer, [going] from Armagh to Sleibhte; the appearance of the King of Britain in the form of a fox, in his country, an ever-living miracle; a part of Aenach-Tailten, from which nothing dead is taken; the King of Cashel not to be killed by wounding, provided that he be of the race of Aenghus, son of Nadfraech; these bare residences not to be demolished, viz., Rath-Airthir, and Sen-domhnach of Magh-Ai ("*Eccor Sendomhnaigh*" is an old saying); Dun-Sobhairce charmed to the herenaghs, viz., an altar-sop with the Forbraige; and the *dominica* of Naas, and Magh-itir-da-glas[1] in Macha; the navigation from Bertlach to Bertlach of Calry-Cuile-

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Eochaidh, son of Muireadh, of the race of Heremon, by the father's side, and Colum Cille's sister was his mother, *i.e.* Mor, daughter of Feidhlimidh, son of Ferghus Cennfada, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, as Colman's own Life states. Fifty-two was his age when he resigned his spirit to heaven, A.D. 610." Lann-Elo is now called Lynally.

[9] *Gailenga.*—From the allusion to the Hill of Maine, this was evidently the territory of Gailenga, or Luighne, in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, for a description of which see "Book of Rights," notes, pp. 103, 104.

[1] *Magh-itir-da-glas*—*i.e.* the plain between the two streamlets. This place is mentioned in the "Four Masters" at 879, and the death of its erenach Flann, son of Maelfiachrach, at A.D. 950. O'Donovan conjectured it to be Moy, county Tyrone, near Charlemont, but its ancient name was quite different.

Cernadha; the streams which the *gilla* blessed at Drobhais;[2] the take [of fish] at Eastern Bann; the take at Sligo every quarter [of the year]; the Samer,[3] which goes from the loughs of Erne to the sea—its eastern half, against Cenel-Conaill,[4] is fruitful; its western part, towards Cenel-Cairbre,[5] is unfruitful, through Patrick's word. Finn-glas, at the martyr-house of Druim-Cain,[6] and Druim-Cruachni;[7] the taking of his kingship[8] from Laeghaire, from Cairbre, from Fiacha, from Maine; the grant of his kingship to Eoghan, to Conall, to Crimthann, to Conall Erball; the smiths making the bells, *i.e.* Mac Cecht, and Cuana, and Mac Tail;[9] the artificers making the dishes and reliquaries, and the altar chalices, viz., Tassach,[1] and Essa, and Bitiu; the nuns making the altar cloths, viz., Cochmass, and Tigris, and Lupait, and Darerca.

After these great miracles, however, the day of Patrick's death, and of his going to heaven, approached. What he began to do was to go to Armagh, that it might be there his resurrection would be. The angel Victor came to him. What he said to Patrick was: "It is not there thy resurrection has been decreed; go back to the place from whence you came (*i.e.* to the Sabhall),[2] for it is there God has decreed that you shall die—not in Macha. God has granted thee," said the angel, "that thy dignity and rule, thy devotion and teaching, shall be in Ard-Macha, as if thou thyself wert alive there."

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[2] *Drobhais.*—The river Drowes, in the north of Leitrim. See before.

[3] *Samer.*—The Samer is now called the Erne river, which flows from Lough Erne to Ballyshannon.

[4] *Cenel-Conaill.*—Now county Donegal.

[5] *Cenel-Cairbre.*—The descendants of Cairbre, third son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, who settled in the barony of Carbury, in the north of county Sligo. —"Book of Rights," note *u*, p. 130.

[6] *Druim-Cain.*—Dromcain was one of the ancient names of Tara.

[7] *Druim-Cruachni.*—The Ridge of Cruaghan or Croghan, the royal palace of Connaught.

[8] *Kingship.*—Several instances of this are stated in the Lives of St. Patrick.

[9] *Mac Cecht and Cuana and Mac Tail.*—Mac Cecht is given in the list of St. Patrick's household in the "Four Masters," at 448, as one of his smiths, but Cuana and Mac Tail are not mentioned. They are, however, in Tirechan's list in the Book of Armagh, and republished from Usher in Lanigan, vol. i. p. 337.

[1] *Tassach.*—This was not Bishop Tassagh of Raholp, near Downpatrick, who administered the Viaticum to St. Patrick, but Assach, Bishop of Elphin. See Lanigan, i. p. 340, and Book of Armagh, Betham's translation.

The angel left advice with Patrick as to how he would be buried, saying: "Let two young, active oxen be brought," said he, "of the herds of Conall, from Finnabhair, *i.e.* from Clochar; and let your body be placed in a wagon after them; and what way soever these young oxen go by themselves, and the place where they will stop, let it be there your interment shall be; and let there be a man's cubit in your grave, that your remains be not taken out of it." It was so done after his death. The oxen carried him to the place where to-day is Dun-da-leth-glas; and he was buried there with all honor and respect. And for a space of twelve nights, *i.e.* whilst the divines were waking him with hymns, and psalms, and canticles, there was no night in Magh-inis, but angelic light there; and some say there was light in Magh-inis for the space of a year after Patrick's death, quia nulli adanti viri meritum declarandum accidisse dubium est, et ita non visa nox in tota illa regione in tempore luctus Patricii, qualiter Ezechiæ languenti in horologio Achaz demonstrato sanitatis indicio, sol per xv lineas reversus est, et sic sol contra Gabon, et luna contra vallem Achilon stetit.

In the first night, the angels of the Lord of the elements were watching Patrick's body with spiritual chants. The fragrant odors of the divine grace which issued from the holy body, and the music of the angels, gave tranquillity and joy to the chief clerics of the men of Erin who were watching the body on the nights following; so that the blessing of Jacob to his son was kept regarding him, *i.e.* "Ecce odor filii mei sicut odor agri pleni, quem benedixit dicens," etc.

There was, moreover, a great attempt at conflict and battle between the provinces of Erin, viz., the Ulidians and the Ui Neill and Airghialla, contending for Patrick's body. The Airghialla and Ui-Neill were trying to take it to Ard-Macha; the Ulidians were for keeping it with themselves. Then the Ui-Neill went to a certain water [river] there, when the river rose against them, through the power of God. When the flood left the river, the hosts proceeded to quarrel, viz., the Ui-Neill and the Ulidians. It appeared then to each party of them, that they were bringing the body to their own country, so that God separated them in this wise through the grace of Patrick.

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[2] *Sabhall.*—That is, to Saul, where he died, after having lived there, according to his bardic testament, thirty years.

The miracles so far shall be unto to day. They are the miracles which the divines of Erin heard, and which they put into order of narration. Colum Cille, the son of Fedhlimidh, firstly, narrated and compiled the miracles of Patrick; Ultan, the descendant of Conchobhar; Adamnan, the grandson of Atinne; Eleran the wise; Ciaran of Belach-Duin; Bishop Ermedach of Clogher; Colman Uamach; and Cruimther Collaith of Druim-Roilgech.

A just man, indeed, was this man; with purity of nature like the patriarchs; a true pilgrim like Abraham; gentle and forgiving of heart like Moses; a praiseworthy psalmist like David; an emulator of wisdom like Solomon; a chosen vessel for proclaiming truth like the Apostle Paul. A man full of grace and of the knowledge of the Holy Ghost like the beloved John. A fair flower garden to children of grace; a fruitful vine-branch. A sparkling fire, with force of warmth and heat to the sons of life, for instituting and illustrating charity. A lion in strength and power; a dove in gentleness and humility. A serpent in wisdom and cunning to do good. Gentle, humble, merciful towards sons of life; dark, ungentle towards sons of death. A servant of labor and service of Christ. A king in dignity and power for binding and loosening, for liberating and convicting, for killing and giving life.

After these great miracles, therefore, *i.e.* after resuscitating the dead; after healing lepers, and the blind, and the deaf, and the lame, and all diseases; after ordaining bishops, and priests, and deacons, and people of all orders in the Church; after teaching the men of Eriu, and after baptizing them; after founding churches and monasteries; after destroying idols, and images, and druidical arts; the hour of death of St. Patrick approached. He received the Body of Christ from the bishop, from Tassach, according to the advice of the angel Victor. He resigned his spirit afterwards to heaven, in the one hundred and twentieth year of his age. His body is here still in the earth, with honor and reverence. Though great his honor here, greater honor which will be to him in the Day of Judgment, when judgment will be given on the fruits of his teaching, like every great apostle, in the union of the apostles and disciples of Jesus; in the union of the nine orders of angels, which cannot be surpassed; in the union of the divinity and humanity of the Son of God; in the union, which is higher than all unions—in the union of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. I beseech mercy through the intercession of Patrick. May we all arrive at that union; may we enjoy it for ever and ever. Amen.

These miracles, then, which we have related, the Lord performed for Patrick. Though one should attempt to recount them, he could not. Nevertheless, they are but a few of many related in commemoration; for there is no one who could remember them all. And there is no writer who could write all the prodigies and miracles he wrought in the countries he reached.

After the foundation, then, of numerous churches; after the consecration of monasteries; after baptizing the men of Eriu; after great abstinence and great labor; after destroying idols and images; after degrading numerous kings who would not obey him, and raising up those who obeyed him; and after he had three hundred and fifty or three hundred and seventy bishops; and after ordaining three thousand priests and persons of all other orders in the Church; after fasting and prayer; after showing mercy and mildness; after gentleness and sweetness towards sons of life; after the love of God and his neighbor; he received the Body of Christ from the bishop, from Tassach; and he afterwards resigned his spirit to heaven. His body, however, is here on earth still, with honor and reverence. And though great his honor here, his honor will be greater in the Day of Judgment, when he will shine like a sun in heaven, and when judgment will be given regarding the fruit of his teaching, like Peter or Paul. He will be afterwards in the union of the patriarchs and prophets; in the union of the saints and virgins of the world; in the union of the apostles and disciples of Jesus Christ; in the union of the Church, both of heaven and earth; in the union of the nine orders of heaven, which cannot be surpassed; in the union of the divinity and humanity of the Son of God; in the union which excels every union—in the union of the Trinity, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen. I beseech the mercy of God, through the intercession of Patrick. May we all reach that union; may we deserve it; may we inhabit it, for ever and ever.

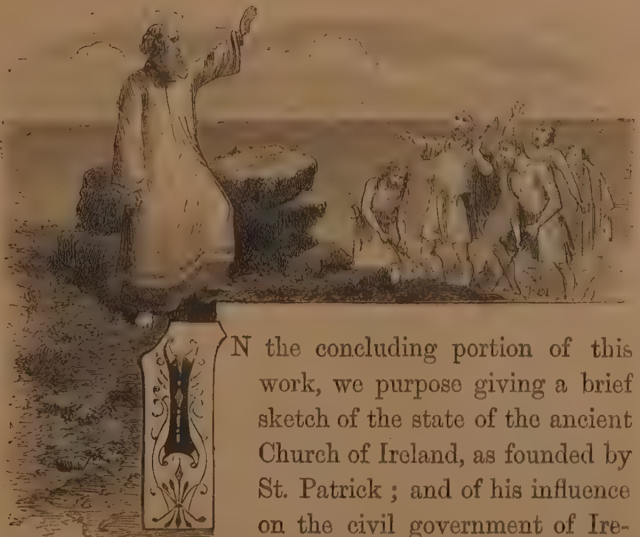
These are the four-and-twenty who were in orders with Patrick, viz., Sechnall his bishop; Mochta his priest; Bishop Erc his brehon; Bishop MacCairthen his strong man; Benen his psalmist; Caemhan of Cill-Ruada his youth; Sinell, from Cill-Daresis, his bell-ringer; Athgein of Both-Domhnach his cook; Cruimther Mescan, from Domhnach-Mescan at Fochan, his brewer; Cruimther Bescna, from Domhnach-Dala, his mass-priest; Cruimther Catan, and Cruimther Ocan, his two waiters; Odhran, from Disert-Odhran, in Hy-Failghe, his charioteer; Cruimther Manach his wood-man; Rodan his shepherd; his three smiths, MacCecht, Laeban from Domhnach-Laebhan (who made the Findfaithnech), and Fortchern in Rath-Adiné. Essa, and Bite, and Tassach, were his three artists. His three embroiderers were Lupait, and Erc, daughter of Daire, and Cruimthiris in Cenn-Gobha. And this is the number that were in the company of Joseph; and it is the number that is allowed at the table of the King of Cashel, down from the time of Fedhlimidh, son of Crimthann, *i.e.* the king of the two provinces of Munster, etc.

The Annals of the Lord Jesus Christ, the year this Life of St. Patrick was written, 1477; and to-morrow will be Lammas Night. And in Baile-in-Móinin, in the house of O'Troightigh, this was written by Domhnall Albanach O'Troightigh; et Deo gratias Jesu.

End
of the
Tripartite Life of
St. Patrick.

Chapter X.

The Effects of St. Patrick's Mission.



IN the concluding portion of this work, we purpose giving a brief sketch of the state of the ancient Church of Ireland, as founded by St. Patrick; and of his influence on the civil government of Ireland, as shown by his assistance in the compilation of the Brehon Laws. Happily there will be little difficulty in the former, as I am kindly permitted by Dr. Gargan, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in

Maynooth, to avail myself of his treatise on the Ancient Church of Ireland.[3]

It appears to the present writer, that much of the dispute between Catholic and Protestant antiquarians, on the subject of diocesan jurisdiction in Ireland before the eleventh century, might have been avoided by a little consideration as to the state of the country in the early Christian ages. It would have been impossible for the limits of any diocese to have been strictly defined. We, who live in an age when mensuration has become a science, when Ordnance maps are an institution, and when the very boundaries of a parish are defined to a hair-line, may easily forget that there was a time of impassable morasses, of impenetrable forests, when trigonometry was not an "applied science," and when theodolites were unknown. The real question, then, is not whether St. Patrick established a diocesan system in Ireland, with exactly defined boundaries, but whether he instituted a diocesan system in any form. The Protestant theory, as adopted by Dr. Todd, is that neither archiepiscopal nor diocesan jurisdiction existed in Ireland before the twelfth century. The historical fact, as ably shown by Dr. Gargan, is that there was such jurisdiction, though not carried out precisely in the same form as at the present day.

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[3] *Ireland.*—This pamphlet is entitled "The Ancient Church of Ireland: a few remarks on Dr. Todd's 'Memoir of the Life and Mission of St. Patrick.'" I may, perhaps, remark that one cannot open a page of this excellent treatise without finding the sharpest animadversion on Dr. Todd's work, couched in the severest language. Yet a person, writing in an English Catholic paper, has attacked the present writer, in language which we would be sorry to use under any circumstances, for having shown the errors of previous writers. The attack was evidently written by an uneducated person, and the paper is not one of any literary repute, so that it scarcely merits notice. We are at a loss to know what would be the use of writing such a work as the present unless we had taken every pains to ascertain truth and sift it from error. The ignorance of the writer was curiously shown by the only remark he makes about St. Patrick's life, whom he describes as "the meekest of men:" the fact is, as our readers will have seen, that St. Patrick's natural character was fiery and energetic to the last degree. It was this fire, tempered by divine grace, which gave him the zeal of an apostle; and it was this energy, checked by divine fear, which caused the holy severity with which he denounced and so repeatedly cursed the evil-doer. It is a pity that a Catholic paper, however insignificant, should allow an opinion to be expressed in its columns by the prejudiced or the ignorant. All this is deeply injurious to the interests of true religion, and that spirit of charity, which, according to the present statements of so many of the English Catholic papers, is so much wanting amongst some English Catholic writers. Ireland and America are happily free from this disgrace, which we must hope will be soon removed from our English serials.

The existence of a class of ecclesiastics known as chorepiscopi, appears to have been the original ground on which the doubt was founded as to the arrangements made by St. Patrick.

This order was first instituted in the east, about the end of the third century, and was probably originated to supply the necessities of monastic houses. It is not mentioned in the Church history of the west until the fifth century. It disappeared altogether about the twelfth century, at which time the topographical definitions of ecclesiastical sees became necessarily better defined. The exact grade of the chorepiscopi has never been accurately ascertained. By some it is held that they were simply priests; by others, that they were bishops.

The next question is, whether the order existed in the early Irish Church; since, if it did, this would sufficiently account for the great number of ecclesiastics without fixed sees who are known to have ministered in Ireland. It would be quite impossible now to prove that this order existed in that country immediately after the time of St. Patrick's mission; but it can be proved that there were chorepiscopi in Ireland in the year 1152, leaving a strong presumptive evidence that their establishment there had been many centuries anterior to that date.

In the year 1152, a great Council was held at Kells, under the presidency of Cardinal Paparo, which enacted, that upon the death of chorepiscopi and of bishops who governed small sees in Ireland, arch-presbyters should be appointed by the diocesan to succeed them. Here we have an indisputable evidence both of the existence of chorepiscopi, and the undue multiplicity of bishops. We have already observed that those critics of the Acts of St. Patrick who question the veracity of the writers of his life, because he is said to have built so many churches, are simply ignorant of the necessities of the times. The early Celtic converts, like the early Christians, had each a church in his own house; and, probably, there were few families who had not a son consecrated to the priestly office, who ministered in these primitive oratories. It was a necessity of the times when homesteads were scattered far and wide over mountainous tracts of country, separated by vast plains of unreclaimed land. The life of St. Patrick affords ample evidence of his practice of ordaining priests in almost every family, so that it would occupy unnecessary space to quote particular instances. But the same necessity which required a numerous priesthood required also a numerous episcopacy; while the rapid increase of religious houses, and the extraordinary number of those who consecrated themselves to God in these abodes of peace and holiness, added daily to the duties of ecclesiastical superiors. And it is worthy of our careful observation how the Church ever provides for the necessities of her children in the way in which these necessities can be best met, and, when the necessity ceases, removes what might then be a hindrance rather than a help.

Thus, although it cannot be ascertained how early the chorepiscopi were introduced into Ireland, it can be proved that they were an institution in that country in the middle of the twelfth century. There is, indeed, a great deal of incidental evidence of clearly defined diocesan jurisdiction in the Acts of St. Patrick, and notably in the well-known instance when he placed St. MacCarthen over the church in Clogher, so that he might not be too far from him for friendly intercourse, or too near him for interference in ecclesiastical arrangements. And, although the term archbishop was not used in the early Irish Church, there were certainly some bishops possessed of higher rank and jurisdiction than others.[4]

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[4] *Others.*—"At vero, esti quidem inter Hiberniæ Episcopos semper aliqui, qui, præ qui aliis quid amplioris dignitatis aut jurisdictionis ecclesiasticæ haberent hincque recte dici possent *primates*, extiterint, ii tamen non prius, quam sæc, circiter xii, uti ad xvii Junii diem in commentario, actis S. Molingi Farnensis Episcopi prævi, num, viii Jam docuimus, appellari cœperunt archiepiscopi."—"*Acta SS.*" 12th Oct.

The stock arguments for the non-diocesan jurisdiction in Ireland are—first, a letter from St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1109, to Murtagh O'Brien, nominal King of Ireland. The archbishop writes thus: "It is also said (*item dicitur*) that bishops in your country were elected at random, and appointed without any fixed place of episcopal jurisdiction." This vague charge, made on hearsay, which might or might not be true, can scarcely be called evidence, and at best can only be taken to prove that some irregularities had occurred. We have already shown that even before the synod of Rathbreasil, A.D. 1118, when a decree was passed for the regular division and clearer definition of the boundaries of the various sees, such divisions existed and were distinctly recognized.

The next argument is taken from St. Bernard's well-known complaint of the state of the Irish Church, a complaint also made on second-hand information, though probably in some degree founded on fact. Yet in the very accusation, as quoted by Dr. Todd, there is proof that the irregularity—if it existed—existed as an irregularity, and that it was an infringement of the normal state of ecclesiastical society, and as such certainly could not have been the rule. St. Bernard's statement was that "bishops were changed and multiplied at the pleasure of the metropolitan—a thing unheard of since the beginning of Christianity—without order, without reason, so that one bishopric was not content with a single bishop, but almost every church had its separate bishop." In commenting on this passage, Dr. Gargan has well observed: "Dr. Todd is unfortunate in having brought forward a witness, who not only does not prove his point, but who may fairly be regarded as proving the contrary. For St. Bernard, in the very passage cited, assumes the existence of metropolitical and diocesan jurisdiction, and takes it for granted that the irregularities which he deplores are not incompatible with that very form of hierarch government, the absence of which, Dr. Todd concludes, may be clearly inferred from his highly colored animadversions on the state of the Irish Church. He speaks of a 'metropolitan,' of 'bishoprics,' of 'churches having separate bishops;' the very constituent element of that form of ecclesiastical government which is contradictorily opposed to Dr. Todd's 'non-diocesan theory.'"

The third and last of the objections which have been made to Catholicity of discipline in the early Irish Church, is founded on the fifth canon of the Synod of Cealcythe, A.D. 816, which prohibited Scottish [Irish] ecclesiastics from ministering in English dioceses without the license of the ordinary. This was simply an enforcement of a well-known canon. From this it has been not very logically argued, that the Irish at home acted in a similar manner, and preached, baptized, and administered the sacraments, regardless of episcopal supervision. The whole Ecclesiastical History of Ireland may be adduced in proof of the contrary theory. Indeed, the enactment of this canon is a subject deserving of the highest consideration; it shows the care and caution used by the Church in all cases where the sacred ministry is concerned, and that proper authorization and indisputable testimonials of a man's ordination were required, before he could be allowed to administer the sacraments. But even unimpeachable testimonials are not sufficient without the permission of the bishop in whose diocese the priest might wish to perform his sacerdotal office, and the Irish ecclesiastic of the ninth century was as much bound to obey this rule as the Irish ecclesiastic of to-day.

It is probable that some unworthy persons in those troubled times may have feigned themselves priests, in order to secure the respect and attention which the true religious was certain to receive. It may be, also, that amidst the unavoidable relaxation of discipline which followed the incursions of the barbarous Northmen, some ecclesiastics preferred an unsettled life, and, instead of trying to restore the monastic houses from which they had been banished at the point of the sword, chose a life of comparative ease in other lands.[5]

It not unfrequently happens that ignorance is the source of much historical misapprehension; and that writers are charged, by critics who know nothing of the subject of which the writer has treated, with making false or exaggerated statements, when a little more knowledge on the part of the accuser would enable him to discover, if not to acknowledge, his own ignorance. The ecclesiastical student is aware that Ireland was not singular in having a large episcopacy. The Acts of the Council of Jerusalem, A.D. 536, were signed by 45 bishops, and Palestine, with an area of only 160 miles, had 48 bishoprics. In the territory of Latium, in Italy, which was not above 60 miles in extent, there were between 20 and 30 bishoprics. "There are now," says Bingham, in his "Ecclesiastical Antiquities," iii. p. 224, "a great many such dioceses in Italy, in the realm of Naples, where the whole number is 147; 20 of which are archbishoprics, and some of them so small, as not to have any diocese beyond the walls of the city." In Asia Minor, which extended 630 miles in length, and 210 in breadth, there were 400 dioceses. Thus, we find that, in the earliest ages of Christianity, where both a moral and spiritual necessity existed for it, there was quite as great a multiplication of the episcopacy in other countries as in Ireland.

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[5] *Lands.*—I have entered into the subject of the discipline and doctrine of the early Irish Church at some length, partly because a Life of St. Patrick would be very incomplete without a full account of the doctrine which he taught, and partly because, as some fifteen or twenty thousand copies of this work will be in circulation, it is important that this subject should be clearly understood. Religious controversy is the order of the day, and Catholics cannot be too well provided with weapons of defence.

It is scarcely necessary to allude to the establishment of religious houses by our saint, since his Life contains such frequent mention of the holy virgins, whose vows of virginity he received in his Master's name, and whom he assisted by his ministrations to consecrate themselves to God. We must, however, say a few words of the doctrine taught by the saint. Enough has been written already to prove his Roman mission. It remains only to draw the attention of the reader to such documents or acts as prove that the Faith which he taught, was the unchangeable Faith of the One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Church of Rome. Happily, as regards this subject, also, I have the assistance of a work devoted to the illustration of this matter, by a priest as distinguished for his learning as for holy life, and whom I am happily privileged to call my friend. Even were not the religious belief taught by St. Patrick a matter which, of necessity, should find place in his Life, I gladly avail myself of the opportunity of making this work very widely known, and of affording those who may not be able to procure it, some knowledge of its valuable contents. Our synopsis, must, however, necessarily be very brief.

That the Irish continued the practice of devotion to Rome, if I may use the term, which they had learned from St. Patrick, is amply proved—first, by the hymns of the early Irish Church, and secondly, by their frequent pilgrimages to the shrine of Peter. One of the hymns which Monsignor Moran gives at length, with the graceful translation of the Rev. Mr. Potter, a convert to the old Faith, contains the two following verses:—

Elaboravit ubique	Nor clime nor space might bound his zeal,
Cura datus historiæ.	And pages writ his deeds reveal.
Fundamentum dominicæ	On him, the rock, so strong, so sure,
Ecclesiæ Catholicæ.	Christ's Church shall ever firm endure.

Gloriosum apostolum	And now, in deathless glory crowned,
Deus ornavit gloria,	The earth doth with his praise resound;
Romæ urbis quâ in	And thou, the first, sweet mother, Rome,
Vivit cum victoria.	His see, his battle-field, his home.

A hymn by St. Cummian Fota, who was born A.D. 590, is still preserved. In it he commemorates each of the apostles, and the verse in which he celebrates St. Peter is sufficient evidence of what was taught in Ireland, by St. Patrick, on that subject. It is as follows :—

Celebra, Juda, festa Christi gaudia;	Rejoice, O new Jerusalem!—Christ's saints now celebrate;
Apostolorum exultans memoria,	In apostolic praise exult—their memory still proclaim,
Claviculari Petri, primi pastoris,	And chief of Peter, key-bearer, first pastor of the flock,
Piscium, rete evangelii, captoris.	The mystic fisherman, who draws nets in the Gospel name.

Of this writer it is said, that when he and others prayed to God that each might obtain some special grace, the gift of wisdom was bestowed on him. The ancient gloss on the verse quoted above says, that *Juda* indicated the Church, and that the word *claviculari* is put for *calvicularii*, which was a characteristic name for St. Peter in the early Church. Thus, St. Clement is styled by St. Althelm, *cœlestis clavicularii primus successa.*

In the Hymn of St. Sechnall, or Secundinus, in praise of St. Patrick, which will be given in the Appendix, he is specially extolled as being "constant in the service of God, and immovable in the faith of Peter, upon whom the Church is built, and whose apostolate he received from God, against whose gates the assaults of hell cannot prevail." It would require a separate and a large volume to enter fully into this subject. Our present object is, from necessity, though not from choice, to give only such brief notices as may serve to illustrate our subject. Usher has published a very interesting letter from St. Cummian on the Paschal question, in which he strongly urges the Catholic doctrine of submission to the see of Peter; in one place he uses these remarkable words:—

> "Can anything more pernicious and injurious to Mother Church be conceived, than to say, Rome errs, Jerusalem errs, Alexandria errs, Antioch errs, the whole world errs—the Irish and Britons alone are right?"[6]

St. Patrick's canon, which requires that all important causes should be referred to Rome, has been already mentioned. A glance at any Irish History is sufficient to show how frequent pilgrimages to Rome were in the earliest ages of the national conversion, and in what a spirit of reverence and devotion these pilgrimages were performed.

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[6] *Right.*—"Essays on the Early Irish Church," by the Very Rev. Monsignor Moran, p. 3. Curiously enough, what almost reads as a parody on these words may be found in the Articles of the Protestant Church. The nineteenth Article runs thus: "As the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred; so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith." It is remarkable that this profession of faith, or of the want of it, has been condemned a thousand years before it was written.

We shall now briefly show, from authentic and well known documents, what St. Patrick taught regarding the sacraments. A missal exists which is referred by the best authorities to the sixth century, and of which Dr. Todd has said: "It is by no means impossible that the MS. may have been the original missal of St. Ruadhan himself, the founder of the monastery of Lothra, who died A.D. 584." Dr. Moran thus describes the Mass:—

> "The Mass begins with the litanies of the saints, which are preceded by the antiphon *Peccavimus.* Then follows the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, with the collect or prayer, and the lesson from the First Epistle to the Corinthians, chapter xi, relating to the blessed Eucharist. In the versicle which follows, the blessing of salvation is asked for 'those who are present at the sacrifice.' The Gospel is that of St. John, in the sixth chapter. The Creed, too, forms part of the Mass, which is a remarkable peculiarity of this missal at so early a period, for the use of the Creed did not become general in the Church until many years later. What, however, is most important for our present purpose, not only are the words of consecration given as used at the present day, but also the subsequent prayers, 'agreeing literally with the Roman canon down to the memento for the dead;' and thus, as in the nineteenth century, so in the Church of our sainted fathers of the sixth century, was used that beautiful prayer, 'Humbly we beseech thee, O Almighty God, command this offering to be carried by the hands of thy holy angel into thy heavenly altar, in the presence of thy divine Majesty, that all of us who receive, through the participation

of this altar, the most holy body and blood of thy Son, may be filled with every heavenly blessing and grace, through the same Christ our Lord.' Such is the language of this venerable monument, whose writing, to use the words of Dr. Todd, is of itself a sufficient guarantee that 'it is certainly not later than the sixth century.'

"In addition to the every-day Mass, the *Missa Cotidiana*, this Missal presents to us a *Missa Apostolum*, a *Missa Martyrum*, a *Missa Sanctorum et Sanctarum Virginum*, also a Mass *pro pœnitentibus vivis*, and, in fine, a Mass *pro mortuis*."

This surely is ample and most satisfactory evidence of the pure Catholicity taught by our saint to his faithful converts.

A Communion Hymn is preserved in the *Antiphonarium Benchorense*, which commences thus :—

Sancti, venite,	Oh! come, ye holy ones,
Christi corpus sumite;	Christ's body receive;
Sanctum bibentes	Come, drink the Sacred Blood,
Quo redempti sanguinem.	For life it will give.
Salvati Christi	Saved by Christ's Body,
Corpore et sanguine,	And saved by His Blood,
A quo refecti,	Refreshed now and strengthened,
Laudes dicamus Deo.	Sing praises to God.

And then this strophe, which is one of rare poetic beauty, concludes with these words, which none but a Catholic could write :—

Alpha et omega,	He comes, the first, the last,
Ipse, Christus Dominum,	Himself, the Christ our Lord,
Venit, venturus	He who shall come to judge us
Judicare hominus.	For every act and word.

Now, it is stated in the preface to St. Sechnall's hymn, that when he and St. Patrick approached the church "they heard a choir of angels chanting a hymn at the offertory in the church, and what they chanted was the hymn whose beginning is, 'Sancti, venite, Christi Corpus,' etc., so that, from that time to the present, that hymn is chanted in Erin when the body of Christ is received." Thus we have the most direct and unimpeachable evidence on the subject of the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass, as taught by St. Patrick. In fact, the expressions through the hymn are so purely Catholic, that Mr. Rambach, a Protestant writer, who published it in his "Anthologia," suppressed one of the verses on this account.

It has been remarked that there is a great similarity between this hymn and an antiphon which was used in the early church of Gaul, during the time of the Paschal Communion. St. Gregory of Tours mentions this antiphon in his "Treatise on the Miracles of St. Martin," and thus we can see how St. Patrick may easily have brought the hymn from his old conventual home in France, or it may have been the composition of some of his companions. The similarity of sentiment and words is certainly suggestive of a similarity of origin.

An interesting treatise on the ceremonies of the Mass is still extant in the ancient Celtic tongue, in which we find the Catholic doctrine fully and clearly explained. Here also the holy Eucharist is declared to be "the very body that was born of the Immaculate Virgin, and was crucified by the unbelieving Jews;" and yet, there are still some Protestants who would try, however hopeless the trial, to persuade our people that the Irish Celt was taught Protestantism by St. Patrick.

The teaching of the Church of St. Patrick on the subject of penance was not less explicit, and differs in no respect, except, perhaps, an excess of severity, from the teaching of the Catholic Church of the present day. In the eleventh canon of the Penitential of St. Columbanus, he enacts as follows :—

"Special diligence must be used in confessing our sins and imperfections before the celebration of Mass, lest with an unclean heart we should approach the holy altar."

It is probable that the holy Eucharist was administered to infants immediately after baptism, as was customary in many churches on the continent in the early ages of Christianity. We also find that strict regulations were made for the administration of the holy Viaticum, and for the offering of Masses for the repose of the souls of the faithful departed. The penitential exercises enjoined for offences against religious discipline on notorious sinners, were exceedingly severe. This, indeed, might be expected, not only because penance was severe in the early Church, but because there was undoubtedly a strong element of sternness in the character of St. Patrick. To behold the commission of a sinful act, or to witness an impenitent sinner, was sufficient to excite his hatred of the evil, and a heavy punishment of the offence. To us, who are so lax in discipline, and so little thoughtful of all the suffering which sin has caused to a God of love, and how little in comparison the most severe penance can compensate for the slightest offence against divine justice, it may seem as if his conduct was at times too stern. But let us remember that the saints were far more keenly alive than we are to the evil of iniquity, and the duty of making all the atonement in our power for it.

Nor was devotion to the Mother of God, or the saints of God, less fervent or less frequent in the early ages of Irish Christianity than it is to-day. A number of hymns, which combine the most gifted taste with the highest devotion, are still extant, in which the praises of the saints are sung, and their power with God invoked. A litany still remains in which the Mother of Jesus is invoked in the tenderest epithets which love could devise. "*O great Mary!*" these old Celtic worshippers cry out; "*O Mary! greatest of Marys! O blessed and most blessed!*" No modern saint has ever accorded her higher attributes, or invoked her with more confidence. "*O Mother of the heavenly and earthly Church! O temple of the Divinity! O cleansing of the sins! O washing of the souls!*" And the tempest-tossed emigrant, who sails over the stormy billows from an Irish port to the western shores, and cries from the depths of his soul to the "*Star of the sea,*" does but echo the words said and sung by his ancestors in honor of the Mother of Jesus more than a thousand years ago, in that Faithful Land which he has left? Ah, my friends, if, as I doubt not, these pages shall come into the hands of voyagers outward bound to a new home, let me pray you not to forget, amidst its prosperity, the Faith of your fathers and the Mother of your God.

There can be no doubt whatever that the ancient practice of honoring the relics of the saints obtained in Ireland from the very first introduction of Christianity. We find St. Patrick bringing relics from Rome; and after his death, as might well be expected, his relics were held in the highest veneration.

There is still in existence the original manuscript of "the Obits and Martyrology of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, Dublin." It is at present preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and the cathedral also is in the hands of Protestants. But this valuable and important work was published some years ago by two Protestant clergymen.

In this work a list is given of the principal relics which were venerated in the then Catholic cathedral. The first of these was a crucifix which had spoken twice. The next was the *Baculus Jhesu*, "which the angel had given to St. Patrick." The next was the super-altar, or altar-stone, on which the leper followed the saint to Ireland.

It is probable that all these relics were destroyed at the same time. There are two separate accounts of the burning of the *Baculus*, which is sufficient to show how highly it was venerated, and how deeply the nation felt the wanton barbarity which provoked its destruction. The first account is given in a MS. volume of annals, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. The following entry occurs at the year 1538 :—

> "The most miraculous image of Mary, which was at Baile-Atha-Truim, and which the Irish people all honored for a long time before that, which used to heal the blind, the deaf, the lame, and every disease in like manner, was burned by the Saxons. And the staff of Jesus, which was in Dublin, and which wrought many wonders and miracles in Ireland since the time of Patrick down to that time, and which was in the hand of Christ himself, was burned by the Saxons in like manner. And not only that, but there was not a holy cross, nor an image of Mary, nor other celebrated image in Ireland over which their power had reached, that they did not burn. Nor was there one of the seven orders which came under their power that they did not ruin. And the Pope, and the Church in the east and at home, was excommunicating the Saxons on that account, and they not paying any heed or attention unto that, &c. And I am not certain whether it was not in the above year that these relics were burned."

The second account is given in the "Annals of the Four Masters" under the year 1537 :—

> "A.D. 1537.—A heresy and a new error broke out in England, the effects of pride, vain-glory, avarice, sensual desire, and the prevalence of a variety of scientific and philosophical speculations, so that the people of England went into opposition to the Pope and to Rome. At the same time they followed a variety of opinions, and the old law of Moses, after the manner of the Jewish people; and they gave the title of head of the Church of God, during his reign, to the king. There were enacted by the king and council new laws and statutes after their own will. They ruined the orders

who were permitted to hold worldly possessions, viz., monks, canons, nuns, and brethren of the cross; and the four mendicant orders, viz., the Minor order, the Preachers, Carmelites, and Augustinians. The possessions and livings of all these were taken up for the king. They broke the monasteries, they sold their roofs and bells, so that there was not a monastery from Arann of the Saints to the Iccian sea that was not broken and shattered, except only a few in Ireland which escaped the notice and attention of the English. They further burned and broke the famous images, shrines, and relics of Ireland and England. After that they burned in like manner the celebrated image of Mary, which was at Ath-Truim, which used to perform wonders and miracles, which used to heal the blind, the deaf, the lame, and the sufferers from all diseases; and the Staff of Jesus, which was in Dublin performing miracles from the time of Patrick down to that time, and which was in the hand of Christ while he was among men. They also made archbishops and sub-bishops for themselves; and although great was the persecution of the Roman emperors against the Church, it is not probable that so great a persecution as this ever came, even from Rome hither. So that it is impossible to tell or narrate its description, unless it should be told by him who saw it."

How highly this *Baculus* was honored in the Irish Church is shown by the frequent mention in the Annals of its use as a test of truth, and of the calamities which befel those who swore falsely by it. St. Bernard mentions it, in his "Life of St. Malachy," as one of the insignia of the see of Armagh; and hence those who, in unsettled times, strove to obtain the revenues of that see without being canonically appointed to govern it, possessed themselves by force or fraud of the time-honored and sacred Staff of Jesus.

Giraldus Cambrensis mentions that in his time it was believed that St. Patrick had used it to drive all noxious animals out of Ireland; and that, for greater safety, it was removed from Armagh to Dublin. There are, however, two different accounts of the removal of this relic. The first account agrees with the statement of Cambrensis, and is contained in the Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin. This account is further confirmed by an entry in the manuscript annals of Innisfallen, where it is recorded that "the Staff of Jesus was brought from Armagh to Dublin by William Fitz Adelm." According to the other account, the *Baculus* was removed by Strongbow, who died A.D. 1176; but as there is mention of several staffs or croziers which St. Patrick left in different places, the account may be true, and may refer to one of these less celebrated relics.

The list of relics also mentions, amongst the holy treasures of the cathedral, one of St. Patrick's bones. This was probably obtained at the time of the discovery of his body in Downpatrick. The first account of this interesting and probably miraculous event is given by Giraldus, who states that, "in the year in which the lord, Earl John, first came into Ireland, they [Patrick, Bridget, and St. Columba] were found, as it were, in a triple tomb [*quasi in spelunca triplici*], Patrick lying in the middle, and the others at either side. This threefold treasure having been discovered by divine revelation, the relics were translated under the direction of John

De Courcey, then governor of that province. Hence the verse :—

In burgo Dono, tumulo tumulantur in uno	In the city of Down, beneath the same mound,
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius.	Bridget, Patrick, and pious Columba were found.[7]

The Irish Church was indebted to the piety of St. Malachy for the discovery of those relics. It is said that he used to pray frequently and earnestly that the spot where the saints were interred might be discovered; and that one night, whilst he was offering this petition in the cathedral of Down, he beheld a ray of light traverse the church, which stopped at the place where the bodies were. On digging in the place thus miraculously indicated, the bones of three bodies were found, and placed again under ground, in separate cases. A message was then despatched to Rome, in order that fitting arrangements might be made for the translation of the bodies. The following year, A.D. 1186, Cardinal Vivian, whose previous knowledge of Ireland gave him a special interest in the country, was sent to Ireland to perform the office with all solemnity.

Before his return to Rome, however, the Cardinal selected some relics for the Pope, Urban III., and of these relics I am able to give an interesting and authentic description.[8]

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[7] *Found.*—Cambrensis, "*Topographia Hibernica,*" cap. xviii. p. 742.

[8] *Description.*—The Very Rev. Monsignor Kirby writes thus in reply to our inquiries :—

"On receipt of your esteemed letter I went to St. Mark's, where I had

It is generally believed that the hand and arm of St. Patrick were enshrined, and placed on the high altar of the cathedral by the Cardinal. When Edward Bruce invaded Ireland, he plundered the cathedral of Down,

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a conversation with some of the leading members of the chapter, from whom I learned that they had no documents in their archives relating to the relic of St. Patrick which they possess, or to any miracles or other supernatural favors obtained in connection with its veneration. Before writing to you, however, I thought it better to confer with Monsignor Bartolini, formerly a canon of the same church, and now secretary of the Congregation of Rites; a prelate justly esteemed by all for his erudition, especially in what appertains to the veneration of the saints. His impression is that the Papal legate, Cardinal Paparo, on his return to Rome after his Irish legation, brought it with him, and deposited it in his title, St. Mark's. This, as you know (the period of his legation), was about the middle of the twelfth century. When Rome fell into the hands of the French republicans, towards the close of the last century, the relic of St. Patrick, with others of the church of St. Mark, were removed, to avoid their profanation, and deposited in a place of security contiguous to the sacristy. An interval of several years having elapsed before full confidence in the re-establishment of public order was restored, the place of the concealment of these relics was completely forgotten. And it was only about thirty years ago, on the occasion of some repairs being made near the sacristy, that the concealed treasures were again brought to light, with the seals unbroken, which verified their identity. Monsignor Bartolini told me that he himself had the good fortune to be one of the number who made this discovery. This is all the information which I have been able to obtain with regard to the relic of our holy apostle at St. Mark's. The portion we possess we received as a gift from the chapter of St. Mark's. We placed it afterwards in the magnificent reliquary in which it is at present venerated, the gift of some pious Irish ecclesiastics.

"I congratulate you on your most useful labors to promote the honor of God and His saints. I trust that St. Patrick will reward you well. With sincere esteem,

Believe me, dear Sister,
"Sincerely in Christ,
"T. Kirby.

"Rome, Irish College, 4th March, 1870."

I have thought that it would be more satisfactory to the reader to give the account of Monsignor Kirby himself, though I am bound to say that his letter was only intended for our own perusal. In all such matters it is one of the first duties of the historian to give testimony either from personal knowledge or from the direct evidence of reliable witnesses.

and the relic was carried off. But nothing further is known of it until it came into the possession of Magennis of Castlewellan, possibly from some of his family, who were at various times Abbots of Down. In the early part of the eighteenth century George Russell, of Rathmullen, county Down, married one of the Magennisses, and the relic passed into the custody of their only child, Rose, who married Rowland Savage, styled, in the Ulster Inquisitions, Lord of the Little Ards. He died in June, 1619, leaving one daughter, Margaret, who married Thady O'Hara, of Crebilly, county Antrim. Upon the failure of male issue, the estates reverted to the descendants of Rowland, uncle of the Rowland who married Rose Russell. The family continued Catholics till 1725, when Edward, the then owner, died at Bath on the 18th of March that year, when they descended to his uncle, James Savage, of Ballyvarley, who, being a Catholic, declined to accept them under the then existing laws; but his son, being less conscientious, entered into possession as next in remainder, and conformed to the Establishment. John died 25th April, 1736, and James, his infant son, the following year; whereupon the estates vested in his uncle, Andrew, who married Margaret, daughter of Governor Nugent. He was succeeded by his son, Patrick, who died in March, 1797; and he by his son, Andrew, who assumed the name of Nugent.[9] Colonel

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[9] *Nugent.*—I am indebted to the Rev. J. O'Laverty, P.P., M.R.I.A., of Holywood, Belfast, and to Mr. Hanna, of the same place, for the above

Nugent obtained the relic through the Savage family; and as he was the first Protestant who held it, he kindly gave it into the custody of the Rev. Mr. Taggart, then parish priest of Portaferry, in the Ards. After Father Taggart's death, about A.D. 1765, Mr. Savage of Portaferry, the next hereditary guardian, handed it over to Mr. M'Henry, of Kerstown, in the Upper Ards. It remained in the custody of this family, although they were frequently offered large sums of money for it by Protestants, until the late Dr. Denvir, Bishop of Down and Connor, obtained it from them.

"The reliquary is now deposited among the archives of Down and Connor, which are under the special custody of the Most Rev. Dr. Dorrian. The case was opened by the late Dr. Denvir in 1856, when the Rev. J. O'Laverty, P.P., saw it examined, and found that it contained in the interior a piece of yew wood, about nine inches long, which was bored lengthwise with a hole sufficiently large to receive the wrist bone of a human arm. This was smeared over at both ends with wax, obviously the remains of the episcopal seals which

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account. The latter observes that there are several mistakes in the account given of the custodians of this relic in an article which appeared on the subject in the "Dublin Review." This article is quoted by Mr. Smith in a paper on the same subject in the "Ulster Archæological Journal," and here, also, there are two curious inaccuracies. It states in one place that the shrine contains "the mouldering remains of a human arm, if not of the patron saint of Ireland, doubtless of some person of reputed sanctity;" and a few pages further on the statement of the writer in the "Dublin Review" is quoted, who says correctly that the case is empty. From the fact of the account given above being that of a priest who has personally examined the case, and communicated with us directly, the reader may rely upon having now a trustworthy account.

had been impressed on the inner wooden receptacle, which appeared to have been merely intended for the purpose of preserving the bone in its place, and preventing its rattling against the outer silver case. It contained no bone when examined by Dr. Denvir. The case had been despoiled of some of the Irish diamonds with which it had been ornamented, whilst being lent out as a judicial *minna*, on which voluntary exculpatory oaths were taken. I myself recollect its being used for that purpose in some family disputes in Lecale, in cases where it was considered inexpedient and improper to bring the disputed matters before a legal tribunal. After it came into Dr. Denvir's possession, in 1840, on its purchase by the Rev. James M'Alcanan, then P.P. of Portaferry and now of Castlewellan, he had new stones replaced in the matrices from which the originals were stripped, by Mr. Donegan, the eminent jeweller, in Dublin."[1]

As this relic is one of the greatest interest and importance, we have given a full page engraving of the shrine.

The shrine is of massive silver and antique workmanship; it represents the hand and arm of an ecclesiastic of rank, covered with the embroidered drapery of a sleeve, and wearing a jewelled glove. It stands 1 foot 3½ inches high, but there is no inscription except the I.H.S., shown by our artist, so that it is difficult to estimate its probable age.

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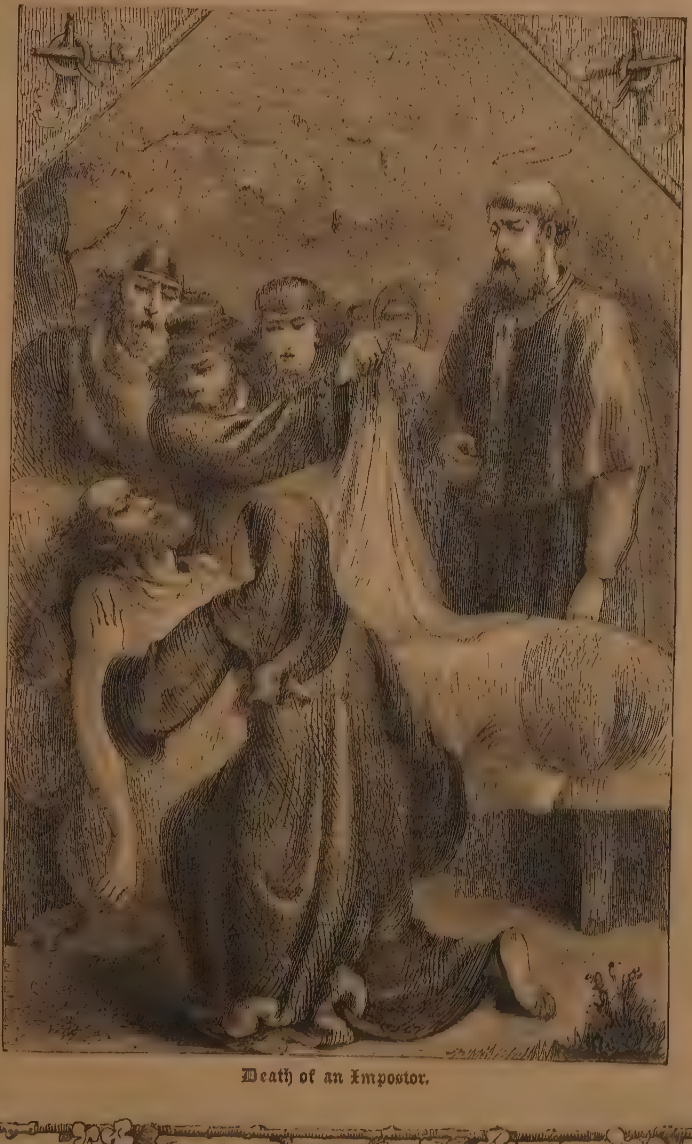
[1] *Dublin.*—The above account has been written for this work by Mr. Hanna and Rev. J. O'Laverty.



Death of an Impostor.

A relic, said to be the jawbone of St. Patrick, is also at present in Dr. Dorrian's possession. A tooth from it was placed under the altar of Derryaghey in 1829. Dr. Dorrian purchased this relic from the sons of Mrs. Cullen, in whose family it had been kept.

The Four Masters (vol. i. p. 553), under the year 894, have the following entry: "The foreigners were on Loch-Eathach on the calends of January, and they seized on Etach-Padraig" (Patrick's raiment). O'Donovan observes that this was probably a garment preserved in some old church near Lough Neagh.

With a brief notice of the influence exercised by St. Patrick on the laws and customs of the Irish Celt, we must conclude a subject which has been with difficulty condensed into a volume, which, however large it may seem, might easily have been expanded to fully double its present dimensions.

That our saint should have exercised an important influence on the pagan laws and customs of ancient Erin is only what might be expected from the circumstances of his life. The unexampled power which he obtained so speedily, and exercised so wisely, could not fail to culminate in his holding a position of some temporal superiority. We find that he was appealed to on several occasions about the settlement of property, and that he not unfrequently himself interfered in the same matter also by pronouncing stern judgments on offenders against equity.

We cannot here enter into the important and interesting history of the pagan laws of ancient Erin; the subject would require, and ought to receive, a separate and special treatment. All that we now purpose is to give a brief outline of St. Patrick's share in the compilation or revision of the code known as the Brehon Law, and which is now, happily, in course of translation and publication.

According to the account given in the *Seanchus Mor*, the immediate occasion of its compilation was the death of Patrick's charioteer, Odran. This event excited considerable attention, as might be expected. Judgment was pronounced on the case by Dubhtach Mac Ua Lugair, chief of the royal poets and chief brehon of Erin; and the saint then requested the men of Erin to come to one place to hold a conference with him. "When they came to the conference, the Gospel of Christ was preached to them all; and when the men of Erin heard all the power of Patrick since his arrival in Eri, and when they saw Laeghaire, with his druids, overcome by the great signs and miracles wrought in the presence of the men of Erin, they bowed down in obedience to the will of God and Patrick. It was then that all the professors of the sciences in Erin were assembled, and each of them exhibited his art before Patrick, in the presence of every chief in Erin. It was then that Dubhtach was ordered to exhibit the judgments and all the poetry of Erin, and every law which prevailed amongst the men of Erin, through the law of nature and the law of the seers, and in the judgments of the island of Erin, and in the poets.

"Now the judgments of true nature which the Holy Spirit had spoken through the mouths of the brehons and great poets of the men of Erin, from the first occupation of this island down to the reception of the Faith, were all exhibited by Dubhtach to Patrick. What did not clash with the word of God in the written law and in the New Testament, and with the consciences of the believers, was confirmed in the laws of the brehons by Patrick, and by the ecclesiastics and the chieftains of Erin; for the law of nature had been quite right, except the Faith and its obligations, and the harmony of the Church and people. And this is the *Seanchus.*"

According to the *Seanchus*, the work was compiled in the reign of the Roman emperor Theodosius, and of the Irish monarch Laeghaire. There is an entry in the "Annals of the Four Masters" which states that the *Seanchus* and *Feinechus* of Ireland were purified and written in the tenth year of Laeghaire, the age of Christ 438. There is not, however, any date given in the *Seanchus*.

As almost every date and event in the life of our saint has been a subject of controversy, it may be supposed that his influence on and connection with the embodying of the national code would also be disputed. Prejudice so blinds those who are afflicted by it that argument is useless; and anyone who will deny the truth of historical records because they prove facts which conflict with his private theories, may be left to enjoy his pleasant dream of self-confidence in peace. Truth, however, is none the less truth; and the Irish Celt has ample historical ground for honoring his great saint both as a moral and religious lawgiver.

We have thought it well to add here a list of the successors of St. Patrick in the See of Armagh, as it seems to us a suitable conclusion to this part of our subject.

The Successors of St. Patrick in the See of Armagh.

The names and dates in the following list are principally taken from Ware, entries in the "Four Masters," and the *Chronicum Scotorum*, so far as the early succession is concerned; but it is almost impossible to reconcile several of the dates of accession and periods of sitting, as the annalists followed different computations, and Harris frequently altered Ware's dates. Other differences arise from the contentions for the abbacy—some writers counting the legitimate sittings in their integrity, while others only reckoned the *de facto* sittings. There are four early lists which have been used—one published by Colgan, which he states was taken from the Psalter of Cashel, which Dr. Todd, who republished it from a manuscript in the Bodleian

Library, calls the Psalter of Mac Richard, and which appears to have been transcribed in 1454.

The other three lists have been printed by Dr. Todd. The second is from the *Leabhar Breac*, a manuscript of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, now in the Royal Irish Academy. The third is from the Yellow Book of Lecan, written about 1390, and now in Trinity College. The fourth is preserved in the Book of Leinster, compiled by Finn MacGorman, Bishop of Kildare, in the middle of the twelfth century, and now also in Trinity College.[2]

Armagh, according to the Annals of Ulster, was founded by St. Patrick A.D. 444, equal to our 445, which date has been adopted by Usher and Ware; while, according to the Four Masters, he founded it A.D. 457, a date which is inconsistent with their entry of the death of St. Sechnall, whom they call Bishop of Ard-Macha, at A.D. 447, ten years prior to their entry of its erection.

1. St. Patrick.—Resigned, according to Ware, in 455, in favor of Benignus.

2. St. Sechnall or Secundinus.—He was one of the sons of Darerca, sister of St. Patrick, and Bishop of Dunshaughlin, county Meath. The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, the Four Masters, and the O'Clerys, in the Martyrology of Donegal, style him Bishop of Armagh; and he is so entered in the four lists mentioned in the introductory note. They differ, however, as to the period he governed the see—the Psalter giving six years, and the other three, thirteen, which may be the entire of his episcopate.

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[2] *College.*—This list has been carefully examined by the Very Rev. Dr. M'Carthy of Maynooth, and by Monsignor Moran, in the few moments which he could spare during his short absence from Rome. I am indebted to Mr. Hanna for the labor of compiling it.

3. **Benignus** or **Benen**, succeeded A.D. 455.—He was son of Sescnen, descended from the Cianachta of Glenn Gemhin, county Londonderry, and when a boy became a favorite disciple of St. Patrick. Probus and Tirechan write he was St. Patrick's immediate successor. Usher quotes an anonymous biographer, who wrote that **St. Mocteus**, of Louth, immediately succeeded St. Patrick in the See of Armagh, which he held for a few days, and then enthroned St. Benignus. Mocteus, having only held the chair for a few days, is not reckoned.

4. **St. Jarlath**, succeeded A.D. 465.—He was cousin of Dichu of Saul, St. Patrick's first convert, and son of Trena, a chieftain of the Dalfiatachian race, who resided at Rath-Trena, in county Down. According to the Irish Life of St. Patrick he was baptized by him, and became his disciple. In the list in the *Leahbar Breac*, he is styled as having been of Cluain-Fiacla, a church mentioned in the Lives of St. Patrick as having been on the banks of the river Dabhal, now the Blackwater, where a tooth of our saint was preserved, and of which St. Lugud was abbot in 580. It is now Clonfeacle, on the margin of the counties of Armagh and Tyrone, and the Catholic parish church stands on the old site. List "P" assigns eighteen years to his sitting, which Harris adopts in Ware's Bishops: the other three lists allow only fourteen years. Ware gives his death at 11th February, 482.

5. **Cormac**, succeeded A.D. 482.—He was son of Enda, brother of Laeghaire, Monarch of Ireland, and was baptized by St. Patrick, by whom he was appointed to this see. The Four Masters call him of Chrioch-in-Ernaidhe, which O'Donovan thought was a corruption of Crioc-Loeguire, a territory near Trim, county Meath, of which place Cormac had been also bishop, and where he died, and his body was preserved; but it was more probably of Ernaidhe where St. Mochta, of Louth, had been abbot, and now the old cemetery of Urney, in the parish of Faughart, county Louth. Colgan gives his life at 17th February ("*Acta. SS.*" p. 358), and says he died in 497. The Four Masters have 496. The lists in "P" and

"L B" give fifteen years for his sitting, the other two only fourteen. The different modes of computation easily account for this diversity.

6. DUBHTACH I., by some called DUACH, succeeded A.D. 497.—The Four Masters record his death at 512, and style him of Druim-Dearb, which O'Donovan, in his note on that passage, thinks is probably Derver, a parish church in Louth.

The life of his successor, Ailill (*"Acta. SS."* p. 62), states that Duach governed this see sixteen years; and died in 512, which is the date given by the Four Masters. Ware has 513. In a list of the kings of Ireland in the Book of Leinster, he is styled Abbot of Ardmach, being the first instance known where the bishopric and abbacy are stated to be conjointly held.

7. St. AILILL I., succeeded A.D. 513.—Colgan gives his life at 13th January (*"Acta. SS."* p. 61), on which day his festival was held, and states that he, like his predecessor, St. Jarlath, was of the Dalfiatach family. He had been converted, with five brothers, by St. Patrick. The Four Masters, recording his death at 525, style him as of Ui-Breasail, which Dr. O'Donovan, in his notes, states was a territory co-extensive with the barony of O'Neilland East, county Armagh. But it is quite evident that O'Donovan mistook the tribe, as he traces our bishop to Breasal, great-grandson of Colla da Chrioch, whereas Colgan expressly writes he was descended from Bressal, grandson of Fiatach Finn, from whom the Dal-Fiatach derived the name. There were territories in county Down called Ui-Breasal, and the Book of Leinster states that Ailill and his successor were both of Drumchad in Hi-Bresail. There are the remains of the church of Drumcath, *alias* Drumcad, now Drumca, near Clough, in that county, which is obviously the church in question, though the other name is obsolete. Ware and all the lists state that he sat thirteen years, and that he died 13th January, 526, for which the Martyrology of Donegal has 525.

8. AILILL II., succeeded A.D. 526.—He was of the same family as his predecessor, sat ten years, and, according to Ware, died

1st July, 536, for which the Four Masters and Marian Gorman have 535.

9. DUBHTHACH or DUACH II., succeeded 536.—He was of the race of Colla Uais, King of Ireland. The Book of Leinster adds that he was of the Ui-Tuirtre, a tribe descended from Fiachra Tort, grandson of Colla Uais, originally seated on the west of Lough Neagh, and afterwards on the east of the Bann, where they assumed the name of O'Flyn. He sat twelve years, and died, according to the Four Masters and Colgan, in 547, for which Ware gives 548.

10. FIACHRA, succeeded A.D. 548.—All the Irish lists have Fiachra as Duach's successor, whom the Book of Leinster calls son of Colman, son of Eogan of Enuch-Senmail. The Annals of Ulster and Four Masters, at 550, call him David, son of Guaire Ua-Forannan, Bishop of Armagh and Legate of all Ireland, whom Colgan ("*Tr. Th.*" p. 293) contends are the same.

11. FEIDLIMID FINN, succeeded A.D. 551.—He was of the Hy-Niallan, a territory to the east of Armagh, and, according to the Book of Leinster, grandson of Faelan of Domnach-Nemaind.

Two of the lists have him sitting twenty years, the Book of Leinster only fifteen. The Four Masters record his death at 577, as Abbot of Armagh, and Ware, at 578.

12. CAERLAN, succeeded A.D. 578.—He was of Domnach-mic-hu-Garba, of the Ui-Niallain. Three lists give him ten years, the Book of Leinster only four. The Four Masters record his death on the 24th of March, 587 (*recte* 588).

13. EOCHAID, succeeded A.D. 588.—The Book of Leinster calls him son of Diarmait, and as of Domnach-Rig-Druing. The *Leahbar Breac* has him sitting ten years, the Yellow Book of Lecan fifteen, and the Book of Leinster only three. The Four Masters record his death at 597 (*recte* 598), and call him both bishop and abbot.

14. SENACH, succeeded A.D. 598.—The Book of Leinster calls

him Senach-Garb, of Cluain-hu-mic-Gricci, of the Ui-Niallain (*i.e.* the smith who was in orders of Cill-mor). Kilmore church is in O'Neilland, about four miles to the east of Armagh. He is variously returned as sitting fifteen, twelve, and thirteen years, all of which are too long, as the Four Masters record his death 609—*recte* 610—and Ware at the same date.

15. Mac Laisre, succeeded A.D. 610.—The Four Masters call him bishop and abbot, and state his death at 622 (*recte* 623), which agrees with Ware. Two of the lists have him fourteen years sitting, the Book of Leinster eighteen.

16. St. Tomine, succeeded A.D. 623.—The Four Masters call him son of Ronan, and record his death at 660 (*recte* 661); the *Chronicum Scotorum* describes him as abbot and bishop. Colgan gives his acts at 10th January ("*Acta SS.*" p. 53), and quotes from Venerable Bede the letter written by the clergy of Rome in 640—during the vacancy of the Holy See—to the bishops and abbots of the north of Ireland, on the Paschal controversy—among others, to this Bishop Tomine; Columban, Bishop of Clonard; Cronan, Bishop of Nendrum; Dima, Bishop of Connor; and the Abbots of Moville, Bangor, and Ard-mac-Nasca, now Holywood, in the county of Down.

17. St. Segene, succeeded A.D. 661.—The Book of Leinster calls him the son of Breasal of Achadh-Chlaidib, or Aghaclive, as the old translation of the Annals of Kilclooney has it, to the south of Armagh, and states that he held the see twenty-seven years, which agrees with the time of his death on the 24th of May, 687, the true year being 688, as corrected by Ware. All the annalists style him Bishop of Armagh.

18. St. Flann Febhla, succeeded A.D. 688.—Son of Scanlan, and eighth in descent from Colla-da-Crioch. He presided over a synod held in 695 or 697, where were present thirty-nine other ecclesiastics, among whom were St. Adamnan of Iona; St. Killen, Abbot of Saer-Kyran; Cenn-Faelaidh, Abbot of Bangor; and Murchu Mac U-Mac-Teni, writer of a Life of St. Patrick in the Book of Armagh; also

Loingseach, son of Aengus, Monarch of Ireland; Bruide, King of the Picts; and forty-seven chiefs of territories. The acts of this synod are now in the Burgundian Library, Brussels. Ware places his death at 24th April, 715; the Four Masters at 704; and the *Chronicum Scotorum* at 702 (*recte* 706); the *Leabhar Breac* and Psalter have him sitting twenty-seven years, the Yellow Book twenty-four, and the Book of Leinster twenty-six. Assuming his accession at 688, and that he sat twenty-seven years, Ware is correct. Dr. Todd ("Life of St. Patrick," p. 481) adopts 704 for St. Flann's death. Colgan ("*Acta SS.*" p. 713) gives 24th July for his festival; but he is not mentioned in the Martyrologies of Donegal or Tallaght. The *Leabhar Breac* states he was the pupil of Berchan, son of Michan.

19. St. Suibhne, succeeded A.D. 715.—The Four Masters, as also the list in the Book of Leinster, state him son of Crunmall, son of Ronan of the Ui-Niallain. The *Leabhar Breac* calls him In-Sui, *i.e.* the sage. His death is set down at 21st June, 729 (*recte* 730), on which day his festival is mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegal. All the lists have him sitting fifteen years, but that in the Yellow Book of Lecan, which assigns only twelve.

20. Congus, called the Scribe, succeeded A.D. 730.—In the list of the Book of Leinster he is called grandson of Dasluaig, son of Ainmire of Cuil-Athgoirt. He was confessor to Hugh Allan, King of Ireland; and it appears that it was at his instance that king fought the Ulidians at Faughart in 732, where Hugh Roin, their king, was slain, on account of some sacrilegious act committed by some of his people at Kilcooney, county Tyrone, a church belonging to the Bishop of Armagh. All the lists agree that he sat twenty years. He died in 750, being styled Bishop of Armagh.

21. Cele-Petair, succeeded A.D. 750.—The Book of Leinster styles him of Druim-Chetna, in Ui-Bresail, which O'Donovan thought was the Ui-Bresail-Macha, where a branch of the race of Colla-da-Crioch had settled; but it is more likely the Drumchad to which the Ailills belonged. Three of the lists have him sitting

eight years. The Yellow Book of Lecan only seven. The Four Masters record his death at 757 (*recte* 758) as Abbot of Armagh.

22. Ferda-Crioch, succeeded A.D. 758.—Three of the lists have him sitting ten years, the Book of Leinster being silent. The Four Masters call him son of Suibhne, son of Ronan, son of Crunnmael, and assign his death to 771—Ware to 768, which, if sitting only ten years, is correct. Unfortunately, the *Chronicum Scotorum* is defective from 718 to 804, otherwise it might illustrate this difficulty.

23. Foendalach, succeeded A.D. 768.—The lists differ as to the time he sat, which is to be accounted for by the contentions between Foendalach, first with Dubhdaleth, and afterwards with Gormghal. The Psalter and Book of Leinster have him sitting only three years, which agrees with Ware, that he succeeded in 768, and resigned in 771. The Four Masters have his death at 794 (*recte* 799). The Yellow Book of Lecan has him sitting ten years, most likely counting part of his successor's time. Gormghal is not in any of the lists, though the Four Masters record his death at 805 (*recte* 810) as Abbot of Armagh and Clones. Perhaps he had retired to the latter.

24. Dubhdaleth, succeeded A.D. 778.—He was son of Sinach, according to the "Ogygia," the founder of the Clann Sinach, who so long held the see. The Psalter list has him sitting fifteen years, which agrees with Ware; the *Leabhar Breac* and Book of Leinster eighteen, taking three years from his predecessor. The Four Masters have his death at 792; Ware at 793.

25. Airechtach, succeeded A.D. 793.—All the lists have Airechtach as successor of Dubhdaleth, and that he sat only one year. Ware has Affiat as successor, with the same sitting. The Four Masters, at 793-798, record that "Affiath, Bishop of Ard-Macha, and Aireachtach Ua-Faelain, Abbot of Ard-Macha, died on the same night." The deaths of many Bishops of Armagh are recorded, none of whom are styled successors of Patrick. They appear to have been suffragans.

26. CUDINISCUS, succeeded A.D. 794.—Ware calls him son of Conasuichus; the Book of Leinster son of Concas, grandson of Cathbad, son of Eochad. All the lists have him sitting four years. Ware gives 798 for his death, the Four Masters 795; but it is altogether impossible to reconcile the chronology of the annalists with Harris, the translator of Ware.

27. CONMACH, succeeded A.D. 798.—He was son of his predecessor, Dubhdaleth of the Clann Sinach, so severely condemned by St. Bernard, in his "Life of St. Malachy," for usurping the see for 208 years; and the list in the Book of Leinster observes this was the son in succession to the father, as was prophesied by Bec-mac-De. It was at his solicitation the clergy were exempted from warlike expeditions. The lists have him variously sitting fourteen, thirteen, and sixteen years—that in the Book of Leinster making him successor of Foendelach; Ware, counting from his dates, only nine, giving his death at 807; but if we accept the chronology of the Four Masters, he sat sixteen years—the period fixed by the Book of Lecan, counting from the death of Cudiniscus, 790 (*recte* 795), to his own sudden death in 806 (*recte* 811).

28. TORBACH, succeeded A.D. 807.—Son of Gorman, who had been Abbot of Louth, of the Ui-Ceallach Breagh, of the same family with the celebrated Conn-na-Mbocht, of Clonmacnois. He is omitted in the Book of Leinster list. The others assign him as sitting one year. Ware and the *Chronicum Scotorum* have his death at 808, the Four Masters at 807-812.

29. NUAD, succeeded A.D. 808.—Had been Abbot of Loch Uamh, in Breffny, now Lough Nahoo, in the parish of Drumlease, county Leitrim. The Book of Leinster omits him; the other lists assign him three years' sitting. Ware writes, he died in 812, agreeing with the *Chronicum Scotorum;* the Annals of Ulster and Four Masters, 816. Colgan has his life at the 19th of February ("*Acta SS.*" p. 373). Ware has his death at 812, the Four Masters at 811-816. The lists have him sitting three years, with the exception of that in the Book of Leinster, where he is omitted, like

his predecessor. The Four Masters have, at 808-813, the death of Toictheach Ua-Tighearnaigh, Abbot of Armagh, but his name is not in any of the lists.

30. MAC LOINGSI, succeeded A.D. 812.—He is called Fergus, son of Loingsech, in the *Chronicum Scotorum*, where his death is stated at 826; while the Four Masters call him Flannghus, son of Loingseach, and record his death at 825. Ware gives 822 as the date. The list in the Book of Leinster omits him; the other lists have him sitting, variously, thirteen and seventeen years.

31. AIRTRI, succeeded A.D. 822.—Upon the death of Mac Loingsi, great contention arose for the primacy between Airtri, who was half-brother to Cumuscagh, King of Oriel, and Eogan, Lector of Monasterboice, and confessor of Niall Caille, presumptive King of Ireland. Airtri had on several occasions visited Connaught and Munster on primatial business, and, we may presume, was coadjutor to Mac Loingsi, and on his death assumed the office absolutely, under the protection of his powerful family. He was, however, deposed in 825, after the battle of Lethi-Cam, where his brother was slain. All the lists assign him but two years, which agrees with the dates of the annalists; whereas Ware gives him eleven, counting from his accession till his death, 833.

32. EOGAN, of Monasterboice, succeeded A.D. 825.—Ware keeps his succession back till Airtri's death, in 833, and has him sitting only one year; but all the lists have eight, which exactly tallies with his death in 834. It is probable he had an assistant abbot, as, at 829, the Four Masters record the death of Suibhne, son of Fainneach, Abbot of Armagh—perhaps tanist abbot. The Book of Leinster list states there were three erenaghs, who took the abbey by force, and were not commemorated in the Mass.

33. FORANNAN, of Rath-mic-Malais, succeeded A.D. 834.—All the lists place Forannan as immediate successor of Eogan, instead of Dermaid O'Tighernach; though it might be inferred from the entry of the Four Masters, at 834, that Dermaid was first in possession, as they state Forannan became abbot in place of the other. At 838 they

record another change, when Dermaid succeeded. O'Flaherty rejects all these statements, and maintains that Forannan held the see without competition until 848; which agrees with two of the lists, which have him sitting fourteen years; the Book of Leinster, seventeen. He was driven from Armagh by Turgesius the Dane, resided in Munster four years, where, in 843, he was taken prisoner at Cluain-Comharda, now Colman's Well, county Limerick, by the Danes, and carried to their shipping, from which he was afterwards released. He resigned in 848, and died 851 or 852; according to the Four Masters, in the same year as Dermaid, his successor.

34. Dermaid O'Tighernach, succeeded A.D. 848.—All the lists state he was sitting four years. He died 851 or 852.

35. St. Fethgna, succeeded A.D. 852.—The Book of Leinster calls him son of Nechtan, of the Clann Eochadh. Three of the lists have him sitting twenty-two years, the *Leabhar Breac* twenty-five. He died, according to the Four Masters, 872; to the *Chronicum Scotorum*, 874, which O'Donovan writes is the true year. The Martyrology of Donegal has his festival at 12th February.

36. Ainmire, succeeded A.D. 874.—According to the list in the Book of Leinster, he was grandson of Faelan, sovereign of Niallain, and one of the priesthood of Armagh. The Four Masters write that he had been a priest thirty years, and only held the see nine months, dying in 876. Ware fixes his death a year earlier.

37. Cathasach, son of Robhartach, succeeded A.D. 875.—The Annals of Ulster, recording his death at 883, style him Prince of Ardmach. The lists vary as to the period of his sitting, from four to seven years. The Book of Leinster states he was grandson of Moinach, of the Clann-Suibhne, and that he died in pilgrimage in the island of ——, the name being illegible.

38. Maelcobha, son of Crunnmhael, succeeded A.D. 883.—He was taken prisoner by the Danes of Lough Cuan (Strangford), with

Mochta the Lector. The Book of Leinster states he was of the family of Cill-mor, and makes him precede Cathasach, contrary to the other lists, and to the Four Masters. All the lists have him sitting five years; Ware only two, and dates his death at 885; but Dr. Reeves' "Life of Columba" has 888, the date given also by the *Chronicum Scotorum*, and which appears to be correct, and reconciles the differences.

39. St. Maelbrigde Mac Dornan, succeeded A.D. 888.—The Martyrology of Donegal calls him "a man full of the grace of God, and a vessel full of the wisdom and knowledge of his time," and states he was of the race of Conall Gulban. He was Abbot of Raphoe, and in 891 succeeded Flann as Abbot of Iona, retaining Armagh. Two of the lists have him sitting thirty-nine years; the Book of Lecan and Book of Leinster omitting the first ten, as Colgan did in transcribing from the Psalter; and as he died 22nd February, 927, on which day his feast was held, this corrects Ware's mistake, who has him sitting forty-two years. The Four Masters and *Chronicum Scotorum* have the obits of four of his coadjutor bishops in Armagh.

40. Joseph, succeeded A.D. 827.—The Four Masters, recording his death at 936, call him a scribe, bishop, and anchorite, and the wisest of the Irish. According to the list in the Book of Leinster, he was son of Fathach of the Clann Fathgaeta of the Dalriatti. They were located in county Antrim. All the lists make him sit nine years.

41. Maelpatrick, succeeded A.D. 936.—Son of Mailtuile, sat only five months, and died in 936—the same year as his predecessor.

42. Cathasach II., succeeded A.D. 937.—He is called son of Dulgen, by Ware and the Book of Leinster, and son of Fergus in the Yellow Book of Lecan. He is described as of Druim-Thorraidh, otherwise Drumtorraig, the most distinguished bishop of the Irish. All the lists have him sitting twenty years. He died in 957.

43. Muireadhach, son of Fergus, succeeded A.D. 957.—All the

lists have him sitting nine years, and as then removed. He is described as of Glinn-Arind, in Sliabh-Cuilenn, now one of the glens in Slievegullen Mountain, in the south of county Armagh. He died the following year.

44. DUBHDALETH II., son of Cellaigh, succeeded A.D. 965.—The list in the Book of Leinster states that Deolaid, daughter of Mailtuile, was his mother. The place should be Inis-Cain-Dega, now Inishkeen, county Louth—a monastery taking its name from its founder, Bishop Daigh, commemorated at 18th August. Ware places his election at 966; but Dr. Reeves' "Life of Columba," p. 396, at 965, which is the corrected date in the *Chronicum Scotorum*, tallies with the date of his death, 2nd June, 998, after sitting thirty-three years, the number assigned by three of the lists, and in his eighty-third year.

45. MURECHAN, of Both-Domnaig, succeeded A.D. 998.—He is variously called in the lists son of Eathach and son of Ciaracan. Three of the lists have him sitting three years, the Yellow Book of Lecan nineteen, computing most likely from his appointment as assistant to Dubhdaleth, for as such we have him acting so early as 992, when he visited the Kinel-Owen and the rest of the north of Ireland, and inaugurated Aedh, son of Domhnall O'Neill, as king. He resigned in 1001, and died in 1005, in the seventieth or seventy-second year of his age.

46. MAELMUIRE, son of Eochaidh, of the race of Colla da Chrioch, succeeded A.D. 1001.—During his prelacy the celebrated Brian Boru visited Armagh in 1004, and presented a golden ring of twenty ounces as an offering on the high altar of the church, at the same time he caused an entry to be made in the Book of Armagh, by his confessor, Maolsuthain, ratifying the ancient privileges of the see, of which the following is a translation: "St. Patrick, when going to heaven, ordained that the entire produce of his labor, as well as of baptism, and decisions, as of alms, was to be delivered to the apostolic city, which in the Scotic tongue is called Arddmacha. Thus I have found it in the records of the Scots. This is

my writing, namely, *Calvus Perennis*, in the presence of Brian, sovereign of the Scots; and what I have written he decreed for all the terms of Maceria." The Latin form *Calvus Perennis* is literally Maolsuthain, whose death is recorded at 1031—as the word *Macera* is the Latin equivalent for Cashel. After the battle of Clontarf, 23rd April, 1014, Maelmuire with his clergy conveyed the body of Brian and his son, Murchadh, to Armagh, where they were interred. Maelmuire died 3rd June, 1020, having sat nineteen years.

47. AMALGAID, succeeded A.D. 1020.—Son of Maelmuire, his predecessor. In 1021 he made a visitation of Munster, the first made by any of the successors of St. Patrick, and the next year attended the death-bed of King Malachy. The Psalter has him sitting thirty years, the other lists only twenty-nine, agreeing with the record of his death in 1049. After his death some writers have for his successor Gilla Patrick, son of Donald, but the Four Masters distinctly state he was merely prior.

48. DUBHDALETH III., succeeded A.D. 1049.—Was brother of his predecessor, and had been chief lector of Armagh. According to the annals, he assumed the abbacy the day of his predecessor's death, and the next year made a visitation of the Kinel-Owen. In 1060 there was great strife between Dubhdaleth and Cumuscagh O'Herudan, as to the abbacy; and it appears certain, as Dr. Lanigan thought, that he resigned about that time in favor of his competitor. The four lists have him sitting twelve years, thereby fixing his resignation in 1261. All the lists allow three years for his successor, Cumuscagh, to have sat. Ware, though acknowledging this, allows only *one*, to favor his peculiar chronology; but fixing Dubhdaleth's resignation at 1261–2 reconciles the apparent discrepancies. He died 1st September, 1064, after praiseworthy penance. He wrote Annals of Ireland, and a history of his predecessors, both unfortunately lost.

49. CUMUSCAGH O'HERUDAN, succeeded A.D. 1061.—As above stated, sat three years, and resigned on the death of his prede-

cessor. He died, according to the Annals of Ulster, in 1074, being there called Head of the Irish Poor.

50. MAELISA, succeeded A.D. 1064.—Son of Amalgaid, his predecessor, and sat, according to the lists, twenty-seven years, though by the computation of the Four Masters he died, after penance, 20th December, 1091.

51. DOMHNALL, succeeded A.D. 1091.—Was brother of Maelisa, his predecessor, on whose death he was immediately installed. He made visitations of Ulster and Munster. In 1099 and 1105, he endeavored to effect a peace between the southern O'Briens and northern M'Loughlins, both claiming the sovereignty of Ireland. In the latter year he took ill in Dublin, and was conveyed thence to Swords, Duleek, and Armagh, where he died on St. Laisren's day, 12th August, in his sixty-eighth year, and was buried in Armagh. The Books of Lecan and Leinster have him sitting fourteen years, the *Leabhar Breac* only eight, an obvious mistranscript.

52. ST. CELLACH, otherwise CELSUS, succeeded A.D. 1105.—Grandson of Maelisa, and nephew of Domhnall, his immediate predecessor; was immediately consecrated on St. Adamnan's day (23rd September), in his twenty-seventh year. He made visitations through Ulster, Munster, Connaught, and Meath, and, in 1111, presided over the synod of Fiabh-mic-Aenghusa, in Westmeath, where were assembled fifty bishops, three hundred priests, and three thousand students. In 1126 he consecrated the great *Regles* Church of SS. Peter and Paul, which had been erected by Imar O'Hagan. The Four Masters record his death at Ardpatrick, in county Limerick, 1st April, 1129, in his fiftieth year, after having spent a life of fasting, prayer, and mass-celebration—his body being buried in Lismore. He wrote several theological works. At his death, deploring the miseries and sacrilege which arose from the hereditary succession in his family, he, by his will, directed that he should be succeeded by his vicar, the great St. Malachy, and enjoined the kings of Munster to have this object carried out. His festival is placed in the Roman and Donegal

Martyrologies on 6th April, having been transferred from the 1st. On the death of Celsus, notwithstanding his dying directions, and the wishes of the clergy and people of Ireland,

MUIRCHERTACH or MAURICE, the son of Donald, who died in 1106, assumed the abbacy, through the influence of his powerful family, and had himself immediately installed. This uncanonical intrusion existed for five years, till his death, 17th September, 1134, and was then continued in the person of his cousin, NIALL, the brother of St. Celsus. Niall died in 1132, after intense penance.

53. ST. MALACHY, otherwise MAELMAEDOG UA-MORGAIR, succeeded A.D. 1132.—He was a native of Armagh, and had been Abbot of Bangor and Bishop of Connor, and was elected Primate in 1132, at a synod convoked by Malchus, Bishop of Lismore, and Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick, Legate of the Apostolic See. In 1136 he resigned the see, having accomplished the peace of the see, and retired to the bishopric of Down, which he separated from Connor. On the 12th of June, 1138, his brother, Christian O'Morgair, Bishop of Clogher, died, and was interred under the great altar in Armagh. In Down he founded several monasteries, and restored Bangor and Saul. He afterwards proceeded to Rome, to solicit the palls for Armagh and Cashel, and was then appointed Legate for Ireland. In 1148 he again set out for Rome, but died on his way at Clairvaux, in the arms of St. Bernard, on the 2nd of November that year, in his fifty-fourth year. His festival has been transferred to 3rd November. A valuable and exhaustive life of this eminent saint has been written by the Rev. John O'Hanlon, which embodies the great life by St. Bernard.

54. ST. GELASIUS, otherwise GILLA-MAC-LIAG, succeeded A.D. 1136.—The Yellow Book of Lecan calls him son of Diarmaid, son of Rory, and the name Mac-Liag is explained as son of the poet. He had been sixteen years Abbot of Derry, previous to his appointment to Armagh by St. Malachy, by whom he was consecrated to this see. His visitations of different parts of the kingdom, and the synods which he held, are noticed in the

Annalists. The Four Masters record his death at 27th March, 1173 (on which his festival is held), in the eighty-seventh year of his age, as a son of chastity, filled with purity of heart towards all mankind.

55. CORNELIUS MAC CONCALEDE, succeeded A.D. 1174.—The family of Mac Concalede appear to have been Erenachs of Derry, though the Chambery Life makes our bishop a native of Armagh, and to have been born there 17th September, 1120. The Book of Leinster calls him the Bishop Hua Muireadhach. He succeeded St. Gilla Mochaibeo in the abbacy, and the same year became Primate. Having proceeded to Rome on matters relating to the see, he died on his return home, at the church of St. Peter's, Lemenc, near Chambery, in Savoy, 4th June, 1176, where his body is still preserved, on which day his festival is held in that church as St. Concord. A portion of his relics, procured by the late Primate Dixon, is now in the church of Armagh.

56. GILBERT O'CARAN, succeeded A.D. 1176–7.—Was promoted from the bishopric of Raphoe. He was taken prisoner by the English at Down, with the canon and *finnfaidhech* of St. Patrick and other relics, but afterwards released. He died in 1180.

57. THOMAS OF TOMALTAGH O'CONOR, succeeded A.D. 1181.—The Four Masters record his consecration at 1181, and his resignation at 1184, when Maelisa O'Carrol was consecrated. After Maelisa's death in 1187, he resumed the Primacy, and died in 1207, and was buried in Mellifont. He was son of Hugh, son of Torlogh O'Conor, King of Connaught. He assisted with Cardinal Vivian at the translation of the relics of SS. Patrick, Columba, and Brigid, in Downpatrick, in 1184.

58. MAELISA O'CARROL, succeeded A.D. 1184.—Ware states he had been previously Bishop of Clogher, but if the Four Masters are correct he was only bishop-elect, as they record his consecration to Armagh in 1184, and, at 1187, his death, as Bishop of Oriel. Ware has for his successor in Armagh, Amlave O'Murid; but the Ordnance

Memoir of Derry shows that he was Bishop of Ardstraw and Kinel-Farry in Tyrone, and not of Armagh.

59. Eugene, otherwise Eghdoun Mac Gilla-Uidhir, succeeded A.D. 1202.—Appointed by the Pope, who set aside the pretensions of three other claimants, and was finally acknowledged by the royal authority. He assisted at the Council of Lateran, and died in Rome in 1216.

60. Luke Netterville, Archdeacon of Armagh, succeeded A.D 1217.—Having been confirmed by the Pope, he was consecrated by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and died 17th April, 1227, and was buried in Mellifont, according to his request.

61. Nicholas, a canon of Armagh, succeeded A.D. 1227.—He was unanimously elected by the chapter, confirmed by Pope Gregory IX., and consecrated by the Bishop of Tusculum, but resigned in favor of his successor, who during his absence had received royal institution.

62. Donat O'Fidabra, succeeded A.D. 1227.—Translated from Clogher, which he had governed nine years. Died in England, returning from Rome, October, 1237.

63. Albert of Cologne, succeeded A.D. 1240.—A Franciscan friar, consecrated at Westminster, 30th September, 1240, by the Bishop of Worcester, in presence of King Henry III. and Otho, the Pope's legate. He resigned in 1246, and was appointed Archbishop of Livonia. De Burgo (*Hib. Dom.*) has one Henry, a provincial of the Dominicans, as appointed in 1245, but the Bull must have been issued under a misconception of Albert's death.

64. Reiner, succeeded A.D. 1246.—On the resignation of Albert, the Annals of Ulster state that the Bishop of Rath-Luraigh, now Maghera, county Derry, was elected, but Reiner, a Dominican friar of Irish birth—in the opinion of De Burgo, one of twelve who had been sent into England by St. Dominic himself—being then at Rome, was appointed by Pope Innocent IV., and there consecrated. He returned to Rome in 1253, and died there in 1256, having separated the old see of Louth from Clogher, and annexed it to his own.

65. Abraham O'Connellan, succeeded A.D. 1257.—Was Arch-Presbyter of the church of Armagh; confirmed by the Pope in Rome, at same time receiving the pallium. He died 21st December, 1260.

66. Patrick O'Scanlain, succeeded A.D. 1261.—A Dominican friar, and Bishop of Raphoe. He died at Dundalk, 16th March, 1270–1. The Four Masters record his being honorably received by the King of England in 1270.

67. Nicholas Mac Molissa, succeeded A.D. 1272.—Ware writes he died 10th May, 1303; but the Four Masters record his death at 1299, calling him "the most godly and devout ecclesiastic of his time in Ireland." While he sat, the Four Masters relate that, in 1293, it was revealed to him where the relics of St. Patrick, Columba, and Brigid, were deposited, at Saul, near Downpatrick, and that he had them taken up, whereby great miracles were wrought. In his annotations on this passage, Dr. O'Donovan most unwarrantably and illogically argues against the former translation of the same relics in 1185, under the supervision of Cardinal Vivian, Thomas O'Conor, Bishop of Armagh, and Malachy, Bishop of Down, and about forty other bishops, because not recorded by the Irish annalists, and only by English historians, and in the Office of the Translation, published in Paris in 1620, and reprinted by Colgan; asserting that it was a scheme of De Courcey to add dignity to Down, then in his possession. But the omission by our annalists proves nothing, for many other important events are unnoticed; and his argument that it is hard to believe that the relics, after having been deposited in a costly shrine, could be lost in the course of the next century, betrays great forgetfulness of the disturbed state of Ulster in that period; that in 1260 Brian O'Neill made a desperate effort to drive the English from Down; and that, previous to this, in 1220, as Rymer states, the prior and monks of St. Patrick transmitted, or intended to transmit, to Henry III. of England, the *feretrum* in which those relics were enshrined, and sought from him a resting-place in England. It was perhaps about this period the relics were secretly buried in Saul.

MICHAEL, 1303.—A Franciscan friar of Armagh, was elected by the dean and chapter, and received the royal assent and certificate for the Pope's confirmation, but died before consecration.

68. JOHN TAAFE, succeeded A.D. 1305.—Was appointed by Pope Clement V., and consecrated in Rome, where he died in 1306, the business of the see having been transacted by his Vicar-General, Reginald Taafe.

69. WALTER DE JORSE, succeeded A.D. 1306.—A Dominican friar, and brother to Thomas Jorse, Cardinal of St. Sabina; was appointed by the Pope, and consecrated by Nicholas, Cardinal of Ostium. He was an eminent writer, and resigned the see, according to De Burgo, in 1307; but according to Ware, on 16th November, 1311; which Harris shows to have been too late, as in the Pope's letter appointing his successor, the church of Armagh is stated to have been long vacant.

70. ROLAND DE JORSE, succeeded A.D. 1311.—A Dominican, and brother of his predecessor; was appointed by the Pope, 13th November, 1311, and consecrated in Rome by Berengar, Bishop of Tusculum. He resigned 20th March, 1321-2. De Burgo quotes several authorities, showing that Martin of Bologna was appointed successor to Walter in 1307, possibly on some misapprehension as to the latter's death; but this appointment wasnot carried out.

71. STEPHEN SEGRAVE, succeeded A.D. 1322.—Dean of Lichfield, appointed by Pope John XXII., died 27th October, 1333.

72. DAVID MACOIRECHTOIGH, succeeded A.D. 1334.—Dean of Armagh; elected by the Chapter, and confirmed by Pope John XXII., the 4th of July, 1334, and consecrated at Avignon. According to the Four Masters he died in 1343; but O'Flaherty has 1346 as the true year, and Ware, from the *Annales Nenaghtenses*, gives 16th May in that year.

73. RICHARD FITZRALPH, succeeded A.D. 1347.—A native of Dundalk, and successively Chancellor of Lincoln, Archdeacon of Chester, and Dean of Lichfield; appointed by Pope Clement VI., 31st July, 1346, and consecrated at Exeter, 8th July, 1347. Several

of his works have been published, and some remain in manuscript. He died at Avignon, 16th November, 1360, and in 1370 his body was removed to his native town by Stephen de Valle, Bishop of Meath.

74. Milo Sweetman, succeeded A.D. 1361.—Treasurer of Kilkenny cathedral, in diocese of Ossory, to which see he had been elected. He proceeded to Avignon for the Pope's confirmation; but the Pope, having already conferred Ossory on John of Satcnale, appointed him to Armagh. He died at Dromiskin, county Louth, 11th August, 1380.

75. John Colton, succeeded A.D. 1382.—A native of Norfolk, in England, in which country he held several livings. In 1374 he was elected Dean of St. Patrick's, being then treasurer of Ireland. In 1379 he became lord chancellor, and in 1382 was advanced by Pope Urban VI. to this see. He was lord justice of Ireland some years. Early in 1404 he resigned Armagh, and, dying 27th April that year, was buried in St. Peter's, Drogheda.

76. Nicholas Fleming, succeeded A.D. 1404.—A secular priest; was appointed by Pope Boniface IX, and consecrated 1st May, 1404; died in June, 1416, and was also buried in Drogheda.

77. John Swayn, succeeded A.D. 1417.—Rector of Galtrim, in Meath, and a prebendary of St. Patrick's, Dublin. Appointed by Pope Martin III.; was consecrated in Rome, February, 1417. Resigned in 1439, and, dying a few years afterwards, was buried in St. Peter's, Drogheda.

78. John Prene, succeeded A.D. 1439.—Archdeacon of Armagh; was appointed by Pope Eugene IV., and consecrated November, 1439. He died at Termon-Fechin, county Louth, 13th June, 1443, and was there buried.

79. John Mey, succeeded A.D. 1444.—Official of Meath, and vicar of Delvin and Kilmessan in that diocese; appointed by Pope Eugene IV., and consecrated 20th June, 1444. He died 1456.

80. John Bole, succeeded A.D. 1457.—Appointed Abbot of Navan in 1450; was advanced to this see by Pope Calixtus III., and consecrated June, 1457. He died 18th February, 1470.

81. John Foxalls, succeeded A.D. 1475.—A Franciscan, appointed by Pope Sixtus IV. He died in England, 1476-7, having never visited the see.

82. Edmund Counesburgh, succeeded A.D. 1477.—Appointed by Pope Sixtus IV. Resigned, 10th November, 1478.

83. Octavian de Palatio, succeeded A.D. 1480.—A native of Florence, who had been Apostolic Nuncio and Administrator to the see to his predecessor; was appointed by Pope Sixtus IV., and consecrated, March, 1480-1. He died, June, 1513, and was buried in St. Peter's, Drogheda.

84. John Kite, succeeded A.D. 1513.—A native of London, became chaplain to Henry VIII., sub-dean of the Chapel Royal, and, in September, 1510, rector of Weyhill, in the diocese of Worcester, from which he was appointed to the primacy by Pope Leo X. In February, 1518, he went as ambassador to Spain with John Lord Berners, from which he returned in 1519. In 1521, he resigned the primacy; was subsequently appointed Archbishop of Thebes in Greece, and commendatory Bishop of Carlisle in England. He died 18th June, 1537, and was buried in St. Margaret's church, Westminster.

85. George Cromer, succeeded A.D. 1521.—An English presbyter; was appointed by Pope Leo X., and consecrated in April, 1522. He died 16th March, 1542.

86. Robert Waucop, succeeded A.D. 1540.—A Scotchman; was appointed bishop by Pope Paul III., with right of succession to this see. He took an active part in the negociations of the Irish princes with the French king; was present at the conference of Worms, and assisted at the Council of Trent. He died 10th November, 1551.

87. George Dowdall, succeeded A.D. 1553.—A native of the county Louth; had been official to Dr. Cromer, and on his death was schismatically appointed to the see, 28th November, 1543, although then full. He, however, warmly opposed the Reformation, and was obliged to go into exile. After Waucop's death he was canonically

appointed in consistory, 1st March, 1553. He died in London, 15th August, 1558.

88. Donatus Teige Fleming, succeeded A.D. 1560.—A priest of the diocese of Limerick; was appointed in consistory, 7th February, 1560; shortly after consecrated, and received the pallium 27th March following. He died in 1563.

89. Richard Creagh, succeeded A.D. 1564.—A native of Limerick; was appointed in consistory, 22nd March, 1564, and after enduring much persecution and imprisonment, was poisoned in the Tower of London, 14th October, 1585.

90. Edmund MacGauran, succeeded A.D. 1587.—He was appointed Bishop of Ardagh, 1584, and translated to Armagh, 1st July, 1587. He was killed near Tulsk, county Roscommon, June, 1593.

91. Peter Lombard, succeeded A.D. 1601.—A native of Waterford and an eminent Franciscan; was appointed in consistory, 9th July, 1601, and died 1625.

92. Hugh MacCaghwell, succeeded A.D. 1626.—A native of Saul, near Downpatrick; was also an eminent Franciscan, and appointed in 1626. He died 24th September, 1626. When young he was selected by Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, as tutor for his sons, Hugh and Henry. Several of his works have been published.

93. Hugh O'Reilly, succeeded A.D. 1628.—Promoted from the bishopric of Kilmore, 21st August, 1628; died, 7th July, 1651, or February, 1653; was buried in Trinity Island, county Cavan.

94. Edmund O'Reilly, succeeded A.D. 1654.—Had been a parish priest and Vicar-General of the diocese of Dublin. Was appointed on 15th March, 1657; consecrated in the following year. Died in 1669.

95. Oliver Plunket, succeeded A.D. 1669.—A native of Lough Crew, county Meath. Appointed in consistory, 9th July, 1669, and consecrated by the Bishop of Ghent, 30th November following. Suffered martyrdom in London, 1st July, 1681.

96. Dominick Maguire, succeeded A.D. 1681.—A native of Fer-

managh; was appointed in 1681. After the Revolution he was obliged to seek exile in France, where he died in 1708, and was buried in the College des Lombardes.

97. Hugh M‘Mahon, succeeded A.D. 1715.—Had been appointed Bishop of Clogher in 1707, and translated to Armagh, 1715. Died 2nd of August, 1737, and buried in Drogheda.

98. Bernard M‘Mahon, succeeded A.D. 1738.—Had been appointed Bishop of Clogher in 1715, and translated to Armagh in 1738. Died 27th May, 1747, and buried in Ematris, county Monaghan.

99. Ross M‘Mahon, succeeded A.D. 1747.—Brother of his predecessor. Had been appointed Bishop of Clogher, 1738, and translated to Armagh, 1747. Died 29th of October, 1748.

100. Michael O'Reilly, succeeded A.D. 1749.—Had been Vicar-General of Kilmore; consecrated Bishop of Derry, 4th April, 1739, and translated to Armagh, 1749. Died 1758, and was buried in Drogheda.

101. Anthony Blake, succeeded A.D. 1758.—Appointed Warden of Galway, *circ.* 1750, and Bishop of Ardagh, 1754; translated to Armagh, 1758, and died in Galway, December, 1787.

102. Richard O'Reilly, succeeded A.D. 1787.—Was consecrated coadjutor to Dr. O'Keeffe, Bishop of Kildare, and thence translated to Armagh in 1782, with full powers. Died 31st January, 1818.

103. Patrick Curtis, succeeded A.D. 1819.—A native of county Meath, and had been President of the College of Salamanca, in Spain, for thirty years. Consecrated 28th October, 1819, and died 26th July, 1832.

104. Thomas Kelly, succeeded A.D. 1832.—A native of Escragh, county Tyrone; was junior Dean and Professor of Theology in Maynooth. Consecrated Bishop of Dromore, 27th August, 1826; translated to Armagh 23rd December, 1828, as coadjutor to Primate Curtis, whom he succeeded in 1832. Died 13th January, 1835.

105. William Crolly, succeeded A.D. 1835.—A native of Ballykilbeg, near Downpatrick, county Down. Was a Professor in

Maynooth, and Parish Priest of Belfast. Consecrated Bishop of Down and Connor 1st May, 1825, and translated to Armagh, 8th May, 1835. He died at Drogheda, 6th April, 1849, and was buried in the new cathedral, Armagh.

106. PAUL CULLEN, succeeded A.D. 1850.—Appointed in consistory, 8th January, and consecrated at Rome, 24th Februry, 1850, and translated to Dublin, 15th August, 1852.

107. JOSEPH DIXON, succeeded A.D. 1852.—A native of Killyman, county Tyrone; was Professor of Hebrew and Sacred Scriptures in Maynooth. Appointed in consistory, 4th October, and consecrated in Maynooth, 21st November, 1852. Died 29th April, 1866.

108. MICHAEL KIERAN, succeeded A.D. 1866.—A native of Darva, county Louth, and Parish Priest of Dundalk. Consecrated 3rd February, 1867, by Cardinal Cullen. Died at Forthill, near Dundalk, September, 1869.

109. DANIEL M‘GETTIGAN, succeeded A.D. 1870.—A native of county Donegal. Consecrated coadjutor Bishop of Raphoe, 18th May, 1856, and translated to Armagh, 8th March, 1870.

St. Fiacc's Hymn or Poem on the Life of St. Patrick.

As we are anxious to include in the present volume every document relating to St. Patrick, in order to put the reader in possession of a complete repertory of his life and acts, we append the Hymn of St. Fiacc and the Hymn of St. Sechnall or Secundinus. The translation of the Hymn of St. Fiacc is given from the "Ecclesiastical Record" for March, 1868, and was published from the O'Curry MSS. in the Catholic University.

It has also been translated by Mr. Whitley Stokes in his "*Goidilica.*" For further information as to the authenticity and probable date of this most interesting composition, we refer the reader to chapter ii. p. 43, of the present volume :—

1. Patrick was born at Emptur: this it is that history relates to us.
A child of sixteen years (was he) when he was taken into bondage.
2. Succat was his name, it is said; who was his father is thus told
He was son of Calpurn, son of Otidus, grandson of Deochain Odissus.
3. He was six years in slavery; human food he ate it not.
Cothraige he was called, for as slave he served four families.
4. Victor said to Milcho's slave: "Go thou over the sea:"
He placed his foot upon the *leac* (stone): its trace remains, it wears not away.
5. He sent him across all the Alps; over the sea marvellous was his course,
Until he staid with Germanus in the south, in southern Letha.
6. In the islands of the Tyrrhene Sea he staid; therein he meditated:
He read the canon with Germanus: it is this that history relates.
7. To Ireland he was brought back in visions by the angels of God:
Often was he in vision solicited to return thither again.
8. Salvation to Ireland was the coming of Patrick to Fochlaidh;
Afar was heard the sound of the call of the youths of Caill-Fochladh.
9. They prayed that the saint would come, that he would return from Letha,
To convert the people of Erin from error to life.
10. The Tuatha of Erin were prophesying that a new kingdom of faith would come,
That it would last for evermore: the land of Tara would be waste and silent.

11. The druids of Loegaire concealed not from him the coming of Patrick;
Their prophecy was verified as to the kingdom of which they spoke.
12. Patrick walked in piety till his death: he was powerful in the extirpation of sin:
He raised his hands in blessing upon the tribes of men.
13. Hymns, and the Apocalypse, and the thrice fifty (psalms) he was wont to sing;
He preached, baptized, and prayed; from the praise of God he ceased not.
14. The cold of the weather deterred him not from passing the night in ponds:
By heaven his kingdom was protected; he preached by day on the hills.
15. In Slan, in the territory of Benna-Bairche, hunger or thirst possessed him not.
Each night he sang a hundred psalms, to adore the King of angels.
16. He slept on a bare stone, and a wet sack-cloth around him;
A bare rock was his pillow; he allowed not his body to be in warmth.
17. He preached the Gospel to all; he wrought great miracles in Letha;
He healed the lame and the lepers; the dead he restored to life.
18. Patrick preached to the Scoti: he endured great toil in Letha:
With him will come to judgment everyone whom he brought to the life of faith.
19. The sons of Emer, the sons of Eremon, all went to Cisal,
To the abode of Satan—they were swallowed up in the deep abyss,
20. Until the apostle came to them: he came despite the raging tempests:
He preached, for three-score years, the cross of Christ to the tribes of Feni.

21. On the land of Erin there was darkness ; the Tuatha adored the *sidhi* ;
They believed not in the true Deity of the true Trinity.
22. In Armagh there is sovereignty ; it is long since Emain passed away ;
A great church is Dun-Lethglasse ; I wish not that Tara should be a desert.
23. Patrick, when he was in sickness, desired to go to Armagh :
An angel went to meet him on the road in the middle of the day.
24. Patrick came southwards towards Victor ; he it was that went to meet him :
The bush in which Victor was, was in a blaze ; from the flame he (the angel) spoke.
25. He said : Thy dignity (shall be) at Armagh ; return thanks to Christ :
To heaven thou shalt come ; thy prayer is granted thee.
26. The hymn which thou chosest in life shall be corselet of protection to all.
Around thee on the Day of Judgment the men of Erin will come for judgment.
27. Tassach remaineth after him (in Sabhall), having given the communion to him :
He said that Patrick would return : the word of Tassach was not false.
28. He (St. Patrick) put an end to night ; light ceased not with him :
To a years' end there was radiance ; it was a long day of peace.
29. At the battle fought around Beth-horon against the Canaanites by the son of Nun,
The sun stood still at Gaboan ; this it is that the Scripture tells us.
30. The sun lasted with Josue unto the death of the wicked : this indeed was befitting ;
It was more befitting that there should be radiance at the death of the saints.

31. The clergy of Erin went from every part to watch around Patrick;
The sound of harmony fell upon them, so that they slept enchanted on the way.
32. Patrick's body from his soul was severed after pains;
The angels of God on the first night kept choir around it unceasingly.
33. When Patrick departed (from life), he went to visit the other Patrick;
Together they ascended to Jesus, Son of Mary.
34. Patrick, without arrogance or pride, great was the good which he proposed to himself,
To be in the service of Mary's Son; happy the hour in which Patrick was born.

The Hymn of St. Sechnall or Secundinus.

The hymn of St. Sechnall, was, we believe, first published in the "Catholic Layman," vol. ii. No. 24, December, 1853; and I am indebted to my kind friend, Mr. Hanna, for a copy of this serial, long since out of print. It was published again in 1855, in the first Fasciculus of the *Liber Hymnorum*, or Book of Hymns of the ancient Irish Church. In this edition the two sets of glosses are published, and valuable notes are added by the late Dr. Todd.

St. Sechnall was the son of Restitutus, one of the Longobards, and Limania, a sister of St. Patrick. He was, consequently, nephew of our glorious apostle. For the circumstances connected with the composition of his alphabetical hymn, see *ante*, pages 359-362. We append the Latin original, with a metrical English translation. We have had some difficulty in preserving the alphabetical character of the hymn in the translation, but it seemed desirable at least to make the attempt:—

Audite, omnes amantes
  Deum, sancta merita
Viri in Christo beati,
  Patricii episcopi;
Quomodo bonum ob actum
  Simulatur angelis,
Perfectamque propter vitam
  Æquatur apostolis.

Beati Christi custodit
  Mandata in omnibus;
Cujus opera refulgent
  Clara inter homines;
Sanctumque cujus sequuntur
  Exemplum mirificum;
Unde et in cœlis Patrem
  Magnificant Dominum.

Constans in Dei timore
  Et fide immobilis;
Super quem ædificatur,
  Ut Petrum, ecclesia;
Cujusque apostolatum
  A Deo sortitus est;
In cujus portæ adversus
  Inferni non prævalent.

All ye who love God
  The praises now hear
Of Patrick, the bishop,
  To Christ ever near;
Who, like unto angels,
  In glory is found,
And, like the apostles,
  For ever is crowned.

Brightly his light shines,
  He keepeth the word
Of Christ, ever blessed,
  And so like his Lord;
Then follow him, praising
  The good he hath done,
To the Father give glory,
  And unto the Son.

Christ's fear still upholds him,
  In faith he stands fast,
With the Church he will conquer
  And triumph at last,
Like Peter, whose mission
  From God cannot fail,
For hell's gates shall never
  Against him prevail.

Dominus illum elegit
Ut doceret barbaras
Nationes, ut piscaret
Per doctrinæ retia;
Ut de seculo credentes
Traheret ad gratiam,
Dominumque sequerentur
Sedem ad ætheriam.

Divinely he's chosen
A fisher of souls;
With the net of the Gospel
He gathereth shoals;
From barbarous nations
He wins God a race
Who in heaven hereafter
Shall be crowned by His grace.

Electa Christi talenta
Vendit evangelica,
Quæ Hibernas inter gentes
Cum usuris exigit;
Navati hujus laboris
Tum operæ-pretium
Cum Christo regni celestis
Possessurus gaudium.

Each talent he uses,
For God he would win
The people of Erin
From the evil of sin;
And he gets for his labor
Eternal reward,
And usury tenfold,
From Jesus, his Lord.

Fidelis Dei minister,
Insignisque nuntius,
Apostolicum exemplum
Formamque præbet bonis;
Qui tam verbis quam et factis
Plebi prædicat Dei,
Ut quem dictis non convertit
Actu provocet bono.

From his actions he preaches,
So that all men may see
What a faithful apostle
In his conduct should be.
By deeds thus he winneth
When words cannot gain,
So great is the grace
Of a life without stain.

Gloriam habet cum Christo,
Honorem in seculo;
Qui ab omnibus ut Dei
Veneratur angelus;
Quem Deus misit, ut Paulum
Ad Gentes, apostolum,
Ut hominibus ducatum
Præberet regno Dei.

Great glory Christ gives him,
By men still revered;
As an angel of God
He is honored and feared;
To the Gentiles, like Paul,
He is sent to proclaim
The kingdom of heaven,
And to preach in God's name.

Humilis Dei ob metum
  Spiritu et corpore;
Super quem bonum ob actum
  Requiescit Dominus:
Cujusque justa in carne
  Christi portat stigmata
In cujus sola sustentans,
  Gloriatur cruce.

Impiger credentes pascit
  Dapibus celestibus,
Ne qui videntur cum Christo
  In via deficiant;
Quibus erogat ut panes
  Verba evangelica,
In cujus multiplicantur,
  Ut manna, in manibus.

Kastam qui custodit carnem
  Ob amorem Domini;
Quam carnem templum paravit
  Sanctoque Spiritui,
A quo constantur cum mundis
  Possidetur actibus;
Quam ut hostiam placentem,
  Vivam offert Domino.

Lumenque mundi accensum
  Ingens, evangelicum,
In candelabro levatum,
  Toti fulgens seculo;
Civitas regis munita
  Supra montem posita,
Copia in qua est multa
  Quam Dominus possidet.

He sets on each action
  God's Spirit, a seal
Of heav'nly grace places,
  And blesses his zeal:
The marks of Christ bearing,
  Still humble and meek,
God's glory alone
  In each action he'll seek.

In all things like his master,
  He tendeth the weak,
And the faint and the weary
  He ever will seek;
Like the manna increasing,
  While giving to each,
The word of the Gospel
  To all he will teach.

Keeping pure, for God's sake,
  His flesh undefiled,
By no evil ensnared,
  By no tempter beguiled;
A holocaust living,
  A sacrifice true,
He offers to God
  Each moment anew.

Like a candlestick placed
  To diffuse Gospel light,
He shines through the world,
  Dispelling its night;
A city established
  On a hill ever sure,
He keepeth Christ's riches
  In his fortress secure.

Maximus namque in regno
Cœlorum vocabitur,
Qui quod verbis docet sacris
Factis adimplet bonis.
Bono præcedit exemplo
Formaque fidelium,
Mundoque in corde habet
Ad Deum fiduciam.

Meetly honored in heaven,
The greatest is he
Whose words and whose actions
In virtue agree;
Good example he giveth,
With heart ever pure,
A pattern of virtue
To rich and to poor.

Nomen Domini audenter
Annuntiat gentibus,
Quibus lavacri salutis
Æternam dat gratiam;
Pro quorum orat delictis
Ad Deum quotidie,
Pro quibus, ut Deo dignas
Immolatque hostias.

Now to Gentiles he preaches,
In the name of the Lord,
Of salvation's pure laver,
And God's holy word;
For them, too, he prayeth,
And offereth each day
A holocaust worthy
All evil to stay.

Omnem pro divina lege
Mundi spernit gloriam;
Qui cuncta ad cujus mensam
Æstimat quisquilias,
Nec ingruenti movetur
Mundi hujus fulmine,
Sed in adversis lætatur,
Cum pro Christo patitur.

Opposing things earthly,
For God's holy law,
As the pure wheat is severed
From chaff and from straw;
Unmoved by affliction,
He heeds no rebuke;
Nor the threats of the sinner,
Nor the scoffer's proud look.

Pastor bonus ac fidelis
Gregis evangelici,
Quem Deus Dei elegit
Custodire populum,
Suamque pascere plebem
Divinis dogmatibus;
Pro qua, ad Christi exemplum,
Suam tradit animam.

Pastor most faithful,
He guards Gospel sheep,
Whom God in His wisdom
Hath given him to keep;
He hopes, like his Master,
That his life may be given
For the souls whom he teaches
And guides on to heaven.

Quem pro meritis Salvator
  Provexit pontificem,
Ut in celesti moneret
  Clericos militia,
Celestem quibus annonam
  Erogat cum vestibus,
Quod in divinis impletur
  Sacrisque affatibus.

Quite plain are his merits:
  As a bishop, he'll guide
The clergy to conflict,
  With truth on their side;
He clothes them in vestments,
  He gives them true bread,
And they learn from his teaching
  How Christ's flock must be fed.

Regis nuntius invitans
  Credentes ad nuptias,
Qui ornatur vestimento
  Nuptiali indutus;
Qui celeste haurit vinum
  In vasis celestibus,
Propinansque Dei plebem
  Spiritali poculo.

Raised up as a herald,
  He calls rich and poor
To come to the nuptials
  In raiment all pure;
In vessels celestial
  He gives heavenly wine,
And pledges the people
  In a chalice divine.

Sacrum invenit thesaurum
  Sacro in volumine,
Salvatorisque in carne
  Deitatem pervidit;
Quem thesaurum emit sanctis
  Perfectisque meritis;
Israel vocatur hujus
  Anima videns Deum.

Scripture's rich mine he openeth,
  Well taught in its lore,
And daily he gaineth
  Of merit yet more;
As an Israel counted,
  For in all things he sees
His God and his Saviour,
  And from evil he flees.

Testis Domini fidelis
  In lege Catholica,
Cujus verba sunt divinis
  Condita oraculis;
Ne humanæ putrent carnes
  Esæque a vermibus,
Sed celesti saliuntur
  Sapore ad victimam.

The witness most faithful,
  All truth he'll unfold,
And the Catholic Faith
  By his preaching is told;
No human taint ever
  His words shall profane,
The salt of true wisdom
  Shall keep him from stain.

Verus cultor et insignis	Vast Gospel fields tilling,
Agri evangelici,	He sows the good seed
Cujus semina videntur	Of the Gospel of Christ,
Christi evangelia,	Without tare or weed ;
Quæ divino serit ore	And the words which he speaks
In aures prudentium,	In the ears of the wise,
Quorumque corda ac mentes	In a rich crop of grace
Sancto arat Spiritu.	From their hearts shall arise.
Xps illum sibi legit	Xt. Jesus hath chosen,
In terris vicarium,	That here in His place
Qui de gemino captivos	He should liberate captives
Liberat servitio ;	From two-fold disgrace ;
Plerosque de servitute	From slavery some,
Quos redemit hominum,	But from Satan still more,
Innumeros de Zabuli	Thus freed from all chains
Absolvit dominio.	Which in bondage they wore.
Ymnos cum Apocalypsi	Yet hymns and Apocalypse
Psalmosque cantat Dei,	This great chanter sings,
Quosque ad ædificandum	And with psalmody sweet
Dei tractat populum ;	To his Lord honor brings ;
Quam legem in Trinitate	The people thus teaching
Sacri credit nominis,	The God One in Three,
Tribusque personis unam	He worships Three Persons
Docetque substantiam.	In one Unity.
Zona Domini præcinctus	Zoned with God's cincture,
Diebus ac noctibus	By night and by day,
Sine intermissione	With fervor unceasing,
Deum orat Dominum :	He fails not to pray,
Cujus ingentis laboris	And with the apostles,
Percepturus prœmium,	As reward for his pains,
Cum apostolis regnabit	A saint over Israel
Sanctis super Israel.	In glory he reigns.
Audite omnes.	All ye, &c.

St. Patrick Carried to Rome by the Angel.

Chapter XI.

St. Patrick's Confession.—Introductory Remarks.

THE CONFESSION OF ST. PATRICK is undoubtedly one of the most ancient and important of our early Irish documents. Its authenticity has never been questioned, and the most illustrious Protestant writers have agreed with the most learned Catholic archæologists in ascribing it to the pen of our saint: at this point, however, their opinions diverge. The Protestant, or, at least, a certain class of Protestants, whose idiosyncracy consists in a morbid horror of Popery, can see nothing in the Confession but Protestantism pure and undefiled. Happily, individuals afflicted with this peculiar mode of viewing historical documents are becoming daily more and more rare. The Catholic finds it just what he would have expected; though even Catholics have, perhaps, scarcely given the attention to this important document which it merits.

There are four ancient copies of St. Patrick's Confession known to exist at present, and in order to secure for the reader the immense advantage of having an original, we have procured carefully executed copies of these four documents. Former editors of St. Patrick's Confession have, for the most part, contented themselves with second-hand information, or have compiled a copy of the Confession from the versions given by others; so, in point of fact, however good their intentions, the reader has not had the original. To the present writer this seems a most unsatisfactory method of procedure. It is the duty of an author to spare no pains to procure for his readers the most accurate information regarding whatever subject he may treat of. Where there is question of documents, it seems to us little less than an injustice to give anything but the original, and the original as it stands, not as we fancy it ought to stand. In some cases, indeed, more particularly in dealing with palimpsests, an editor may suggest a word, or the outline of a sentence, which may be useful; but where the MS. exists complete, and can be read, at least by an expert, no tampering with it can be justifiable.

The four MS. copies of St. Patrick's Confession known to exist at present are, (1) the copy in the Book of Armagh; (2) the copy in the Cottonian collection, at present in the British Museum; and (3 and 4) two copies contained in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and known as Fell 1, 3.

As the copy contained in the Book of Armagh is undoubtedly the most ancient, we have used this as the text, without making the slightest alteration, believing this to be the arrangement which would prove most satisfactory to our readers. A tolerably fair version has already been published by Betham, in his "Irish Antiquarian Researches," part ii.; but as this could not be relied on, from the known inaccuracy of the editor, and as we make it a rule never to take documents on second hand, we applied to the Rev. Dr. Reeves, the well known and distinguished Irish archæologist, for permission to have an accurate copy made from the original, which is his property, although at present in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. This copy was made for us by the Rev. T. O'Mahony, Professor of Irish in that University, with a kind promptness for which we must always feel grateful to him. In order to secure the most perfect accuracy, he has also been so obliging as to compare the proofs word by word with the original; the reader is thus put in possession of a copy of the Confession as it is believed to have been written by the saint himself. The copy of the manuscript in the Cotton collection was made for us by a gentleman connected officially with the Library of the British Museum. For the copies of Fell 1 and 3, from the Bodleian Library, we are indebted to the courtesy of the librarian, the Rev. H. O. Coxe, who obtained the services of an expert, when he found that the collation of the two manuscripts would occupy so much time that he could not himself attend to the matter as he had most kindly wished to do.

The copy of the Confession given by the Bollandists, and by Villaneuva from the Bollandists, is said to have been taken from a MS. preserved in the library of the celebrated Abbey of St. Vaast, at Arras, in the province of Artois, in France. This abbey was destroyed at the time of the French Revolution; hence it is impossible to verify this version. The well-known accuracy of the Bollandist writers, however, is a sufficient guarantee for general accuracy. Villaneuva gives various readings, but does not say from where they were taken, which is unsatisfactory.

In his preface to the Confession, he observes :—

> "Leland, in his book on Irish writers, has: 'Patrick wrote a Journal or Itinerary, entitled—I cannot conceive why—a "Confession," frequently quoted by William of Malmesbury in the first book of the Life of St. Patrick.' Leland's manuscript is to be found in the library at Oxford. Ballaces, referring to British writers, contradicts Leland, and says that the Journal and the Itinerary were different works. Ware, in reply, says: 'A matter easily, in my opinion, disproved, not only from the passage quoted above from William of Malmesbury's book, but even from the very Confession itself, in which St. Patrick frequently refers to his two

captivities, his peregrinations, his trials, &c. From various passages in the Confession, especially from the words, "That you may have the benefit of my presence, and that I may enjoy you always in the Lord," it is pretty clear that it was sent to the Irish in form of an epistle.' And Ware adds that an old writer of the Life of St. Patrick praises it highly as such.

"The texts of Scripture quoted in the Confession, as well as in the Epistle to Coroticus, being taken from the Septuagint, and not from the then recent version of St. Jerome—not generally accepted in the time of St. Patrick—would of themselves prove the antiquity of these works."

As many of the variations in the readings of the four ancient manuscripts are merely orthographical, and as others are merely constructive, and do not affect the sense, it would occupy valuable space uselessly to give them. Hence, we have simply selected such as seemed of real value and interest. The MSS. from which the collations have been taken are distinguished thus:—

B. The copy in the Cotton collection, British Museum.

F. 1 or 3, the copies in the Bodleian library, Oxford.

V. Villaneuva, which, it will be remembered, coincides with the Bollandists.

W. Ware's version.

The text being that of the Book of Armagh, we refer the reader to pages 58–67 of the present work for a full description of this important and interesting MS. It will be seen that, although the copy of the Confession contained therein cannot be said to have been written by St. Patrick himself, yet that there can be little doubt, from the inscription at the end, that it was copied from the very autograph of the saint himself. The copy of the Book of Armagh, at present extant, is supposed, by the most competent authorities, to have been written before the year 845.

It should be observed, however, that a considerable portion of the Confession as given by the writers of the copies in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library, is not contained in the version given in the Book of Armagh. It is quite impossible to decide whether these portions are interpolations or part of the original. It would appear probable that the copy in the Book of Armagh is the most authentic, as it certainly is the oldest; but the critical reader need not be reminded that the oldest copies in point of date are not necessarily the most reliable. Still it would seem very improbable that an Irish writer in the ninth century should have curtailed or should have been ignorant of any portion of so important a document.

Be this as it may, for the satisfaction of the reader, we have supplied the portions not contained in the Book of Armagh from the Bodleian copy. These portions are enclosed in brackets.

It remains only to draw attention to the whole tenor and style of St. Patrick's Confession. As a literary composition it has been very much criticized; but when the circumstances of St. Patrick's early life are remembered, we cannot suppose that it would have been possible for him to have devoted more time to the study of languages or composition than was absolutely necessary for the ecclesiastical state. What he wrote is certainly of infinitely more importance than how he wrote, and the whole tone and style of his Confession is as purely Catholic as might be expected from his training under St. Germanus of Auxerre. As this subject has been already discussed in the early part of the present work, a few words here will be sufficient. Perhaps the most notable point is the strong and earnest language in which the saint inculcates reverence and obedience towards ecclesiastical superiors. In the commencement of his Confession he attributes the captivity and sufferings which he and others endured, to their disobedience to their priests. He writes several times of his zeal in ordaining priests to baptize and teach the Irish, and quotes the divine command (precisely as any Catholic priest would do under similar circumstances in the present day) given to the Church to teach and baptize all nations. And even while speaking of himself with the utmost humility, he never fails to magnify his office. He speaks of the constant repetition of prayer as an act most pleasing to God, and of good works as meritorious.

But his heart seems to go out most especially towards those who had been consecrated as virgins to Christ. Perhaps it is through his prayers, which must, indeed, be all-powerful with God, that there is scarcely any part of the world where the Irish maiden may not be found consecrated as a virgin to Christ, even as her ancestors were in the days of Patrick. In every part of America, in Australia, in the burning sun of Indian climes, in the cold north, in the sunny south, go where you will, you can never travel far without hearing of a convent, and if you visit it you are to sure find more than one, and frequently very many Irish nuns.

But perhaps that part of the Confession which has obtained least attention is the account which the saint gives of the supernatural favors granted to him. We have already discussed his invocation of Elias, and that he intended the prophet Elias there can be no possible doubt, from his statement that he knew not how it occurred to him to invoke him, an expression which he could not have used had he applied the name Elias to our Lord; thus he showed, what, indeed, no unprejudiced person can doubt, that he not only invoked the saints, but also believed that he did so by a special inspiration of God. We next find that he mentions a divine prediction made to him in the silence of night, which was subsequently verified. Such heavenly communications were evidently frequent, and there can be no doubt that the saint had attained a most blessed state of sublime contemplation, even before his escape from slavery. It was in the night, in a dream, that he was warned, like St. Joseph, to seek his ship, and that he was commended for fasting. It was in the night that he saw the vision of Victoricus coming from Ireland, and heard the voices from the wood of Fochlut. It was in the night also that he heard an interior voice, after which he awoke rejoicing. It is quite possible that the "sleep" from which he was thus blessedly awakened was not the sleep of nature, but the mystic sleep of ecstacy in which the saints, even in our own day and time, have been abstracted from earthly things, and only conscious of heavenly communications. It was in the night also that he was favored with that remarkable vision to console him for the charges made against him by those in whose friendship he had formerly confided. There are some difficulties about the details of this vision, but enough remains clear to show its scope and intention. It is indeed evident that the saint gloried in those revelations, as well he might, since in his deep humility he refers them wholly to the grace of God, and takes no merit to himself. In one place he declares that he will not conceal the wonders which God had wrought for him, and in him, no matter who might deride or insult him for his manifestations: a plain evidence that then, as now, while the multitude were credulous enough as to all superstitious practices, the favors granted by God to His saints were objects of contempt to many.

St. Patrick's Letter or Epistle to Coroticus has been given from the text of the Cotton MS. in the British Museum. I have not thought it necessary to give any collations, as there are only two other manuscript copies extant, Fell 1 and 3. There is no important variation in the readings.

ST. PATRICK'S CONFESSION.

Incipiunt Libri Sancti Patricii Episcopi.

EGO Patricius peccator, rusticissimus et minimus omnium fidelium, et contemptibilissimus apud plurimos, patrem habui Calpornium Diaconum,[1] filium quendam Potiti Presbyteri:[3] qui fuit vico Bannavem Taberniæ[4] villulam enim[5] prope habuit ubi ego in capturam dedi. Annorum eram tunc fere xvi. Deum verum ignorabam, et Hiberione in captivitate adductus sum cum tot millia hominum, secundum merita nostra: quia a Deo recessimus, et

The beginning of the Books of the Bishop St. Patrick.

I PATRICK, a sinner, the rudest and least of all the faithful, and contemptible to very many, had for my father Calpornius, a deacon, the son of Potitius, a priest,[2] who lived in Bannavem Taberniæ, for he had a small country house close by, where I was taken captive when I was nearly sixteen years of age. I knew not the true God, and I was brought captive to Ireland, with many thousand men, as we deserved, for we had for-

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[1] F. 1, 3, and B. agree with the above. Fell 1 is headed thus: "Incipit confessio Sancti Patrici Episcopi quod est xvi. Kal. April." Fell 3: "Incipit confessio Sancti Patricii Episcopi, xvi. Kal. Aprili."

[2] The student of early ecclesiastical history need not be reminded that, although priests were never allowed to marry, persons who had been married were sometimes ordained priests, if they separated from their wives. It may be observed that the purely Catholic tone of St. Patrick's teaching is manifest in the very beginning of his Confession, in his strong reprobation of the crime of not being "obedient to priests."

[3] All agree; but the Armagh copy has *filii odissi* in margin. It is not given by Ware or Villaneuva.

[4] F. 1, 3, *Banauem*; B. and W. *Banavem*; V. *Benaven.*

[5] F. 1, 3, *Villulam enim prope*; W. *enon*; V. *enim* (*enon*); B. *enim*. It is difficult to ascertain how the *enon* was introduced; it is not in any of the oldest MSS. See *ante*, p. 83.

præcepta ejus non custodivimus, et sacerdotibus nostris non oboedientes fuimus, qui nostram salutem admonebant: et Dominus induxit super nos[6] iram animationis[7] suæ, et dispersit nos in gentibus multis, etiam usque ad ultimum terræ, ubi nunc parvitas mea videtur esse inter alenigenas. Et ibi Dominus aperuit sensum incredulitatis meæ ut sero rememorarem dilicta mea, ut confirmarem toto corde ad Dominum Deum meum, qui respexit humilitatem meam, et missertus est adoliscentiæ et ignorantiæ meæ, et custodivit me antequam scirem eum, et antequam saperem vel distinguerem vel bonum et malum, et munivit me, et consolatus est mei ut pater filium.

Unde autem tacere non possum, neque expedit quidem tanta beneficia, et tantam gratiam quam mihi[8] dignatus in terra captivitatis meæ: quia hæc est retributio nostra, ut post correptionem vel agnitionem Dei, exaltare et confiteri mirabilia ejus coram omni natione, quæ est sub omni cælo.

Quia non est alius Deus, nec umquam fuit, nec ante, nec erit post hoc, præter Dominum Patrem in-

saken God, and had not kept His commandments, and were disobedient to our priests, who admonished us for our salvation. And the Lord brought down upon us the anger of His Spirit, and scattered us among many nations, even to the ends of the earth, where now my littleness may be seen amongst strangers. And there the Lord showed me my unbelief, that at length I might remember my iniquities, and strengthen my whole heart towards the Lord my God, who looked down upon my humiliation, and had pity upon my youth and ignorance, and kept me, before I knew him, and before I had wisdom, or could distinguish between good and evil, and strengthened and comforted me as a father would his son.

Therefore, I cannot and ought not to be silent concerning the great benefits and graces which the Lord has bestowed upon me in the land of my captivity, since the only return we can make for such benefits is, after God has reproved us, to extol and confess His wonders before every nation under heaven.

For there is no other God, nor ever was, nor shall be hereafter, except the Lord, the unbegotten genitum, sine principio, a quo est omne principium: omnia tenentem (ut diximus); et ejus filium Jesum Christum qui cum patre scilicet semper fuisse testamur, ante originem sæculi spiritualiter apud Patrem inerrabiliter[9] genitum ante omne principium, et per ipsum facta sunt vissibilia, hominem factum morte devicta in cælis.[1] Et dedit illi omnem potestatem super omne nomen cælestium, terrestrium et infernorum, ut omnis lingua confiteatur ei, quia Dominus et Deus est Jesus Christus quem credimus et expectamus[2] adventum mox futurum judex vivorum atque mortuorum: qui reddet unicuique secundum facta sua et effudit in nobis habunde Spiritum Sanctum donum et pignus inmortalitatis, qui facit credentes et oboedientes, ut sint filii Dei[3] et coheredes Christi, quem confitemur et adoramus unum Deum in Trinitate Sacri nominis. Ipse enim dixit per prophetam: "Invoca me in die tribulationis tuæ, et liberabo te, et magnificabis me." Et iterum inquit: "Opera autem Dei

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[6] The six fol. words omitted in B.

[7] *Indignationis*, V.

[8] *Dominus præstare*, B. F. 1, 3, and V.

Father, without beginning, by whom all things have their being, who upholds all things, as we have said; and His Son, Jesus Christ, whom, together with the Father, we testify to have always existed before the origin of the world, spiritually with the Father, ineffably begotten before every beginning; and by Him were the visible things made; was made man, death being overthrown, in the heavens. And He hath given Him all power over every name of things in heaven, and earth, and hell, that every tongue should confess to Him that Jesus Christ is Lord, and whose coming we expect ere long to judge the living and dead; who will render to every one according to his works; who hath poured forth abundantly on us both the gift of His Spirit and the pledge of immortality; who makes the faithful and obedient to become the sons of God and co-heirs with Christ; whom we confess and adore one God in the Trinity of the holy Name. For he Himself has said revelare, et confiteri, honorificum est."

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[9] *Inerrabiliter* literally means "unerringly;" perhaps it was intended for *innarrabiliter*, "ineffably."—T. O'M.

[1] *Ad Patrem receptum*, B. F. 1, 3, W. and V.

[2] Between the *ex* and the *p* of this word there is what seems to be *ce*—the whole looks like *excepectamus.*—T. O'M.

[3] *Patris*, W. The reading in V. varies very much here, but as there is no authority given for it, we do not insert it. B. and F. 1, 3, have *Patris* also, but read as above.

Tamenetsi in multis imperfectus sum, opto fratribus et cognotatis meis scire qualitatem meam, ut possint perficere votum animæ meæ. Non ignoro testimonium Domini mei, qui in Psalmo testatur: "Perdes eos[5] qui loquuntur mendacium,"[6] et iterum inquit: "Os, quod mentitur occidit animam."[7] Et idem Dominus:[8] "Verbum otiossum quod locuti fuerint homines reddent rationem de eo in die judicii."[9] Unde autem vehementer cum timore et tremore metuere hanc sententiam in die illa, ubi se nemo poterit subtrahere, vel abscondere, sed omnes omnino reddituri sumus rationem etiam minimorum pec-

by the prophet: *Call upon me in the day of thy trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt magnify me.* And again he says: *It is honorable to reveal and confess the works of God.*[4]

Although I am imperfect in many things, I wish my brothers and acquaintances to know my dispositions that they may be able to understand the desire of my soul. I am not ignorant of the testimony of my Lord, who declares in the Psalm: *Thou wilt destroy all that speak a lie.* And again: *The mouth that belieth, killeth the soul.* And the same Lord: *Every idle word that men shall speak, they shall render an account for it in the Day of Judgment.* Therefore I ought, with great fear and trembling, to dread this sentence in that day, when no one shall be able to withdraw or hide himself, catorum ante tribunal Domini Christi.

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[4] *God.*—The quotations from what Protestants call the Apocrypha, but what St. Patrick, as a Catholic, accepted as part of the canon of Scripture, have been a great perplexity to those who are anxious, for controversial reasons, to make out that the early Irish Church was not taught the same faith by him as it is taught now by his successors. All the quotations from Scripture are given from the translation of the Bible published by Dolman, with the approbation of the late Right Rev. Dr. Denvir. My non-Catholic readers, and I am happy to say many such have expressed and shown great interest in this work, will kindly remember this.

[5] B. has *perdes qui locunter;* F. 1, 3, *eos qui locunter.*

[6] Ps. v. 7. The Vulgate has *perdes omnes.*

[7] Sap. i. 11.

[8] B. and F. 1, 3, *in Evangelio inquit;* W. *in Evangelis dixit.*

[9] Matt. xii. 36.

Quapropter ollim cogitavi scribere, sed usque nunc hessitavi: timui enim ne incederem in linguam hominum: quia non dedici sicut et cæteri, qui optime itaque jure et sacras literas utroque pari modo combiberunt et sermones illorum ex infantia numquam motarunt, sed magis ad perfectum semper addiderunt: nam sermo et loquela nostra translata est in linguam alienam, sicut facile potest probari ex salive scripturæ meæ, qualiter sum ego in sermonibus instructus, atque eruditus; quia inquit sapiens: "Per linguam dignoscetur sensus et scientia et doctrina veritatis."[1] Sed quid prodest excussatio juxta veritatem, præsertim cum præsumptione? quotinus modo ipse adpeto in senectute[2] mea quod in juventute non comparavi quod obstiterunt ut confirmarem quod ante perlegeram. Sed si quis mihi credit? Et si dixero (quod ante præfatus sum), adoliscens, immo pene puer in verbis capturam dedi, antequam scirem quid peterem vel quid adpeterem vel quid vitare debueram. Unde ego hodie erubesco, et vehemen-

but all must give an account, even of the least sins, before the judgment-seat of the Lord Christ.

Therefore, although I thought of writing long ago, I feared the censure of men, because I had not learned as the others who studied the sacred writings in the best way, and have never changed their language since their childhood, but continually learned it more perfectly, while I have to translate my words and speech into a foreign tongue; and it can be easily proved from the style of my writings how I am instructed in speech and learning, for the Wise Man says: *By the tongue wisdom is discerned, and understanding and knowledge and learning by the word of the wise.* But what avails an excuse, however true, especially when accompanied with presumption? for I, in my old age, strive after that which I was hindered from learning in my youth. But who will believe me? And if I say what I have said before, that as a mere youth, nay, almost a boy in words, I was taken captive, before I knew what I ought to seek and to avoid. Therefore, I blush to-day and greatly dread to expose my igno-

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[1] Eccl. iv. 29. The Vulgate reads differently, but this is the sense.

[2] B. omits four words, and reads, *non compari que;* F. 3 has them after *prohibite.*

ter protimeo[3] denudare imperitiam meam, quia non possum de decritis brevitate sermone explicare neque sicut enim spiritus gestit, et animas et sensus monstrat adfectus. Sed si itaque datum mihi fuisset, sicut et cæteris; verumtamen non silerem propter retributionem, et si forte videtur apud aliquantos me in hoc proponere cum mea inscientia[4] et tardiori lingua; sed scriptum est, "Linguæ balbutientes velociter discent loqui pacem:"[5] quanto magis nos adpetere debemus, qui sumus nos æpistola Christi in salutem usque ad ultimum terræ; et si non deserta, sed ratum et fortissimum—scriptum in cordibus vestris, "non atramento testatur sed Spiritu Dei vivi;" et iterum Spiritus testatur, "Rusticationem ab Altissimo creata est."[6]

Unde ego primus rusticus perfuga, inductus scilicet qui nescio in posterum providere; sed illud scio certissime, quia utique, priusquam humiliarer, ego eram velut lapis, qui jacet in luto profundo; veniens[7] qui potens est in sua mis-

rance, because I am not able to express myself briefly, with clear and well-arranged words, as the spirit desires and the mind and intellect point out. But if it had been given to me as to others, I would not have been silent for the recompense; and although it may seem to some who think thus that I put myself forward, with my ignorance and too slow tongue; nevertheless it is written, "The tongues of stammerers shall speak readily and plain;" how much more ought we to undertake this who are the epistle of Christ for salvation unto the ends of the earth, written in pure heart, if not with eloquence, yet with power and endurance, *not written with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God;* and again the Spirit testifies, "Husbandry, it was ordained by the Most High."

Therefore I undertook this work at first, though a rustic and a fugitive, and not knowing how to provide for the future; but this I know for certain, that before I was humbled I was like a stone lying in deep mire, until He who is

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[3] F. 1, 3, and B. *pertimeo*, and V. *pertimesco.*

[4] F. 1, 3, reads as above. B. and W. have *inscitia.*

[5] Isa. xxxii. 4. Reads as above in all the copies, but the Vulgate reads differently.

[6] Ec. vii. 16.

[7] For *Veniens*, which was written down at first, the scribe seems to have suggested a change, which would make the reading *venit ens.*—T. O'M. F. 1, 3, and B. have *venit.*

sericordia sustulit me, et quidem scilicet sursum adlevavit, et collocavit me in sua parte; et inde fortiter debueram exclamare ad retribuendam quoque aliquid Domino, pro tantis beneficiis ejus, hic et in æternum, quæ mens hominum æstimare non potest. Unde autem admiramini magni et pusilli, qui timetis Deum; rhetorici[8] et vos dominicati, audite et scrutamini quis me stultum excitavit de medio eorum qui videntur esse sapientes, et leges periti et potentes in sermone, et in omni re et me quidem detestabilis hujus mundi de cæteris inspiravit, si talis essem; dummodo autem ut cum metu et reverentia, et sine querella, fideliter genti, ad quam charitas Christi transtulit et donavit me in vita mea, si vivus fuero: denique ut cum humilitate et veraciter deservirem illis.

In mensura itaque fidei Trinitatis oportet distinguere sine reprehensione periculi notum facere donum Dei, et consolationem æternam, sine timore fiducialiter Dei nomen ubique expandere, ut etiam post obitum meum ex a Gallias[9] relinquere fratribus, et filiis meis,

powerful came and in His mercy raised me up, and indeed again succored and placed me in His part; and therefore I ought to cry out loudly, and thank the Lord in some degree for all his benefits, here and after, which the mind of man cannot estimate. Therefore, be amazed, both great and small who fear God; rhetoricians, and ye of the Lord, hear and inquire who aroused me, a fool, from the midst of those who seem to be wise, and skilled in the law, and powerful in speech, and in all things, and hath inspired me (if indeed I be such) beyond others, though I am despised by this world, so that, with fear and reverence and without murmuring, I should faithfully serve this nation, to whom the charity of Christ hath transferred me, and given me for my life, if I shall survive; and that at last with humility and truth I should serve them.

In the measure therefore of the faith of the Trinity it behoves me to distinguish without shrinking from danger, and to make known the gift of God, and everlasting consolation, and, without fear, confidently to spread abroad the name of God everywhere, so that after

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[8] F. 3, and B. have *nethorici.*

[9] B. has *Gallia.* F. 1, *ex Gallias;* 3, *ex Gallicis.*

quos in Domino ego baptizavi, tot millia hominum; et non eram dignus, neque talis, ut hoc Dominus servo suo concederet; et post ærumnas et tantas moles, post captivitatem, post annos multos, in gentem illam tantem gratiam mihi donaret, quod aliquondo in juventute mea numquam speravi, neque cogitavi.

Sed postquam Hiberione deveneram, cotidie itaque pecora pascebam, et frequens in die orabam, magis ac magis accedebat amor Dei, et timor ipsius et fides augebatur, et spiritus agebatur, ut in die una usque ad centum orationes et in nocte prope similiter, ut etiam in silvis et monte manebam, ante lucem excitabar ad orationem per nivem, per gelu, per pluviam,[1] et nihil mali sentiebam, neque ulla pigritia erat in me, sed modo video, quia tunc spiritus in me fervebat. Et ibi scilicet quadam nocte in somno audivi vocem dicentem sibi mihi:[2] "Bene jejunas, cito

my death I may leave it to my Gallican brethren and to my sons, many thousands of whom I have baptized in the Lord. And I was neither worthy nor deserving that the Lord should so favor me, his servant, after such afflictions and great difficulties, after captivity, after many years, as to grant me such grace for this nation, a thing which, still in my youth, I had neither hoped for nor thought of.

But after I had come to Ireland I was daily tending sheep, and I prayed frequently during the day, and the love of God, and His faith and fear, increased in me more and more, and the spirit was stirred; so that in a single day I have said as many as a hundred prayers, and in the night nearly the same, so that I remained in the woods, and on the mountain, even before the dawn, I was roused to prayer, in snow, and ice, and rain, and I felt no injury from it, nor was there any slothfulness in me, as I see now, because the spirit was then fervent in me. And there

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[1] *Pluiam* in MS.—T. O'M.

[2] *Sibi* has two dots over it, marks which usually indicate an erasure.—T. O'M. Adhering to our rule of giving the version of the Book of Armagh *as it is*, and not as we think it ought to be, we give the version as it stands: thus the repetition of *jejunans* is obviously a mistake of the scribe. Moreover, these mistakes, to our thinking, are a strong evidence that the work was copied from some older MS.; such mistakes would scarcely occur in an original composition.

jejunans iturus ad patriam tuam." Et iterum[3] post paullulum tempus audivi responsum dicentem mihi: ecce navis tua parata est. Et non erat prope, sed forte habebat cc. millia passus, et ibi numquam fueram, nec ibi notum quemquam de hominibus habebam.

Et deinde postmodum conversus sum in fugam: et intermissi hominem cum fueram vi annis: et veni in virtute Domini, qui viam meam ad bonum[4] dirigebat, et nihil metuebam, donec perveni ad navem illam. Et illa die qua perveni profecta est navis de loco suo, et locutus sum ut abirem unde navigarem cum illis, et gubernatori displicuit illi et acriter cum interrogatione respondit: "Nequaquam ut nobiscum adpetes ire." Et cum hæc audiissem, separavi me ab illis, ut venirem ad tegoriolum ubi hospitabam: et in itenere cœpi orare: et antequam orationem consummarem, audivi unum ex illis et fortiter exclamabat post me: "Veni

one night I heard a voice, while I slept, saying to me, "Thou dost fast well; fasting thou shalt soon go to thy country." And again, after a very short time, I heard a response, saying to me: "Behold, thy ship is ready." And the place was not near, but perhaps about two hundred miles distant, and I had never been there, nor did I know any one who lived there.

Soon after this I fled, and left the man with whom I had been six years, and I came in the strength of the Lord, who directed my way for good; and I feared nothing until I arrived at that ship. And the day on which I came the ship had moved out of her place: and I asked to go and sail with them, but the master was displeased, and replied, angrily: "Do not seek to go with us." And when I heard this I went from them to go thither where I had lodged; and I began to pray as I went; but before I had ended my prayer, I heard one of them calling out loudly after me, "Come quickly, for these men

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[3] B. has *terram.*

[4] We have here a curious evidence of how the wildest theories may be built up upon the purest conjecture. When writing on this subject, *ante,* p. 136, we had not got the collations of the Cotton and Bodleian MSS.; they quite set the subject at rest, all giving the same version, *qui viam meam ad bonum dirigebat.* Ware has this also; but V. on pure conjecture, *qui viam meam dirigebat, veni ad Benum.*

cito, quia vocant te homines isti:" et statim ad illos reversus sum; et cœperunt mihi dicere: "Veni, quia ex fide recipimus te, fac nobiscum amicitiam quomodo volueris." Et in illa die itaque reppuli sugere mammellas eorum propter timorem Dei; sed verumtamen ab illis speravi, venire in fidem Jesu Christi,[5] quia gentes erant; et ob hoc obtinui cum illis;[6] et post triduum terram cæpimus; et xxviii dies per disertum iter fecimus, et cibus defuit illis, et fames invaluit super eos; et alio die cœpit gubernator mihi dicere: "Quid Christiane tu dicis? Deus tuus magnus et omnipotens est, quare ergo pro nobis orare non potes? Quia nos fame periclitamur Difficile enim umquam ut aliquem hominem videamus." Ego enim evidenter dixi illis: "Convertimini ex fide[7] ad Dominum Deum meum, cui nihil est inpossibile, ut cibum mittat nobis in viam vestram, usque dum satiamini, quia ubique habundat illi." Et adjuvante Deo, ita factum est, ecce grex porcorum in via ante oculos nostros apparuit[8] et multos

are calling you;" and I returned to them immediately, and they began saying to me: "Come, we receive thee in good faith; make such friendship with us as you wish." And then that day I disdained to supplicate them, on account of the fear of God; but I hoped of them, that they would come into the faith of Jesus Christ, for they were Gentiles; and this I obtained from them; and after three days we reached land, and for twenty-eight days we journeyed through a desert, and their provisions failed, and they suffered greatly from hunger; and one day the master began to say to me, "What sayest thou, O Christian? your God is great and all-powerful; why canst thou not then pray for us, since we are perishing with hunger, and may never see the face of man again?" And I said to them plainly, "Turn sincerely to the Lord my God, to whom nothing is impossible, that He may send us food on your way until ye are satisfied, for it abounds everywhere for Him." And with God's help it was so done, for lo, a flock of swine ap-

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[5] B. and F. 1, 3, have *et protinus navigavimus.*

[6] The whole of this passage is very obscure; it would make nonsense to translate *sugere mammellas* literally. It was, probably, some proverbial expression. If any one acquainted with Celtic colloquialisms knows any corresponding one, I shall be obliged for information. The expression *venire in fidem,* &c., is also difficult to render.

[7] B. and F. 1, 3, have *et ex toto corde.*

[8] Not in F. 1, 3, or B., but W. has it; V. reads *in viâ veniebat ante,* &c.

ex illis interficerunt: et ibi ii. noctes manserunt bene refecti et canes[9] eorum repleti sunt, quia multi ex illis[1] secus viam semivivi relicti sunt. Et post hæc summas gratias egerunt Deo, et ego honorificatus sum sub oculis eorum.[2]

Etiam mel silvistre invenierunt, et mihi partem obtulerunt, et unus ex illis dixit: "Immolaticum est, Deo gratias," exinde nihil gustavi. Eadem vero[3] eram dormiens, et fortiter temptavit me Satanas, quod memor ero quandiu fuero in hoc corpore, et cicidit enim super me veluti saxum ingens, et nihil membrorum prevalens. Sed unde mihi venit[4] in spiritum ut Heliam vocarem, et in hoc vidi in cælum solem oriri; et dum clamarem, Heliam,[5] viribus meis ecce splendor solis illius decidit super me, et statim discussit a me gravitudinem. Et credo quod a Christo Domino meo[6] clamabat pro me et spero quod sic erit in die pressuaræ meæ, sicut in Ævan-

peared in the way before our eyes, and they killed many of them, and remained there two nights, much refreshed and filled with their flesh, for many of them had been left exhausted by the wayside. After this they gave the greatest thanks to God, and I was honored in their eyes.

They also found wild honey, and offered me some of it, and one of them said: "This is offered in sacrifice, thanks be to God," after this I tasted no more. But the same night, while I was sleeping, I was strongly tempted by Satan (of which I shall be mindful as long as I shall be in this body), and there fell as it were a great stone upon me, and there was no strength in my limbs. And then it came into my mind, I know not how, to call upon Elias, and at the same moment I saw the sun rising in the heavens, and while I cried out Elias with all my might, behold, the splendor of the sun was shed upon me, and immediately shook from me all heaviness.

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[9] B. has *carnes eorum.*

[1] F. 1, 3, and B. have *defecerunt et.*

[2] B. and F. 1, 3, have *Et ex hac die abundantur cibum habuerunt.*

[3] F. 1, 3, and B. have *nocte.*

[4] F. 1, and B. have *ignarum.*

[5] B. and F. 1, 3, have *Heliam Heliam.*

[6] B. and C. 1, 3, have (*subventus sum, et spiritus ejus jam tunc*) *clamabam,* &c., and give the whole of the text, *non vos estis,* &c., Matt. x. 20.

gelio inquit Dominus: "Non vos estis," &c.

Multos adhuc capturam dedi: ea nocte prima itaque mansi cum illis, responsum autem divinum audivi: "Duobus autem mensibus eris cum illis:" quod ita factum est. Nocte illa sexagensima liberavit me Dominus de manibus eorum. Etiam in itenere prœvidit nobis cibum et ignem, et siccitatem cotidie donec decimo die pervenimus omnis. Sicut superius insinuavi, viginti et octo disertum iter fecimus, et ea nocte qua pervenimus omnis de cibo nihil habuimus.

Et iterum post paucos annos,[7] in Britannis eram cum parentibus meis, qui me ut filium susciperunt, et ex fide rogaverunt me, ut vel modo ego post tantas tribulationes quas ego pertuli, nusquam ab illis discederem. Et ibi scilicet in sinu noctis[8] virum venientem quasi de *Hiberione*, cui nomen Victoricus, cum æpistolis innumera-

And I believe that Christ my Lord cried out for me; and I hope that it will be so in the day of my adversity, as the Lord testifies in the Gospel: *It is not you that speak*, &c.

Some time after I was taken captive, and on the first night I remained with them I heard a divine response, saying: "You shall be two months with them;" and so it was. On the sixtieth night the Lord delivered me out of their hands, and on the road He provided for us food, and fire, and dry weather daily, until on the fourteenth day we all came. As I have above mentioned, we journeyed twenty-eight days through a desert, and on the night of our arrival we had no provisions left.

And again, after a few years, I was with my relations in Britain, who received me as a son, and earnestly besought me that then, at least, after I had gone through so many tribulations, I would go nowhere from them. And there I saw, in the midst of the night, a man who appeared to come from Ireland, whose name was Vic-

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[7] B. and F. 1, 3, have *Et iterum post annos;* B. has *non multos;* F. 1, 3, *annos multis*. It is evident both B. and F. copied from very similar MSS. We have here the first great variation from the version of the Book of Armagh, where the *Et iterum post paucos annos* is only given once, and comes after *nihil habuimus*.

[8] *Sinu noctis*—Literally, the "bosom of the night."

bilibus vidi, et dedit mihi unam ex his; et legi principium æpistolæ continentem *Vox Hiberionacum.* Et dum recitabam principium æpistolæ, putabam enim ipse in mente audire vocem ipsorum, qui erant juxta sylvam *Focluti*,[9] quæ est prope mare occidentale. Et sic exclamaverunt, "Rogamus te, sancte puer, ut venias, et adhuc[1] ambulas inter nos." Et valde compunctus sum corde, et vald[e][2] amplius non potui legere: et sic expertus sum. Deo gratias, quia post plurimos annos praestitit illis Dominus secundum clamorem illorum.

Et alia nocte, nescio, Deus scit; utrum in me, an juxta me, verbis peritissime quos ego audivi, et non potui intellegere, nisi ad postremum orationis sic efficiatus est: "Qui dedit pro te animam suam,[3] pro te ipse est qui loquitur in te." Et sic expertus sum gaudibundus. Et iterum vidi in me ipsum orantem: et eram quasi[4] intra corpus meum, et audivi hoc est, super interiorem hominem, et ibi fortiter orabat gemitibus. Et inter

toricus, and he had innumerable letters with him, one of which he gave to me; and I read the commencement of the epistle containing "The Voice of the Irish;" and as I read aloud the beginning of the letter, I thought I heard in my mind the voice of those who were near the wood of Focluti, which is near the western sea; and they cried out: "We entreat thee, holy youth, to come and walk still amongst us." And my heart was greatly touched, so that I could not read any more, and so I awoke. Thanks be to God that, after very many years, the Lord hath granted them their desire.

And on another night, whether in me or near me God knows, I heard eloquent words which I could not understand until the end of the speech, when it was said: "He who gave His life for thee is He who speaks in thee;" and so I awoke full of joy. And again I saw one praying within me, and I was, as it were, within my body, and I heard, that is, above the inner man, and there he prayed earnestly with groans. And I was amazed at

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[9] B. and F. 3, have *virgulti*; F. 1, *sylvam virgultique.*

[1] B. and F. 1, 3, have *quasi ex uno ore.*

[2] This *valde* has marks of erasure over it. The scribe had written *vald*, when he seems to have discovered his error.—T. O'M.

[3] B. and F. 3, have *qui pro te animum suam posint*; F. 1, the same, except *posuit.*

[4] B. omits *quasi.*

hæc stupebam, et admirabam, et cogitabam quis esset qui in me orabat. Sed ad postremum orationis sic efficiatus est ut sit episcopus,[5] et sic expertus sum et recordatus sum Apostolo dicente : " Spiritus adjuvat infirmitates orationis nostræ : nam quod oremus sicut oportet nescimus : sed ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inerrabilibus, quæ verbis exprimi non possunt."[6] Et iterum : " Dominus advocatus est noster postulat pro nobis."[7] [Et quando temptatus sum ab aliquantis senioribus meis, qui venerunt, et peccata mea, contra laboriosum episcopatum meum, utque in illo die fortiter impulsus sum, ut caderem hic et in æternum. Sed Dominus pepercit proselyto et peregrino propter nomen suum, benigne et valde mihi subvenit in hac conculcatione, quod in labe et opprobrium non male deveni. Deum oro ut non illis in peccatum reputetur occasionum ; post annos triginta invenerunt me, et adversus verbum quod confessus fueram antequod essem diaconus ;

this, and marvelled and considered who this could be who prayed in me. But at the end of the prayer it came to pass that it was a bishop, and I awoke, and remembered that the apostle said : *Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmity, for we know not what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit himself asketh for us with unspeakable groanings.* And again, *The Lord is our advocate, who also maketh intercession for us.* [And when I was tried by some of my elders, who came and spoke of my sins as an objection to my laborious episcopate, I was on that day, sometimes, strongly driven to fall away here and for ever. But the Lord spared a proselyte and a stranger for His name's sake, and mercifully assisted me greatly in that affliction, because I was not entirely deserving of reproach. I pray God that they may not be found guilty of giving an occasion of sin ; they found me after thirty years, and brought against me words that I had confessed before I was a deacon ; from

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[5] All read thus except F. 3. F. 1 has *eps.* Probably the original had *sps,* and was thus mistaken for *eps.*

[6] Rom. viii. 26.

[7] B. has *Deus.* Probably a loose quotation from Rom. viii. 34. The paragraphs from *Et quando* to *supra dictis* are wanting in the Book of Armagh. I give them above, in brackets, from the Cotton MSS. I must confess myself very doubtful of the value of anything purporting to be a part of the Confession which is not contained in the Book of Armagh. However, as the above is found in all the three versions, I give it.

propter anxietatem mœsto animo insinuavi amicissimo meo quæ in pueritia mea una die gesseram, immo in una hora, quia necdum prævalebam. Nescio, Deus scit, si habebam tunc annis quindecim, et Deum vivum non credebam neque ex infantia mea; sed in morte et in incrudelitate mansi, donec valde castigatus sum, et in veritate humiliatus sum a fame et nuditate; et cotidie contra Hiberione non sponte pergebam, donec prope deficiebam. Sed hec [*sic*] potius bene mihi fuit: quia ex hoc emendatus sum a Domino, et aptavit me ut hodie essem quod aliquando longe a me erat, ut ego curas haberem aut satagerem pro salute aliorum, quando etiam de me ipso non cogitabam.

Igitur in illo die quo reprobatus sum a memoratus supra dictis ad noctem illam]. Vidi in visu noctis scriptum erat contra faciem meam, sine honore. Et inter hæc audivi responsum dicentem mihi: "Male audivimus faciem designati[8] nudato nomine," nec sic prædixit: "male vidisti;" sed: "male vidimus;" quasi ibi se junxisset, sicut dixit: "Qui vos tanguit, quasi qui tanguit pupillam oculi mei."[9]

anxiety, with sorrow of mind I told my dearest friend what I had done in my youth, in one day, nay, rather in one hour, because I was not then able to overcome. I know not, God knows, if I was then fifteen years of age, and from my childhood I did not believe in the living God, but remained in death and unbelief until I was severely chastised, and, in truth, I have been humbled by hunger and nakedness; and even now I did not come to Ireland of my own will, until I was nearly worn out. But this proved a blessing to me, for I was thus corrected by the Lord, and he made me fit to be to-day that which was once far from my thoughts, so that I should care for the salvation of others, for at that time I had no thought even for myself.

And in the night of the day in which I was reproved for the things above mentioned, I saw in the night.] I saw in a vision of the night a writing without honor before me. And then I heard an answer saying to me, "We have heard with displeasure the face of the elect without a name." He did not say "thou hast badly seen," but "we have badly seen," as if he had there joined himself to me, as

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[8] F. 1, 3, have *dei signati.* F. 1, 2, and B. read *male vidimus.*

[9] Zach. ii. 8. Not as in the Vulgate.

Idcirco gratias ago ei, qui me in omnibus confortavit, ut non me inpediret a profectione qua statueram, et de mea quoque opere, quod a Christo Dominus meo dedideram: sed magis ex eo sensi virtutem non parvam, et fides mea probata est coram deo et hominibus.

Unde autem audenter dico, non me reprehendit conscientia mea hic et in futurum; teste Deo ab eo, quia non sum mentitus in sermonibus quos ego retuli vobis.[1] [Sed magis doleo pro amicissimo meo, cur hoc meruimus audire tale responsum, cui ego credidi et etiam animam. Et comperi ab aliquantis fratribus ante defensionem illam, quod ego non interfui, nec in Britanniis eram, nec a me orietur, ut et ille in mea absentia pro me pulsaret. Etiam mihi ipse ore suo dixerat: "Ecce dandus es tu ad gradum Episcopatus," quod non eram dignus. Sed unde venit illi postmodum ut coram cunctis bonis et malis in me puplice dehonestaret, quod ante sponte et lætus indulserat? Et Dominus qui major omnibus est?

he said: *He that toucheth you, is as he who toucheth the apple of my eye.* Therefore I give thanks to Him who comforted me in all things, that He did not hinder me from the journey which I had proposed, and also as regards my work which I had learned of Christ. But from this thing I felt no little strength, and my faith was approved before God and man.

Therefore, I dare to say that my conscience does not reproach me now or for the future. I have the testimony of God now, that I have not lied in the words I have told you. [But I feel the more grieved that my dearest friend, to whom I would have trusted even my life, should have occasioned this. And I learned from certain brethren that, before this defence, when I was not present, nor even in Britain, and with which I had nothing to do, that he defended me in my absence. He had even said to me with his own lips: "Thou art going to be given the rank of bishop," though I was not worthy of it. How, then, did it happen to him that, afterwards, before all persons, good and bad, he should

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[1] The paragraphs from *sed magis* down to *ultra est* are wanting in the Book of Armagh, but are given from the Cotton MSS. for the reasons stated above.

Satis dico. Sed tamen non debeo abscondere donum Deo, quod largitus est nobis in terra captivitatis meæ, quia tunc fortiter inquisivi eum, et ibi inveni illum, et servavit me ab omnibus iniquitatibus, sic credo propter inhabitantem Spiritum ejus, qui operatus est usque in hanc diem in me audentur rursus. Sed scit Deus, si mihi homo hoc effatus fuisset forsitan tacuissem propter charitatem Christi.

Unde ego indefessam gratiam ago Deo meo, qui me fidelem servavit in die tentationis meæ; ita ut hodie confidenter offeram illi sacrificium, ut hostiam viventem animam meam Christo Domino meo, qui me servavit ab omnibus augustiis meis, ut et dicam: "Quis ego sum, Domine? vel quæ est invocatio mea, qui mihi tantam divinitatem cooperuisti? Ita ut hodie in gentibus constanter exultarem et magnificarem nomen tuum ubicunque loco fuero, necnon in secundis, sed etiam in pressuris:" ut quicquid mihi evenerit, sive bonum, sive malum, æqualiter debeo suscipere, et Deo gratias semper agere, qui mihi ostendit, ut indubitabilem eum sine fine crederem, et qui me audierit ut et ego inscius sim in novissimis die-

detract me publicly, when he had before this freely and gladly praised me? And the Lord who is greater than all? I have said enough. Still I ought not to hide the gift of God which He gave me in the land of my captivity, for I sought Him earnestly then, and found him there, and He preserved me from all iniquity, I believe, through the indwelling of His Spirit, which worketh within me unto this day more and more. But God knows if it were man who spoke this to me I would perhaps be silent for the love of Christ.

Therefore, I give unceasing thanks to my God, who preserved me faithful in the day of my temptation, so that I can, to-day, offer him sacrifice confidently, the living sacrifice of my soul to Christ my Lord, who preserved me from all my troubles, so that I may say to Him: "Who am I, O Lord? or what is my calling, that divine grace should have so wrought with me? So that to-day I can so rejoice amongst the nations, and magnify Thy name, wherever I am, not only in prosperity but also in adversity;" and I ought to receive equally whatever happens to me, whether good or evil, giving God thanks in all things, who hath shown me that I should, undoubtingly, without ceasing, believe in Him who hath heard me though I am ignorant,

bus hoc opus tam pium et tam mirificum adire aggreder ita ut imitarem quispium illos, quos ante Dominus jam olim prædixerat prænuntiaturos Evangelium suum in testimonium omnibus gentibus ante finem mundi.[2] Quod ita ergo ut vidimus itaque suppletum est. Ecce testes sumus, quia Evangelium prædicatum est ubique ubi nemo ultra est.]

Longum est totum per singula enarrare laborem meum, vel per partes. Breviter dicam qualiter pissimus Deus de servitute sepe liberavit, et de periculis xii qua periclitata est anima mea; præter insidias multas, et quæ verbis exprimere non valeo, nec injuriam legentibus faciam. Sed Deum[3] auctorem qui novit omnia etiam antequam fiant[4] [ut me pauperculum pupillum. Ideo tamen responsum divinum creberrime admoneret,[5] unde mihi hæc sapientia, quæ in me non erat, qui nec numerum dierum noveram, neque Deum sapiebam? Unde mihi postmodum donum tam magnum tam salubre Deum agnoscere vel diligere, sed ut patriam et

and that I should undertake, in those days, so holy and wonderful a work, and imitate those of whom our Lord predicted of old that they should preach His Gospel to all nations for a testimony before the end of the world; which has been accomplished, as we have seen. Behold, we are witnesses that the Gospel has been preached to the limits of human habitation.]

But it is too long to detail my labors particularly, or even partially. I will briefly say how the good God often delivered me from slavery and from twelve dangers by which my soul was threatened, besides many snares, and what in words I cannot express, and with which I will not trouble my readers. But God knows all things, even before they come to pass [as he does me, a poor creature. Therefore the divine voice very often admonished me to consider whence came this wisdom, which was not in me, who neither knew God nor the number of my days. Whence did I obtain afterwards the great and salutary gift to know or love God, and to leave my country

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[2] A reference to St. Matth. xxviii. 20. It is evident that St. Patrick was very familiar with Scripture; there are many indirect references to it throughout the Confession, which it seems scarcely necessary to verify.

[3] F. 1, 3, and B. read *dum authorem.*

[4] F. 1, 3, and B. have the paragraphs inclosed in brackets.

[5] B. *creberrime admonuit,* and V.

parentes amitterem, et munera multa mihi offerebantur cum fletu et lacrimis? Et offendi illos necnon contra votum aliquantis de senioribus meis. Sed gubernante Deo, nullo modo consensi neque adquievi illis: non mea gratia sed Deus, qui vincit in me, et resistit illis omnibus, ut ego veneram, ad Hibernas gentes Evangelium prædicare, et ab incredulis contumelias perferre, ut aurem obprobrium peregrinationis meæ, et persecutionis multas usque ad vincula, et ut darem ingenuitatem meam pro utilitatem aliorum. Et si dignus fuero, promptus sum ut etiam animam meam incunctanter et libentissime pro nomine ejus; et ibi opto impendere eam usque ad mortem, si Dominus indulgeret.]

Quia valde debitor sum Deo, qui mihi tantam gratiam, donavit ut populi multi per me in Deum renascerentur,[6] et ut clerici ubique illis ordinarentur ad plebem nuper venientem ad credulitatem, quam sumsit Dominus ab extremis terræ, sicut olim promiserat per profetas suos;[7] "Sicut falso comparaverunt patres nostri idola, et non est in eis

and my relations, although many gifts were offered to me with sorrow and tears. And I offended many of my seniors then against my will. But, guided by God, I yielded in no way to them—not to me, but to God be the glory, who conquered in me, and resisted them all; so that I came to the Irish people to preach the Gospel, and bear with the injuries of the unbelieving, and listen to the reproach of being a stranger, and endure many persecutions, even to chains, and to give up my freedom for the benefit of others. And if I be worthy, I am ready to give up my life unhesitatingly and most cheerfully for His name, and thus, if the Lord permit, I desire to spend it even until my death.]

For I am truly a debtor to God, who has given me so much grace, that many people should be born again to God through me, and that for them everywhere should be ordained priests for this people, newly come to the faith, which the Lord took from the ends of the earth, as He promised formerly by His Prophets: "Our fathers falsely prepared idols, and there is no profit in

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[6] B. and F. 1, 3, have *et postmodum consummarentur.*

[7] B. and F. 1, 3, have *ad gentes venient ab extremis terræ et dicent, sicut,* &c. The text seems to be taken from Jer. xvi. 19; but is more a paraphrase than a quotation.

utilitas, ad te gentes veniunt et dicent." Et iterum: "Posui te lumen in gentibus, ut sis salutem usque ad extremum terræ."[8] Et ibi volo expectare promissum ipsius, qui utique numquam fallit, sicut in Evanguelio pollicetur: "Venient ab oriente et occidente, ab austro et ab aquilone et recumbent cum Abraham et Issac et Jacob:"[9] sicut credimus ab omni mundo venturi sunt credentes.

them, to thee the Gentiles come and will say." And again, *I have set thee to be the light of the Gentiles, that thou mayest be for salvation unto the utmost parts of the earth.* And thus I wait the promise of Him who never fails, as He promises in the Gospel: *They shall come from the east and the west [from the north and from the south] and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob.* So we believe that the faithful shall come from all parts of the world.

Idcirco itaque oportet bene et diligenter piscare, sicut Dominus præmonet et docet dicens: "Venite post me, et faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum." Et iterum,[1] "Ecce mitto piscatores et venatores multos, dicit Dominus," &c.[2] Unde autem valde oportebat retia nostra tendere, ita ut multitudo copiossa et turba Deo caperetur: et ubique essent clerici qui baptizarent, et exhortarent sic populum indegentem et dissiderantem: sicut Dominus in Evanguelio amonet et docet dicens: "Euntes ergo nunc docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eas in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti usque ad terminum

Therefore we ought to fish well and diligently, as the Lord taught and said: *Come ye after me and I will make you fishers of men.* And again: *Behold, saith the Lord, I send many fishers and many hunters,* &c. Therefore we should, by all means, set our nets in such a manner that a great multitude and a crowd may be caught therein for God, and that everywhere there may be priests who shall baptize and exhort a people who so need it and desire it; as the Lord teaches and admonishes in the Gospel, saying: *Going, therefore, teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, even to*

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[8] Acts, xiii. 47: nearly as in Vulgate.

[9] B. and F. 1, 3, omit the following words.

[1] Matt. viii. 11.

[2] B. and F. 1, 3, have *dicit per prophetas;* F. 1 has *peccatores* for *piscatores.*

seculi."[3] Et iterum: "Euntes ergo in mundum universum, prædicate Evanguelium omni creaturæ. Qui crediderit, et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit, qui vero non credideret condemnabitur."[4] Reliqua sunt exempla. [Et iterum: "Prædicabitur hoc Evangelium regni in universo mundo in testimonium omnibus gentibus et tunc veniet finis." Et item Dominus per prophetam prænuntians, inquit: "Et erit in novissimis diebus, dicit Dominus, effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filii vestri, et filiæ vestræ, et filii vestri visiones videbunt, et seniores vestri somnia somniabunt. Et quidem super servos meos et ancillas meas in diebus illis effundam de Spiritu meo, et prophetabunt."[5] Et Osee dicit: "Vocabo non plebem meam; et non misericordiam consecutam; et erit in loco ubi dictum est: Non plebs mea vos, ibi vocabuntur filii Dei vivi."][6]

the consummation of the world. And again: *Go ye into the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature; he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be condemned.* The rest are examples. [And again: *This Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony to all nations, and then shall the consummation come.* And again, the Lord, speaking by the prophet, says: And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith the Lord, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. Moreover, upon my servants and handmaids in those days I will pour forth my spirit and they shall prophesy. And Osee saith: *And I will say to that which was not my people: Thou art my people: and to her who hath not found mercy; and they shall say: Thou art my God. And in the place where I said to them, You are not my people, it shall be said to them, Ye are the sons of the living God.*]

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[3] Matt. iv. 18.

[4] B. and F. 1, 3, have *sancti docentes eos observare omnia quæcunque mandai vobis: et ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, usque ad consummationem seculi* —Matt. xxiii. 19.

[5] Mark, xvi. 16. The four following words are not in B. or F. From *Et iterum* to *Dei vivi* is wanting in Book of Armagh.

[6] Joel, ii. 18.

Unde autem *Hiberione*, qui numquam notitiam[7] habuerant, nisi idula et himunda usque nunc semper coluerunt, quomodo nuper effecta est plebs Domini, et filii Dei nuncupabuntur? Filii Scottorum[8] et filiæ Regulorum monachi et virgines Christi esse videntur.[9] [Et etiam una benedicta Sotta,[1] gentiva, nobilis, pulcherrima, adulta erat, quam ego baptizavi: et post paucos dies una causa venit ad nos: insinuavit nobis responsum accepisse a nutu Dei, et monuit etiam ut esset virgo Christi, et ipsa Deo proximaret. Deo gratias, sexta ab hac die optime et avidissime arripuit illud, quod etiam omnes virgines Dei ita hoc faciunt, non sponte patrum earum; sed persecutionem patiuntur, et inpropria falsa apparentibus suis, et nihilhominus plus augetur numerus; et de genere nostro qui ibi nati sunt, nescimus numerum eorum, præter viduas et continentes. Sed et illas maxime laborant, quæ servitio detinentur:

Wherefore behold how in Ireland they who never had the knowledge *of God*, and hitherto only worshipped unclean idols, have lately become the people of the Lord, and are called the sons of God. The sons of the Scoti and the daughters of princes are seen to be monks and virgins of Christ. [And there was one blessed Irish maiden, of adult age, noble and very beautiful, whom I baptized, and after a few days she came to us for a reason, and gave us to understand that she had received a command from God, and was informed that she was to become a virgin of Christ, and to draw near to God. Thanks be to God, six days after this she most excellently and eagerly entered on this state of life, which all the virgins of God now adopt, even against the will of their parents, even enduring reproaches and persecution from them, and notwithstanding they increase in number; and as for those who are born suque ad terrores et minas asidue persuaserunt. Sed Dominus gratiam dedit multis ex ancillis meis: nam sive tantum, tamen fortiter imitantur.

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[7] Os. ii. 1, et i. 10.

[8] B. and F. 1, 3, have *Dei habuerant*.

[9] In B. the *c* in *Scottorum* and in *Scotta* has been erased. On the first word in the Book of Armagh the Rev. T. O'Mahony gives me the following note: "It is doubtful whether the word here should be *Scottorum*—the MS. has *Scorum* only; but there is a small mark not unlike an inverted comma over the *c*, which may have been intended as a contraction."

[1] From *Et etiam* to *animabus vestris* is wanting in the Book of Armagh. In the Cotton MS., from which the text is taken, the letter *c* in Scotta has been erased. It is probable that *causa*, three lines further on, is a mistake for Scotta. However, we prefer giving the text, to a letter, as it stands.

again in this way, we know not their number, except the widows and those who observe continency. But those who are in slavery are most severely persecuted, yet they persevere in spite of terrors and threats. But the Lord has given grace to many of my handmaids, for they zealously imitate Him as far as they are able.

Unde autem etsi voluero amittere illas, et ut pergens in Brittanniis, et libentissime paratus eram, quasi ad patriam et parentes: non id solum, sed etiam usque Gallias visitare fratres, et ut viderem faciem sanctorum Domini mei: scit Deus quod ego valde optabam. Sed alligatus spiritu qui mihi protestatur, si hoc fecero, ut futurum reum esse designat, et timeo pendere laborem, quem inchoavi; et non ego, sed Christus Dominus, qui me imperavit ut venirem, esse cum illis residuum ætatis meæ; si Dominus voluerit, et custodierit me ab omni via mala, ut non peccem coram illo. Spero autem hoc debueram: sed memet ipsum non credo, quamdiu fuero in hoc corpore mortis: quia fortis est qui cotidie nititur subvertere me a fide et proposita castitate religionis non ficte usque in finem vitæ meæ Christo Domino meo: sed caro inimica semper trahit ad mortem, id est ad inlecebras in inlicitate perficiendas, et scio ex parte ququare vitam

Therefore, though I could have wished to leave them, and had been ready and very desirous to go to Britannia, as if to my country and parents, and not that alone, but to go even to Gallia, to visit my brethren, and to see the face of my Lord's saints; and God knows that I desired it greatly. But I am bound in the spirit, and He who witnesseth will account me guilty if I do it, and I fear to lose the labor which I have commenced—and not I, but the Lord Christ, who commanded me to come and be with them for the rest of my life; if the Lord grants it, and keeps me from every evil way, that I should not sin before Him. But I hope that which I am bound to do, but I trust not myself as long as I am in this body of death, for he is strong who daily tries to turn me from the faith, and from the sincere religious chastity to Christ my Lord, to which I have dedicated myself to the end of my life; but the flesh, which is in enmity,

perfectam ego non egi sicut et ceteri credentes. Sed confiteor Domino meo, et non erubesco in conspectu ejus, quia non mentior, ex quo cognovi eum in juventute mea, crevit in me amor Dei, et timor ipsius, et usque nunc, favente Domino, fidem servavi.

Rideat autem et insultet qui voluerit, ego non silebo, neque abscondo signa et mirabilia, quæ mihi a Domino ministrata sunt ante multos annos quam fuerunt, quasi qui novit omnia, etiam ante tempora sæcularia. Unde autem debuero sine cessatione Deo gratias agere, qui sæpe indulsit insipientiæ meæ, negligentiæ meæ de loco non in uno quoque, ut non mihi vehementer irasceretur, qui adjutor datus sum, et non cito adquievi, secundum quod mihi ostensum fuerat et Spiritus suggerebat, et misertus est mihi Dominus in millia millium: quia vidit in me quod paratus eram; sed quod mihi pro his nesciebam de statu meo quid facerem, quia multi hanc legationem prohibebant, et jam inter se ipsos post tergum meum narrabant et dicebant: "Iste quare se mittit in periculum inter hostes, qui Deum non noverunt?" Non

always draws me to death, that is, to unlawful desires, that must be unlawfully gratified, and I know in part that I have not led a perfect life like other believers. But I confess to my Lord, and do not blush before Him, because I tell the truth, that from the time I knew Him in my youth the love of God and His fear increased within me, and until now, by the favor of the Lord, I have kept the faith.

Let him who pleases insult and laugh at me, I will not be silent, neither do I conceal the signs and wonders that the Lord hath shown to me many years before they took place, as He who knew all things even before the world began. Therefore I ought to give thanks to God without ceasing, who often pardoned my uncalled-for folly and negligence, who did not let His anger turn fiercely against me, who allowed me to work with Him, though I did not promptly follow what was shown me, and what the Spirit suggested; and the Lord had compassion on me among thousands and thousands, because He saw my good will; but then I knew not what to do, because many were hindering my mission, and were talking behind my back, and saying: "Why does he run into danger among enemies who know not God?" This

ut causa malitiæ, sed non sapiebat illis, sicut et ego ipse testor, intelligi propter rusticitatem meam; et non cito agnovi gratiam, quæ tunc erat in me: nunc mihi sapit quod ante debueram.

Nunc ergo simpliciter insuavi fratribus et conservis meis qui mihi crediderunt, propter quod prædixi et prædico ad roborandam et confirmandam fidem vestram. Utinam ut imitemini majora, et potiora faciatis. Hoc erit gloria mea; quia filius sapiens gloria patris est. Vos scitis et Deus qualiter apud vos conversatus sum a juventute mea, et fide veritatis et sinceritate cordis; etiam ad gentes illas inter quas habito, ego fidem illis præstiti et præstabo. Deus scit, neminem illorum circumveni, nec cogito, propter Deum et Ecclesiam ipsius, ne excitem illis et nobis omnibus persecutionem, et ne per me blasphematur nomen Domini: quia scriptam est: "Væ homini per quem nomen Domini blasphematur." Nam etsi imperitus sum in nominibus, tamen conatus sum quippiam servare me, etiam et fratribus Christianis et virginibus Christi, et mulieribus religiosis; quæ mihi ultronea munuscula donabant, et super altare jactabant ex ornamentis

was not said with malice, but because they did not approve of it, but, as I now testify, because of my rusticity, you understand; and I did not at once recognize the grace which was then in me, but now *I know I should have known before.*

Therefore, I have simply related to my brethren and fellow servants who have believed me, why I have preached and still preach to strengthen and confirm your faith. Would that you also might aim at higher things and succeed better. This shall be my glory, because a wise son is the glory of his father. You know and God knows how I have lived among you from my youth up, both faithful in truth and sincere in heart; also I have given the faith to the people among whom I dwell, and I will continue to do so. God knows I have not overreached any of them, nor do I think of it, because of God and His Church, lest I should excite persecution for them and all of us, and lest the name of the Lord should be blasphemed through me; for it is written, "Woe to the man through whom the name of the Lord is blasphemed." For though I am unskilled in names, I have endeavored to be careful even with my Christian brethren, and the virgins of Christ, and devout women, who

suis, et iterum reddebam illis et adversum me scandalizabantur cur ego faciebam. Sed ego propter spem perennitatis, ut me in omnibus caute proterea conservare: ita ut me in aliquo titulo infideli carperent, vel ministerium servitutis meæ, nec etiam in minimo, incredulis locum darem infamare sive detractare.

freely gave me gifts, and cast of their ornaments upon the altar, but I returned them, though they were offended with me because I did so. But I, for the hope of immortality, guarded myself cautiously in all things; so that they could not find me unfaithful, even in the smallest matter, so that unbelievers could not defame or detract from my ministry in the least.

Forte autem quando baptizavi tot millia hominum, speraverim ab aliquo illorum vel dimidio scriptulæ. Dicite mihi, et reddam vobis; aut quando ordinavit ubique Dominus clericos per modicitatem meam et ministerium gratis distribui illis? Si poposci ab aliquo illorum vel pretium vel calceamenti mei, dicite adversus me et reddam vobis magis. Ego impendi pro vobis, ut me caperent: et inter vos et ubique pergebam causa vestra, in multis periculis, etiam usque ad extras partes, ubi nemo ultra erat, et ubi numquam aliquis pervenerat qui baptizaret, aut clericos ordinaret, aut populum consummaret?[3] donante Domino, diligenter et libentissime pro salute

But when it happened that I baptized so many thousand men, did I expect even half a "screpall"[2] from them? Tell me, and I will return it to you. Or when the Lord ordained clergy through my humility and ministry, did I confer the grace gratuitously? If I asked of any of them even the value of my shoe, tell me, and I will repay you more. I rather spent for you, as far as I was able; and among you and everywhere for you I endured many perils in distant places, where none had been further or had ever come to baptize, or ordain the clergy, or confirm the people. By the grace of the Lord I labored freely and diligently in all things for your salvation. At this time also

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[2] This was an ancient Celtic coin, value about three pence, weighing twenty-four grains. See Petrie's "Round Towers," p. 214. There is an obvious allusion here to I. Kings, xii. 3; Protestant version, I. Sam. xii. 3.

[3] The word *consummare* was used for the sacrament of Confirmation, as by St. Cyprian, *Ut signaculo Domini consummentur*, quoted by Potter, p. 190.

vestra omnia generavi. Interem præmia dabam regibus, propter quod dabam mercedem filiis ipsorum, qui mecum ambulant et nihil[4] comprehenderunt me cum comitibus meis; et illa die avidissime cupiebant interficere me; sed tempus nondum venerat; et omnia quæcumque nobiscum rapuerunt, illa et meipso ferro vinxerunt: et quarto decimo die absolvit me Dominus de potesta eorum, et quicquid nostrum fuit, redditum est nobis propter Deum et necessarios amicos, quos ante previdimus.

I used to give rewards to kings, whose sons I hired, who travel with me, and who understood nothing but [to protect] me and my companions. And on one day they wished to kill me; but the time had not come yet; but they put me in irons, and carried off all we possessed. But on the fourteenth day the Lord released me from their power, and what was ours was restored to us through God, and through the friends we had before secured.

Vos autem experti estis quanta erogavi illis, qui iudicabant per omnes regiones, quos ego frequentius visitabam. Censeo enim non minus quam pretium quindecim hominum distribui illis ita ut me fruamini, et ego vobis semper fruar in Domino. Non me pœnitet, nec satis est mihi; adhuc inpendo, et superinpendam, pro animabus vestris.] Ecce testem Deum invoco in animam meam, quia non mentior, neque ut sit occassio vobis neque ut[5] honorem spero ab aliquo vestro. Sufficit enim honor qui non[6] mentitur. Sed video jam in præ-

You know how much I expended on the judges in the districts which I visited most frequently. For I think I paid them not less than the hire of fifteen men, that you might have the benefit of my presence, and that I might always enjoy you in the Lord. I do not regret it, nor is it sufficient for me. I still spend, and will still spend, for your souls.] Behold, I call God to witness on my soul that I do not lie, neither that you may have occasion, nor that I hope for honor from any of you; sufficient for me is the honor of truth. But I see that now in the

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[4] V. reads correctly *nihilominus,* and two lines above *præter.*

[5] B. F. 1, 3, and V. read *ut sit ocasio adulationis vel avaritiæ scripserim vobis neque ut,* &c.

[6] B. and F. 1, 3, read *non videtur sed corde creditur, fidelis autem qui promisit nunquam mentitur.*

senti sæculo me supra modum exaltatus sum a Domino : et non eram dignus, neque talis ut hoc mihi præstaret : dum scio[7] melius convenit paupertas et calamitas, quam divitiæ et deliciæ. Sed et Christus Dominus pauper fuit pro nobis.

Ego vero miser et infelix, et si opes voluero jam non habeo, neque meipsum judico, quia quotidie spero aut internicionem, aut circumveniri, aut redigi in servitutem, sive occassio cujuslibet.[8] [Sed nihil horum vereor propter promissa cœlorum : quia jactavi meipsum in manus Dei omnipotentis, quia ubique dominatur ; sicut Propheta dicit : "Jacta cogitatum tuum in Dominum, et ipse te enutriet."[9]

Ecce nunc commendo animam meam, fidelissimo Deo meo, pro quo legationem fungor in ignobilitate mea : sed quia personam non accipit, et elegit me ad hoc officium, ut unus essem de suis minimis minister. "Unde autem retribuam illi pro omnibus quæ retribuat mihi ?"[1] Sed quid dicam, vel quid promittam Domino meo ? Quia nihil video, nisi ipse mihi

present world I am greatly exalted by the Lord ; and I was not worthy nor fit to be thus exalted, for I know that poverty and calamity are more suitable for me than riches and luxury. But even Christ the Lord was poor for us.

Truly, I a poor and miserable creature, even if I wished for wealth, have it not ; neither do I judge myself, because I daily expect either death, or treachery, or slavery, or an occasion of some kind or another. [But I fear none of these things, relying on the heavenly promise, for I have cast myself into the hands of the omnipotent God, who rules everywhere, as the Prophet says : *Cast thy care upon the Lord, and He shall sustain thee.*

Behold now I commend my soul to my most faithful God, whose mission I perform, notwithstanding my unworthiness ; but because He does not accept persons, and has chosen me for this office, to be one of the least of His ministers. *What shall I render to Him for all the things that He hath rendered to me ?* But what shall I say or promise to my

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[7] B. and F. 1, 3, *certissime quod mihi.*

[8] From *Sed nihil* to *vix evaserum* is wanting in the Book of Armagh.

[9] Psalms, liv. 23.

[1] Psalms, cxv. 12.

dederit; sed scrutatur corda et renes, quia satis et nimis cupio, et paratus eram ut donaret mihi bibere calicem ejus, sicut indulsit ceteris amantibus se. Quia propter non contingunt mihi a Domino meo, ut nunquam amittam plebem meam, quam acquisivit in ultimis terræ. Oro Deum ut det mihi perseverantiam, et dignetur ut reddam illi testem fidelem usque ad transitum meum propter Deum meum. Et si aliquid boni umquam imitatus sum propter Deum meum, quem diligo; peto illi det mihi ut cum illis proselitis et captivis pro nomine suo effundam sanguinem meum, etsi ipse etiam caream sepulturam, et miserrissime cadaver per singula dividatur canibus, aut bestiis asperis, aut volucres cœli ut comederunt illud. Certissime reor si mihi hoc incurrsit, lucratus sum animam cum corpore meo; quia sine ulla dubitatione in die illa resurgemus in claritate solis, hoc est, in gloria Christi Jesu, redemptoris nostri quasi filii Dei, cohæredes Christi, et conformes futuræ imaginis ipsius.[2]

Lord? For I see nothing unless He gives Himself to me; but He searches the heart and reins, because I ardently desire and am ready that He should give me to drink His cup, as He has permitted others to do who have loved Him. Wherefore, may my Lord never permit me to lose His people whom He has gained in the ends of the earth. I pray God, therefore, that He may give me perseverance, and that He may vouchsafe to permit me to give Him faithful testimony for my God until my death. And if I have done anything good for my God, whom I love, I beseech Him to grant to me that with those proselytes and captives I may pour out my blood for his name, even if my body should be denied burial, and be miserably torn limb from limb by dogs or fierce beasts, or that the birds of heaven should devour it. I believe most certainly that if this should happen to me, I have gained both soul and body; for it is certain that we shall rise one day in the brightness of the sun—that is, the glory of Christ Jesus our Redeemer, as sons of God, but as joint heirs with Christ, and to become conformable to His image.

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[2] B. and C. 3 read here *quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso, regnaturi sumus.*

Death of St. Patrick.

Nam sol iste, quem videmus, jubente, propter nos cotidie oritur: sed numquam regnabit, et neque permanebit splendor ejus; sed et omnes, qui adorant eum, in pœnam miseri male devenient. Nos autem qui credimus et adoramus solem verum Christum, qui nunquam interibit, neque qui fecerit voluntatem ipsius sed manebit in æternum, qui regnat cum Deo Patre omnipotente, et cum Spiritu Sancto, ante sæcula, et nunc, et per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Ecce iterum iterumque breviter exponam verba *confessionis* meæ. Testificor in veritate, et in exultatione cordis coram Deo et sanctis Angelis ejus, qui numquam habui aliquam occasionem, præter Evangelium, et promissa illius, ut unquam redderem ad gentem illam, unde autem prius vix evaseram.]

Sed precor credentibus et timentibus Deum, quicumque dignatus fuerit inspicere, vel recipere hanc scripturam, quam Patricius peccator, indoctus scilicet, Hiberione conscripsit, ut nemo umquam dicat quod mea ignorantia si aliquid pussillum egi, vel demonstraverim secundum. Sed arbitramini, et verissime credatur, quod donum Dei fuisset. Et hæc est confessio mea antequam moriar.

For that sun which we see rises daily for us, but it will not rule or continue in its splendor for ever, and all who adore it shall suffer very miserably. But we who believe in and adore the true sun, Christ, who will never perish, neither he who shall do His will, but even as Christ shall abide for ever, who reigns with God the Father Almighty, and with the Holy Spirit, before the ages, and now, and for ever and ever. Amen.

Behold, again and again, I shall briefly declare the words of my Confession. I testify in truth and in joy of heart, before God and His holy angels, that I never had any occasion, except the Gospel and its promises, for returning to that people from whom I had before with difficulty escaped.]

But I beseech those who believe in and fear God, whoever may condescend to look into or receive this writing, which Patrick, the ignorant sinner, has written in Ireland, that no one may ever say, if I have ever done or demonstrated anything, however little, that it was my ignorance. But do you judge, and let it be believed firmly, that it was the gift of God. And this is my Confession before I die.

Huc[3] usque quod Patricius manu conscripsit sua: septima decima Martii die translatus est Patricius ad cœlos.

Thus far is what Patrick wrote with his own hand: he was translated to heaven on the seventeenth of March.

ST. PATRICK'S EPISTLE TO COROTICUS.

S. Patricii Epistola ad Christianos Corotici Tyranni Subditos.[4]

PATRICIUS peccator indoctus, scilicet Hiberione constitutis episcopum me esse futeor certissime reor, a Deo accepi id quod sum. Inter barbaras itaque habito proselitus et parfuga ob amorem Dei. Testis est ille, si ita est. Non quod obtabam tam dure et tam aspere aliquid ex ore meo effundere, sed cogor zelo Dei ac veritatis Christi excitavit pro dilectione proximorum atque filiorum pro quibus tradidi patriam, et parentes, et animam meam usque ad mortem, si dignum sum, vovi Deo meo docere gentes, etsi contemptior a quibus manu mea scripsi atque con-

St. Patrick's Epistle to the Christian subjects of the tyrant Coroticus.

I PATRICK, a sinner and unlearned, have been appointed a bishop in Ireland, and I accept from God what I am. I dwell amongst barbarians as a proselyte and a fugitive for the love of God. He will testify that it is so. It is not my wish to pour forth so many harsh and severe things; but I am forced by zeal for God and the truth of Christ, who raised me up for my neighbors and sons, for whom I have forsaken my country and parents, and would give up even my life itself, if I were worthy. I have vowed to my God to teach those people, though I should be despised by them, to

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[3] This sentence is separate from the text in the Book of Armagh, but seems written by the same hand.—T. O'M. Ware does not give it, but quotes it in a note. Fell 1 concludes: "Explicit liber primus; incipit secundus." Fell 3: "Explicit liber i.; incipit liber ii." The Bodleian MS.: "Explicit liber i.; incipit ii."

[4] This is the title given by Villanueva. It will be remembered that the Epistle is not in the Book of Armagh, though it might be inferred from the title of the Confession there, "*Incipiunt libri,*" that it was the intention of the scribe to add more. The title in Fell and the Bodleian have been given already above.

didi verba ista danda et tradenda militibus mittenda Corotici—non dico civibus meis, neque civibus sanctorum Romanorum, sed civibus dæmoniorum ob mala opera ipsorum ritu hostili. In morte vivunt, socii Scotorum atque Pictorum apostatarum, quæ sanguenalentos sanguinare de sanguine innocentium Christianorum, quos ego innumerum Deo genui, atque in Christo confirmavi.

Postera die, qua crismati neofiti in veste candida, dum flagrabat in fronte ipsorum crudeliter trucidati atque mactati gladio supra dictis. Et misi epistolam cum sancto presbytero, quam ego ex infantia docui, cum clericis, ut nobis aliquid indulgerent de præda, vel de captivis baptizatis, quos cœperunt, cachinos fecerunt di illis. Idcirco nescio quid magis lugebam; an qui interfecti vel quos ceperunt, vel quos graviter zabulus inlaqueavit perhenne pœna gehennam pariter cum ispo mancipabunt. Quia utique qui facit peccatum servus est et filius zabuli nuncupatur.

Quare propter sciat omnis homo timens Deum, quod me alieni sunt, et a Christo Deo meo, pro quo

whom I have written with my own hand to be given to the soldiers to be sent to Coroticus—I do not say to my fellow-citizens, nor to the fellow-citizens of pious Romans, but to the fellow-citizens of the devil, through their evil deeds and hostile practices. They live in death, companions of the apostate Scots and Picts, bloodthirsty men, ever ready to redden themselves with the blood of innocent Christians, numbers of whom I have begotten to God and confirmed in Christ.

On the day following that in which they were clothed in white and received the chrism of neophytes, they were cruelly cut up and slain with the sword by the above mentioned; and I sent a letter by a holy priest, whom I have taught from his infancy, with some clerics, begging that they would restore some of the plunder or the baptized captives, but they laughed at them. Therefore, I know not whether I should grieve most for those who were slain, or for those whom the devil insnared into the eternal pains of hell, where they will be chained like him. For whoever commits sin is the slave of sin, and is called the son of the devil.

Wherefore, let every man know who fears God that they are estranged from me, and from Christ legationem fungor, patricida, fratricida, lupi rapaces, devorantes plebem Domini ut cibum panis; sicut ait: "Iniqui dissipaverunt legem tuam, Domine:" quoniam in supremis temporibus Hiberione optime benigne plantaverat atque instructa erat favente Deo non usurpo partem habeo cum his, quos advocavit et prædestinavit Evangelium prædicare in persecutionibus non parvis, usque ad extremum terræ: etsi invidet inimicus per tyrannidem Corotici, qui Deum non veretur, nec sacerdotes ipsius, quos elegit, et indulsit illis summam divinam sublimam potestatem, "Quos ligarent super terram, ligatos esse et in cœlis."

my God, whose ambassador I am; these patricides, fratricides, and ravening wolves, who devour the people of the Lord as if they were bread; as it is said: "The wicked have dissipated thy law;" wherein in these latter times Ireland has been well and prosperously planted and instructed. Thanks be to God, I usurp nothing; I share with these whom He hath called and predestinated to preach the Gospel in much persecution, even to the ends of the earth. But the enemy hath acted invidiously towards me through the tyrant Coroticus, who fears neither God, nor His priests, whom He hath chosen, and committed to them the high, divine power, "Whomsoever they shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven."

Unde ergo quæso plurimum, sancti et humiles corde, adulari talibus non licet, nec cibum, nec potum, sumere cum ipsis, nec elemosynas ipsorum recipere debere donec crudeliter pœnitentiam effusis lacrymis, pœnitentiam satis Deo faciant, et liberent servos Dei, et ancillas Cristi baptizatas, pro quibus mortuus est et crucifixus. "Dona iniquorum, reprobat Altissimus: qui offeret sacrificium ex substantia pauperem, quasi victimat filium in conspectu patris sui." "Divitie, inquit, quas congregabit injuste, evo-

I beseech you, therefore, who are the holy ones of God and humble of heart, that you will not be flattered by them, and that you will neither eat nor drink with them, nor receive their alms, until they do penance with many tears, and liberate the servants of God and the baptized handmaids of Christ, for whom he was crucified and died. *He that offereth sacrifice of the goods of the poor, is as one that sacrificeth the son in the presence of the father.* "Riches, he saith, which the unjust accumulate, shall be vomited forth from

mentur de ventre ejus, trahit illum angelem mortis, ira draconum mucrabitur interficiet illum linguam coluris comedit eum ignis inextinguibilis." Ideoque: "Væ qui replent se qui non sunt sua." Vel, "quid prodest homini, ut totum mundum lucretur, et animæ suæ detrimentum patiatur?" Longum est per singula discutere, vel insinuare per totam legem carpere testimonia de tali cupiditate. Avaritia mortale crimen. "Non concupisces rem proximi tui." "Non occides." Homicida non potest esse cum Christo: "Qui odit fratrem suum, homicida adscribitur." Vel, "Qui non diliget fratrem suum, in morte manet." Quanto magis reus est, qui manus suas coinquinavit in sanguine filiorum Dei, quos nuper adquisivit in ultimis terræ per extationem [*sic*] parvitatis nostræ!

Numquid sine Deo, vel secundum carnem Hiberionem veni? Quis me compulit alligatus Spiritu ut videam aliquem de cognatione mea. Numquid a me piam misericordiam, quod ago erga gentem illam, qui me aliquando ceperunt et devastaverunt servos et ancillas domus patres mei? Ingenuus fui secundum carnem; Decorione patre nascor. Vendidi enim nobilitatem meam non erubesco, neque me pœnitet pro utili-

his belly, the angel of death shall drag him away, he shall be punished with the fury of dragons, the tongue of the adder shall slay him, inextinguishable fire shall consume him.' Hence, "Woe to those who fill themselves with things which are not their own." And *what doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his soul?* It were too long to discuss one by one, or to select from the law, testimonies against such cupidity. Avarice is a mortal sin. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods." "Thou shalt not kill." The homicide cannot dwell with Christ. *He who hateth his brother is a murderer*, and *he who loveth not his brother abideth in death.* How much more guilty is he who hath defiled his hands with the blood of the sons of God, whom He hath recently acquired in the ends of the earth by our humble exhortations!

Did I come to Ireland according to God or according to the flesh? Who compelled me, I was led by the Spirit, that I should see my relatives no more? Have I not a pious mercy towards that nation which formerly took me captive? According to the flesh I am of noble birth, my father being a Decurio. I do not regret or blush for having bartered my nobility for the good of others. I am a servant in Christ unto a foreign people, for the ineffable glory of

tate aliorum. Denique servus sum in Christo genti extere ob gloriam ineffabilem perennis vite, que est in Christo Jesu Domino nostro; etsi mei non cognoscunt, "Propheta in patria sua honorem non habet." Forte non sumus ex uno ovili neque unum Deum patrem bemus sicut ait: "Qui non est mecum, spargit." Non convenit "unus destruit, alter ædificat." Non quæro quæ mea sunt.

Non mea gratia, sed Deus quidem hanc sollicitudinem in corde meo, ut unus essem de venatoribus, sive piscatoribus, quos olim Deus in novissimis diebus ante prenuntiavit. Invidetur mihi: quid faciam, Domine? Valde despicior. Ecce, oves tuæ circa me laniantur, atque deprædantur et supra dictis latrunculis, jubente Corotico hostile mente longe est a caritate Dei traditor Christianorum in manus Scottorum atque Pictorum. Lupi rapaces deglutierunt gregem Domini, qui utique Hiberione cum summa diligentia optime crescebat: et filii Scottorum, et filiæ regulorum monachi et virgines Christi enumerare nequeo. Quamobrem injuriam justorum non te placeat, etiam usque ad inferos non placabit.

Quis sanctorum non horreat jocundare, vel convivium fruere

eternal life, which is in Christ Jesus my Lord: though my own people do not acknowledge me: *A prophet is without honor in his own country.* Are we not from one stock, and have we not one God for our Father? As He has said: *He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth.* Is it not agreed that one pulleth down and another buildeth? I seek not my own.

Not to me be praise, but to God, who hath put into my heart this desire, that I should be one of the hunters and fishers, whom, of old, God hath announced should appear in the last days. I am reviled—what shall I do, O Lord? I am greatly despised. Lo! thy sheep are torn around me, and plundered by the above-mentioned robbers, aided by the soldiers of Coroticus: the betrayers of Christians into the hands of the Picts and Scots are far from the charity of God. Ravening wolves have scattered the flock of the Lord, which, with the greatest diligence, was increasing in Ireland; the sons of the Irish, and the daughters of kings, who are monks and virgins of Christ, are too many to enumerate. Therefore, the oppression of the great is not pleasing to thee now, and never shall be.

Who of the saints would not dread to share in the feasts or amuse-

cum talibus? De spoliis defunctorum Christianorum repleverunt domus suas: de rapinis vivunt: nesciunt miseri venenum, letale cibum porrigunt ad amicos et filios suos, sicut Eva non intellexit quod mortem mortem perennem, pœnam operantur.

ments of such persons? They fill their houses with the spoils of the Christian dead, they live by rapine, they know not the poison, the deadly food which they present to their friends and children: as Eve did not understand that she offered death to her husband, so are all those who work evil; they labor to work out death and eternal punishment.

Consuetudo Romanorum Gallorum Christianorum, mittunt viros sanctos idoneos ad Francos et ceteras gentes cum tot mill solidorum ad redimendos captivos baptizate. Tu interficis, et vendis illos genti exteræ ignoranti Deum: quasi in lupanar tradis membra Christi. Qualem spem habes in Deum? Vel qui te consentit, aut qui te communicat verbis adulationis? Deus judicabit. Nescio quid dicam, vel quid loquar amplius de defunctis filiorum Dei, quos gladius supra modum dure tetigit. Scriptum est enim: "Flere cum flentibus;" et iterum: "Si dolet unum membrum, condoleant omnia membra." Quapropter Ecclesia ploret et planget filios et filias suas, quas adhuc gladius nondum interfecit, sed prolongati et exportati in longa terrarum ubi peccatum manifeste gravatur impudenter habundat: ibi venundati ingenui homines Christiani in servitute redacti sunt, præsertim indignissimorum pessimorum apostatarumque Pictorum.

It is the custom of the Christians of Rome and Gaul to send holy men to the Franks and other nations, with many thousand solidi, to redeem baptized captives. You, who slay them, and sell them to foreign nations ignorant of God, deliver the members of Christ, as it were, into a den of wolves. What hope have you in God? Whoever agrees with you, or commands you? God will judge him. I know not what I can say, or what I can speak more of the departed sons of God slain cruelly by the sword. It is written: *Weep with them that weep.* And again: *If one member suffers anything, all the members suffer with it.* Therefore, the Church laments and bewails her sons and daughters, not slain by the sword, but sent away to distant countries, where sin is more shameless and abounds. There free-born Christian men are sold and enslaved amongst the wicked, abandoned, and apostate Picts.

Idcirco cum tristitia et mœrore vociferabo. O speciosissime, atque amantissimi fratres, et filii, quos in Christo genui, enumerare nequeo, quid faciam vobis? Non sum dignus Deo neque hominibus subvenire. Prævaluit iniquitas iniquorum supra nos. Quasi extranei facti sumus. Forte non crédunt unum baptismum percepimus, vel unum Deum Patrem habemus. Indignum est illis Hibernia nati sumus: sicut ait: "Nonne unum Deum habetis? quid dereliquistis unisquisque proximum suum?" Idcirco doleo pro vobis, doleo carissimi mei: sed iterum gaudeo intra meipsum, non gratis laboravi, vel peregrinatio mea in vacuum non fuit: et contigit scelus tam horrendum ineffabile. Deo gratias, creduli baptizati de celo recessistis ad paradisum. Cerno, vos migrare cœpistis "ubi nox non erit, neque luctus, neque mors amplius:" sed "exultabitis sicut vituli ex vinculis resoluti, et conculcabitis iniquos, et erunt cinis sub pedibus vestris."

Vos ergo regnabitis cum Apostolis et Prophetis atque Martyribus æterna regna capietis; sicut ipse testatur inquit: "Venient ab oriente et occidente, et recumbent cum Abraham, et Isaac, et Jacob, in

Therefore, I cry out with grief and sorrow. O beautiful and well beloved brethren and children, whom I have brought forth in Christ in such multitudes, what shall I do for you? I am not worthy before God or man to come to your assistance. The wicked have prevailed over us. We have become outcasts. It would seem that they do not think we have one baptism and one Father, God. They think it an indignity that we have been born in Ireland: as He said: "Have ye not one God?—why do ye each forsake his neighbor?" Therefore, I grieve for you; I grieve, O my beloved ones. But, on the other hand, I congratulate myself I have not labored for nothing—my journey has not been in vain. This horrible and amazing crime has been permitted to take place. Thanks be to God, ye who have believed and have been baptized have gone from earth to paradise. Certainly ye have begun to migrate where there is no night, nor death, nor sorrow, but ye shall exult, like young bulls loosed from their bonds, and tread down the wicked under your feet as dust.

Truly you shall reign with the apostles and prophets and martyrs, and obtain the eternal kingdom, as He hath testified, saying: *They shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abra-*

regno cœlorum." "Foris canis, et veneficos et homicidæ et mendacibus et perjuris;" "pars eorum in stagnum ignis æterne." Non inmerito ait Apostolus: "Ubi justus vix salvus erit, peccator, et impius, et transgressor legis ubi se recognoscit?" Unde enim Coroticus cum suis sceleratissimis rebellatores Cristi ubi se videbunt quam mulierculas baptizatas, præmia distribuuntur ob misere regnum temporale, quod utique in momento transeat sicut nubes vel fumus, qui utique vento dispergitur. Ita peccatores et fraudulenti a facie Domini peribunt: justi autem epulentur in magna constantia cum Cristo, judicabunt nationes, et regibus iniquis dominabuntur in secula seculorum. Amen.

Testificor coram Deo et Angelis suis, quo ita erit, sicut intimavit inperitia meæ. Non mea verba sed Dei, et Apostolorum, atque Prophetarum, quod ego Latinum exposui qui numquam enim mentiti sunt: "Qui crediderit salvus erit: qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur."

Deus locutus est. Quæso plurimum ut quicumque famulus Dei ut promptus fuerit, ut sit gerulus

ham and Isaac and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven. Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and murderers, and liars, and perjurers, and they shall have their part in the everlasting lake of fire. Nor does the Apostle say without reason: "If the just are scarcely saved, where shall the sinner, the impious, and the transgressor of the law appear?" Where will Coroticus and his wicked rebels against Christ find themselves, when they shall see rewards distributed amongst the baptized women? What will he think of his miserable kingdom, which shall pass away in a moment, like clouds or smoke, which are dispersed by the wind? So shall deceitful sinners perish before the face of the Lord, and the just shall feast with great confidence with Christ, and judge the nations, and rule over unjust kings, for ever and ever. Amen.

I testify before God and His angels that it shall be so, as He hath intimated to my ignorance. These are not my words that I have set forth in Latin, but those of God and the prophets and apostles, who never lied: *He that believeth shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be condemned.*

God hath said it. I entreat whosoever is a servant of God, that he be a willing bearer of this litterarum harum, ut nequaquam subtrahatur a nemine, sed magis potius legantur coram cunctis plebibus, et præsente ipso Corotico. Quod si Deus inspiret illos, ut quandoque Deo resipiscant, et vel sero pœniteat quod tam impie gesserunt homicidæ erga fratres Domini et liberent captivas baptizatas, quos ante ceperunt; ita ut mereantur Deo vivere, et sani efficiantur hic et in æternum. Pax Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto. Amen.

letter, that he be not drawn aside by any one, but that he shall see it read before all the people in the presence of Coroticus himself, that, if God inspire them, they may some time return to God, and repent, though late; that they may liberate the baptized captives, and repent for their homicides of the Lord's brethren; so that they may deserve of God to live and to be whole here and hereafter. The peace of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Chapter XII.

Mediæval Devotions to St. Patrick. His Purgatory.

SAINT PATRICK'S Purgatory was one of the most widely spread devotions of the middle ages, though it is impossible to ascertain now when and how it was originally established. There is no doubt that it was known for many years before Henry of Saltrey wrote the account of the wonders which the knight Owen saw there, and thus contributed so largely to its fame.

Jocelyn alludes to a Purgatory, or, at least, to a place of pilgrimage and devotion to the saint, which, however, he places on Crough-Patrick, in the county Mayo. There is certainly no ground for supposing that the saint established the devotion personally; and there are some serious discrepancies in the statements of the earliest writers who notice it, which are at least sufficient to show that very little was really known, even then, as to its origin. It is stated by some that it was established by St. Patrick himself; by others that it owed its origin to an abbot Patrick in the eighth century; and it is added, that it was entrusted to the care of the canons of St. Augustine, who were not established in Ireland before the twelfth century.

Under these circumstances we have no choice but to leave the early history of the Purgatory shrouded in the mist of ages, and to describe it as it was described by the earliest writers who wrote of it as an established fact.

About the year 1152, a monk of the English Benedictine abbey of Saltrey, in Huntingdonshire, wrote an account of this Purgatory, stating that he had obtained the material for his narrative from Sir Owen Miles, an Irish knight, who served in the army of Stephen, King of England. Sir Owen wished to revisit his native land, and obtained the royal permission. While in Ireland, perhaps touched by the revived recollections of the teachings of his childhood, he became penitent for a life of crime, and anxious to repair the past, as far as possible, by some act of severe penance. The result was a determination to make a pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory. It would appear that he then returned to England, and Henry of Saltrey thus accounts for his knowledge of the knight's visions :—

"It happened at this time that Gervasius, Abbot of Luda [Louth, in Lincolnshire], had obtained from Stephen, King of England, a grant of land on which to build an abbey in Ireland, and he sent one of his monks, named Gilbert, to the king, to take possession of the land, and to build on it the abbey. But Gilbert, coming before the king, complained that he did not know the language of that country; to which the king replied that he would, with God's help, soon find him an able interpreter; and calling Owen before him, he bade him go with Gilbert and remain in Ireland. This was agreeable to Owen, who gladly went with Gilbert, and served him faithfully; but he would not assume the habit of a monk, because he chose rather to be a servant than a master. They crossed into Ireland, and built an abbey, wherein the knight, Owen, acted as the monk's interpreter and faithful servant in all he did.

"Whenever they were alone together the monk asked him minutely concerning Purgatory, and the marvellous modes of punishment which he had there seen and felt; but the knight, who could never hear about Purgatory without weeping bitterly, told his friend, for his edification, and under the seal of secrecy, all that he had seen and experienced, and affirmed that he had seen it all with his own eyes. By the care and diligence of this monk, all that the knight had seen was reduced to writing, together with the narratives of the bishops and other ecclesiastics of that country, who, for truth's sake, gave their testimony to the facts.

"Lately, also, I did speak with one who was nephew of Patrick, the third of that name, the companion of St. Malachius, by name Florentianus, in whose bishopric, as he said, that Purgatory was; of whom having curiously inquired, he answered: 'Truly, brother, that place is within my bishopric, and many perish in that Purgatory; and those who by chance return, do, by reason of the extreme torments they have endured, ever look pale and languid.' The aforesaid narrative the said Gilbert did often repeat in my hearing, according as he had often heard it from the knight."

As might be supposed, Protestants, and even some Catholics, entirely discredit this account. It is, however, clear that it was believed at the time at which it was written, for we cannot suppose that Henry of Saltrey made up a purely imaginary narrative like the vision of Dante. The way in which he writes of persons as his informants, and of having verified the narrative of Owen Miles by reference to others, to test his accuracy, quite forbids any idea of voluntary deception on his part. The question remains whether he was not deceived by the knight; yet there was the constant tradition of the country in favor of supernatural occurrences of this kind having taken place.

A Protestant will, of course, credit the whole matter to the imagination of Miles or the monks.[5] Many Catholics will consider it a mere poetical legend. It may not be true;—and undoubtedly Henry of Saltrey has made the most of the original story, even granting it to be true. But before we condemn it as altogether false, it would be well to remember that there are *many* instances on record in the Lives of the Saints which show that it has, at certain times, pleased Almighty God to manifest to them the terrors of hell, the pains of purgatory, and the bliss of heaven, and this by no merely imaginative impression, but by a vision seen with the corporeal eyes. We might fill a chapter with instances; but if one example would not convince, many examples would be of little utility. We only wish to show that there is no reason why the knight may not have seen the vision described by Saltrey, if God was pleased to show it to him. Those who deny the possibility of such miraculous interventions have the burden of proof thrown on them, and are bound to show why they discredit the testimony of those who, at different periods of the Church's history, have manifested such revelations.

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[5] *Monks.*—Mr. Wright gives a long account, in his "St. Patrick's Purgatory," London, 1844, of the various works, ancient and modern, which have been written on this subject. But, of course, not being a Catholic, he quite misunderstands the subject, and unintentionally misrepresents it.

We read in the "Life of St. Catherine of Sienna," as written by her Confessor, what she said to him on one occasion, when he was asking her to give an account of what had happened to her during an ecstacy of four hours, in which her soul appeared to be, and, as she declared, actually was separated from her body. Her words are thus recorded :—

> "Know, father, that my soul entered into an unknown world, and beheld the glory of the just and the chastisement of sinners. But here also memory fails, and the poverty of language prohibits a full description of these things. I tell you, however, what I can be assured, that I saw the Divine Essence; and for this I suffer so much in remaining enchained in this body. Were I not retained for the love of God and love of the neighbor, I should die of grief. My great consolation is to suffer, because I am aware that by suffering I shall obtain a more perfect view of God. Hence, tribulations, far from being painful to my soul, are, on the contrary, its delight. I saw the torments of hell and those of purgatory; no words can describe them. Had poor mortals the faintest idea of them, they would suffer a thousand deaths rather than undergo the

least of these torments during a single day. . . . . . Whilst my soul contemplated these things, its Celestial Spouse, whom it believed it possessed for ever, said: 'Thou seest what glory they lose and torments they suffer who offend me. Return, therefore, to life, and show them how they have strayed, and what appalling danger menaces them.' And as my soul was horrified at the idea of returning to life, the Lord added: 'The salvation of many souls demands it; thou shalt no longer live as thou hast done: henceforth thou must renounce thy cell, and continually pass through the city in order to save souls.'"

The explanation which our divine Lord condescended to give to St. Catherine as to His reason for showing her this vision, is the explanation of other similar manifestations. We are slow to realize the great truths of eternity; and for the good of the many, as well as for the sanctification of the individual, God, in His infinite mercy, from time to time, permits, or, perhaps, we should rather say, ordains certain supernatural occurrences; and these occurrences, we must believe, since they are directed by Infinite Wisdom, are precisely what are most suitable to the age and time in which they occur. Thus, the Protestant theory, that these visions are due to the peculiar tone of mind of the century in which they occurred, is simply begging the question.

We cannot but think it probable that the account given by Miles of his vision was a true one, and that vision actually took place. At a time when men gave rein to lawless passions, and were most easily moved by what touched these passions, so vivid an account of the other world must have made, and, indeed, whether true or not, did make a strong impression on those who most needed it. What was needed in Italy in the fourteenth century, was not less, indeed, in Ireland in the twelfth. If St. Catherine was told by our divine Lord Himself to manifest to the sinners of Sienna the appalling dangers of their state, it was not less necessary that a similar manifestation should be made to sinners of another age. It should, however, be remembered, that the narrative of Miles Owen's vision was not written by himself, that it would be clearly impossible for any other person to give an accurate description of what he had seen, and that, even admitting the vision to be true, it by no means follows that the account given of it is verbally correct.

There is one important point connected with the whole subject, which seems to the present writer to have been entirely overlooked. Those who have written about the Purgatory, wrote merely from second-hand information, and, consequently, the accounts they give cannot be considered perfectly reliable.

Henry of Saltrey and Giraldus were the two principal writers; and undoubtedly the continental fame of the Purgatory (of which more hereafter) is due to the former. Now, they obtained their information from many sources; and we all know, even in our own day and time, that accuracy of information is not always insured by multiplicity of witnesses. Neither of these writers had visited the Purgatory, and, therefore, they could not tell what was taught about the Purgatory by the ecclesiastics who had the charge of it. This should be remembered before a sweeping accusation of credulity or imposition is made against them. It by no means follows, because Miles Owen saw a vision there, that every one who entered saw visions. It is true, that both Giraldus and Saltrey state that this was the popular belief; but, as we have said, they had no accurate means of knowing this belief, and if the belief existed, it may have been spread, as popular fictions are spread, without the concurrence of the clergy.

Again, the very name of Purgatory led also to grave misapprehensions. It is more than probable that the name was used only in a generic sense. It is quite clear, from all the testimony on record, even from what appears most fanciful, that the devotion to visiting Lough Derg was simply to do penance in a very severe manner for the sins of the penitent's past life; and there was nothing whatever contrary to Catholic doctrine or practice in such a proceeding. Even in our own day, the pilgrimage continues, and is carried on in the same spirit in which most probably it originated Catholics will not need to be told what their catechism teaches them, that "prayer, fasting, and alms-deeds, are most useful to Christian people;" and also, that the temporal punishment due to our sins may be cancelled "by indulgences, or by acts of penance, or other good works."

Both Giraldus and Saltrey have left descriptions of the Purgatory, as well as of the manner in which it was visited. As might naturally be expected, there are some discrepancies in their statements. Saltrey says that "any person truly penitent and armed with true faith, entering this pit, and spending one night and day in it, shall be cleansed from all the sins of his whole life, and shall, even as he passes through it, behold not only the torments of the wicked, but also, if he has constantly acted through faith, the joys of the blessed." Giraldus merely says that those who spent the night in the pit or cave would be tormented by evil spirits, but he says nothing of their seeing the joys of heaven. He adds, that "any person suffering these torments once by the injunction of his confessor, will never incur the pains of hell, unless he relapse into more grievous sins."[6]

Henry of Saltrey, however, distinctly states that "it was a custom approved by St. Patrick and his successors, that no person should be allowed to enter that Purgatory without the licence of the bishop of the diocese; the bishop ordinarily dissuaded him from the project; but if he persevered, the bishop gave a letter which the penitent carried to the prior of the place; again, the prior, after reading the letter, dissuades him from his project; but if he persevere he is conducted to the church, where he devotes fifteen days to prayer and fasting." Dr. Lynch, the author of *Cambrensis Eversus*, considers that this was an ample proof of the care and caution used by the Church in this matter. He certainly believed that the Purgatory was a holy institution, for he condemns Giraldus for censuring it, and says: "He [Giraldus] rashly points his sneer against a pilgrimage instituted by Christ Himself, strongly recommended by St. Patrick, and confirmed by many miracles, the approbation of several writers, and the usage of centuries."[7]

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[6] *Sins.*—There are a number of very valuable notes on this subject in the edition of *Cambrensis Eversus* published by the Celtic Society, and edited, with notes and translation, by the late Rev. M. Kelly, of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Dr. Kelly says that, for reasons which he gives, and which are too long for insertion here, "it is not rash to conclude that Lough Derg owed its fame and its connection with St. Patrick to the soldier Owen and his contemporaries"—vol. i. p. 144, n. *b*.

Lough Derg, the site of St. Patrick's Purgatory, must not be confounded with the lough of the same name on the Shannon. The small lake, of mediæval fame, is situated in the county Donegal, and is no way remarkable except for the historical circumstances connected with it. It contains two islands, one laid down on the Ordnance map as Saint's Island, which was accessible from the mainland by a wooden bridge, the stone piers of which still remain. The other island is called Station Island, and contains the Purgatory. There is a tradition amongst the people that the Pur-

[7] *Centuries.*—Dr. Kelly says that Dr. Lanigan insinuates that the monks of Lough Derg conspired to establish their Purgatory as a rival to that on Croagh Patrick. He adds: "The Bollandists and Feijoo suppose that St. Patrick, like many other saints, spent some days of retreat in the solitary cave; that his example was followed by the monks, who used the cave as a *duirtheach;* that some had visions, others imagined they had, and others still, according to Feijoo, pretended they had been so favored." This is precisely our own view of the case, and we are glad to support it by such respectable authority.

gatory was originally situated on Saint's Island. However this may have been in remote ages, it certainly was not so in Lombard's time, for he says:[8] "On the other island is a convent of Canons Regular of St. Augustin, subject to the abbot and monastery of the Apostles Peter and Paul, situated in the see of Armagh; yet he who on this lake is chief of the monks, is honored with the title of Prior of the Purgatory. Two of these monks, in turn, always reside on the island of the Purgatory, to receive and instruct as spiritual fathers those pilgrims who come here to expiate their sins."

Allowing for possible exaggerations, or, perhaps we should say, for the much more severe religious discipline of the early ages of the Church, there was not so very much difference between the penance practised then and that which is now customary. Dr. Kelly says:—

> "The order of penance in the sixteenth century was substantially the same as at the present day. Nine days was the term of pilgrimage, during which a rigorous fast, on the water of the lake and oaten bread, was observed. The pilgrim was first conducted, barefooted, to the church of St. Patrick, around which he moved seven times inside and the same number outside, in the cemetery, repeating some prayers of the Church. The same ceremonies were observed at each of the penal beds or oratories of the saints on the island—the pilgrim moving on his knees inside the churches. He next prayed around a cross in the cemetery, and another which was fixed in a mound of stones. Thence he proceeded over a rough

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[8] *Says.*—"*Commentarius de Regno Hiberniæ,*" edited by Very Rev. Monsignor Moran.

and rocky path to the border of the lake, a spot on which it was believed St. Patrick had prayed; and there he recited the Lord's Prayer, the Angelical Salutation, and the Apostles' Creed, which closed the station.'

"This station was repeated three times each day—morning, noon, and evening—during the first seven days. On the eighth, the stations were doubled; on the ninth, after confession and communion, and an admonition from the prior, the pilgrims entered the cave, where they remained fasting and in meditation during twenty-four hours; some, however, did not enter the cave, but spent the twenty-four hours of solitude in some of the little churches. This exceedingly painful penance was regarded then, as it is this day, as a means of obtaining a remission of the temporal punishment which the Catholic Church believes may remain due, in the other life, to venial sin, or to mortal sin after the mortal guilt has been remitted by the sacraments. Neither Rothe nor Lombard had visited Lough Derg; but in modern times it was visited by Dr. Burke, author of the '*Hibernia Dominicana*,' according to whom there was not a more severe penance in the Catholic world. So highly did Benedict XIII. approve the penitential austerities of Lough Derg that he preached a sermon on the subject, while he was yet cardinal, which was printed; and indeed well might Dr. Burke exclaim that it was a most rigid penance, for—exclusive of preparation for confession, attendance at Mass, sermon, fasting, vigils, morning and night prayer—the pilgrims repeat each day the Lord's Prayer and Angelical Salutation nearly three hundred times, and the Apostles' Creed about one hundred times, together with the entire Rosary three times.

"In Dr. Burke's time the pilgrims kept vigil in the chapel called 'the prison,' during twenty-four hours; but at present it is kept on the first night of the station, which may be three, six, or nine days. As in pilgrimages to other places, a prayer is repeated when the lake comes in view, and a popular hymn, 'Fare thee well, Lough Derg,' is sung when the boat pushes from the island. As to the stations around the penal beds where little churches formerly stood, the reader will find much interesting information regarding analogous institutions in the Bollandists—namely, stations established by St. Gregory in the basilicas and cemeteries of Rome, which were frequented in Lent, Advent, Rogation days, and the four great festivals of our Lord; also in Martene, '*de Ritibus Antiquis,*' where he publishes, from the archives of Lyons, Strasburg, Milan, Vienna, &c., rituals more than nine hundred years old, giving the offices celebrated at each station. At Lough Derg the station continues from the 1st of June to the 15th of August. From the middle of July to the close, the average number on the island, each day, is 1,200 or 1,400. The boatman pays the landlord of the place £200 or £300 a year, which is levied off the pilgrims."

Saltrey wrote his narrative in Latin prose, and his account of the knight's vision was soon spread all over Europe. It was subsequently translated into various languages in the metrical style then popular. Two English metrical versions are still in existence. One is contained in the Cotton collection, and is supposed to date from the fifteenth century. The other is a MS. of the fourteenth century, in the Auchinleck collection in Scotland. The narrative was also versified by Marie of France,[9] the celebrated Anglo-Norman poetess of the twelfth century. There are, besides, two other metrical versions in the British Museum.[1]

The vignette at the head of this chapter is taken from an illuminated MS. of the fifteenth century in the

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[9] *France.*—"Poésies de Marie de France"—poéte Anglo-Normand du xiii. siecle. Par Roquefort; Paris, 1820.

[1] *Museum.*—Cot. Dom. A. iv., and Harleian, No. 273.

Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, No. 7588, A. F.: "Ici commence le Purgatoire de Monseigneur St. Patrice." It represents a pilgrim entering the Purgatory, and attended by the monks chanting psalms.

In the metrical version of Owayne Miles his entrance is thus described:—

> "Every prest and every man
> Went with hym, yn processyoun,
> And as lowde as they myghte crye
> For hym they songe the letanye,
> And browte hym fayre ynto the entre,
> Ther as Syr Owayne wolde be."

Here the Prior of the Purgatory gives the pilgrim his last instructions, and then he shuts the door of the cave into which the pilgrim has entered. A most graphic description of his adventures is then given, which we must condense into the briefest possible form. He is first met by fifteen venerable men, clothed in white garments, who receive him kindly, but inform him that he must act manfully, or he will perish, body and soul, as, when they leave him, he will be assailed by a number of demons, who will torment him, and try to terrify, or persuade him to turn back, and if he does turn back he will perish. The moral in this part of the legend is obviously the necessity of persevering in virtue. The English metrical version has the following very beautiful words, which we have given precisely as they stand in the original, only altering the orthography for the sake of such of our readers as may not be accustomed to old English :—

> " But if they will thee beat or bind,
> Look thou have these words in mind :
> ' Jesus, as thou art full of might,
> Have mercy on me, sinful knight !'
> And evérmore have in thy thought
> Jesus, that thee so dear hath bought."

There certainly is no superstition in these beautiful verses; and those who read the legend, whether they took it as an allegory, or an actual narrative of fact, could not fail to obtain great spiritual instruction from it. We could wish that there was no worse reading circulated amongst learned or unlearned in this so-called enlightened century. What better could we teach our people than this, which was taught them by the Benedictine monk of the twelfth century :—

> " And evermore have in thy thought
> Jesus, that thee so dear hath bought."

The knight is then attacked by the demons, whose whole object is to make him turn back. But he is steadfast, and is then seized by them, and flung into a furnace, where he calls upon Jesus to help him :—

> " ' Jesus,' he said, ' full of pity,
> Help, and have mercy on me.' "

He is at once rescued by thus invoking the holy name. He is then taken through different places of punishment, and in each he is delivered by invoking the holy name. At last the demons fling him into hell, and he sinks down deeper and deeper, forgetting, in his terror, to call on God for deliverance. This he remembers at last, utters the usual aspiration, and is safe again. He has to pass a bridge which is so slippery, so narrow, and so lofty, that it seems impossible for any human being to cross it. It is called the bridge "of the three impossibilities." But the knight has recourse to prayer :—

"Sir Owayne then kneeled him down,
And made to God his oraison:
'Lord God,' he said, 'full of might,
Have mercy on me, sinful knight;
Send me, Lord, thy sweet grace,
That I may this bridge pass;
Help, Lord, I may not fall,
For to lose my labor all.'"

The bridge was then crossed safely, and the good knight comes to a wall, bright as glass, in which was a gate adorned with gold and jewels. Here he was met by a procession of the blessed, wearing crowns and carrying golden palms in their hands, and they show him their beautiful garden, which is "green and full of flowers," where there "is mirth and never strife."

This place is shown to Owen by a venerable bishop, who informs him that it is "the earthly paradise," where Adam and Eve, "who were not wise," once dwelt, and where there are many souls detained who have left purgatory, but are not yet admitted to heaven.[*]

At the conclusion of this strange interview, the bishop shows him the celestial paradise and the hill which leads up to it. Owen desires very ardently to remain in the earthly paradise, but his companion tells him it must not be, that he must return to the world, and tell "other men what he has seen;" and that when he has left his flesh and bones on earth his soul will be welcomed there.

Sir Owen then returned easily to the door of the cave where he had entered, and found the priests waiting for him. He remained fifteen days with them, and told them all he had seen, "to make them wise." Then he took cross and staff in hand and went off to the Holy Land. He lived some years after his return from Palestine, but at last

"He died, and went the bright way
To the bliss that lasts for aye;
To that bliss may He us bring
That of all is Lord and King."

And thus ends the legend of the knight Owen.

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[*] *Heaven.*—In the last century a Spanish monk, the general of the Benedictines, Fray Benito Geronymo Feijoo, published a series of essays against popular errors, which have obtained a European reputation. He treats of "St. Patrick's Purgatory," and in particular notices this heretical statement, for which it is certainly difficult to account. Dr. Lynch, in his note on this subject, in his edition of "*Cambrensis Eversus*," says: "Feijoo excuses Henry of Saltrey and Matthew Paris, on the ground that they lived before the Council of Lyons—an answer which cannot extricate Colgan, who attempts to solve the difficulty by saying that the non-possession of the beatific vision by

There are some curious similitudes between the vision of Dante and that of the knight Owen; but no one can carefully peruse the wrapt poetry of the Italian, and compare it with the quiet prose of the Englishman, without seeing at once that the former was pure fiction, and, in fact, a *resume* of the legends of centuries, and that the latter bore some probability of being founded on fact, at least to those who do not pride themselves on disbelieving everything which does not agree with their own limited experience.

There can be but little doubt that Dante was acquainted with the legend of the knight; and we find, in "Orlando Furioso," a passage in which Ariosto plainly mentions the Purgatory,[8] about half a century after the narrative of Owen's descent or vision was made public. Cæsar of Heisterbach, in his dialogues on the miracles of his time, says: "If any one doubt of Purgatory, let him go to Scotia [Ireland], and enter the Purgatory of St. Patrick, and his doubts will be dispelled." The earliest record of a pilgrimage to Lough Derg is published in Rymer's "*Fœdera;*" it is found in the Patent

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the souls in that earthly paradise was a punishment. But they are represented as saying: 'A pœnis liberi sumus;' and, moreover, the idea that Adam's terrestrial paradise is a part of purgatory, is as strange in theology, as Lough Derg's being the gate of paradise is in Irish topography."—"Cam. Ev." p. 110, n. d. The fact is, there seems to have been some confusion in the mediæval popular traditions on this subject; even Dante, after leaving Purgatory, is conducted to the terrestrial paradise before he enters heaven.

[8] *Purgatory.*—"E vide Ibernia fabulosa, dove
Il santo vecchiarel fece la cava
In che tanta mercè par, che si trova
Che l'uom vi purga ogni sua colpa prava."

Rolls of the Tower, under the date 1358, and consists of letters granted by Edward III. to Malatesta Ungarus of Rimini, and Nicholas de Beccariis, a Lombard, to certify that they had performed the pilgrimage.

Lough Derg is described in the Registry of John Bole, Primate of Ireland, who died in 1470. Campion, the celebrated English Jesuit, mentions it in his "Historie of Ireland," written about 1570, and wrote most shrewdly and sensibly on the subject, condemning popular superstitions, but declaring that he "saw no cause but a Christian man, assuring himself that there is both heaven and hell, may, on sufficient information, be persuaded that it might please God, at some time, for considerations to His infinite wisdom known, to reveale by miracles the vision of joyes and paines eternal."

Stanihurst, who wrote in 1580, also condemned the popular opinion, that all who entered the Purgatory saw visions; but admitted, with the saintly and martyred Jesuit, that such visions may have been given to some. I regret very much that the limited space which remains at the conclusion of this work will not admit of a fuller discussion of this subject; but as the bishop of this diocese, and several of the clergy of this and other dioceses, are desirous that I should write a Life of St. Brandon, I hope to do so, and to add to it an account of St. Patrick's Purgatory, and to give the *original* legend of Miles Owen in full. I must admit that, if I had not this plan in view, it would cause me considerable regret to give so imperfect a sketch of a subject so full of interest, and to omit so many most valuable and interesting details.

In concluding this Life of St. Patrick, our great and glorious apostle, I would say, with the devout chronicler of the vision of Owen Miles, who described the bliss of heaven and the joy of the blessed ones—

To that bliss may He us bring
Who of all is Lord and King.

Index to Persons, Events, etc.

Adamnan, the miracles of Patrick known to, 391.
Aen-Adharrae, baptism at, 425.
Aengus, brother of St. Fiacc, 404.
Aengus, property of, 425.
Aengus, son of Natfraich, King of Munster, 285; baptism of, 327, 466; daughter of, 391.
Agabus, the prediction of, 23.
Agreda, Mary of, miraculously carried to Mexico, 358.
Agricola, the Pelagian, 97.
Ailbhe, St., ordination of, 401.
Aillinn, origin of the name, 402.
Aillinn, Lughaidh's queen, 391.
Aithcen, St. Patrick's cook, 249.
Alban, St., and St. Aaron, martyrdom of, 97.
Alcantara, St. Peter of, 119.
Alduaidh, traditions of St. Patrick connected with, 83.
Allan de Dunfres, an account of the Fealty of, 80.
All Hallows' Eve, ancient name of, 287.
Alphabets, St. Patrick's distribution of, 40, *n.* 6, 412, 413, 428.
Altar stone at Domnach-Patric, county Meath, emits streams of blood, 280.
Altus, the centurion, his visit to Ireland, 95.
Amalgaidh, the children of, 285; agreement made by St. Patrick with the sons of, 290; twelve sons of, 421.
Amathio, King of the Romans, 378.
Amator, St., his miracles, 157; journey to Autun, 159; death, 163.
Amator, or Amatheres, the consecrator of St. Patrick, 213.
Ambrose, St., comparison made by, 146, Catholic teaching of, 181.
Angel marks out the site of the church at Armagh, 352; see also under *Victor*; carries St. Patrick to Rome, 357; conversation with on Croagh Patrick, 414.
Annals of the Four Masters, 9, 222, 230.
Annals of Ulster, 372.
Annotations of Tirechan, 387, *n.*
Antony, St., visions appearing to, 4.
Antrim, the saint's captivity in, 75.
Apparicio, Life of Blessed Sebastian of, 1[illegible]
Archbishop not the same as Ardepscop, 50.
Ardagh, St. Patrick at, 398.
Ardmacha, relics preserved in, 360.
Ardpatrick, St. Patrick's visit to, 434.
Arles, Council of, 97.
Armagh, Book of, Life of St. Patrick contained in the, 44, 60; erasures in, 59; probable date of, 59; proofs of date, 60; great importance of, 61; annotations on bishops of, styled successors of St. Patrick, 61; life of St. Martin of Tours in, 63; Brian Boru's inscription in, 64; hereditary keepers of, 65; now in Dr. Reeves' possession, 66; annotations of Tirechan in, 67, 314.
Armagh, Lupita's remains in, 51; plundered by the Danes, 62; Brian Boru's visit to, 64; townlands near, 65; the angel desires St. Patrick to go to, 340; foundation of the church of, 351; relics in, 358.
Asicus, St., Bishop of Elphin, 306.
Assaroe, St. Patrick's visit to, 305, 433.
Assicus, an altar-maker, 402; death of, 403.
Augustine of Inisbeg, 40.
Augustine, St., records visions, 4; contemporary with St. Patrick, 147; his declaration of papal infallibility, 185.
Auxilius, St. Patrick's companion, 378.

Bachall Isu, or Staff of Jesus, 178, 186, 190; destruction of idols with, 230; see also Staff of Jesus; Conall of the, 427.

Baile Chuinn, Conn's Ecstasy, 307.
Ballyshannon, St. Patrick's visit to, 305.
Baptism of St. Patrick, 104, 372; of Dichu, his first Irish convert, 229; of Conall, son of Endeus, 284; of the princesses Ethnea and Fethlenna, 292; at the well of Aen-Adharrac, 297; of Aengus at Cashel, 327, 400.
Barach, Connor Mac Nessa's druid, 93.
Bauban, St. Patrick's nephew, 251.
Bealltaine, the, 253.
Beda Ferlan bound to entertain pilgrims to St. Patrick's church, 80.
Bede, quotations from, 73.
Bell, St. Patrick's, the sweet sounding, 250, 299; rung on Croagh-Patrick, 301, 405.
Benen, St. Patrick's psalmist, 240.
Benignus, St., conversion of, 244; miracle at Tara, 260, 380.
Benum a mistake for bonum, 130.
Bernan Brighde, the bell called, 299, 411.
Berraidhe, the chieftain, 339; Odran slain by, 340.
Besena, son of Alprann, 250.
Birds appearing to St. Patrick, 298.
Bite or Beoaidh, Bishop of Ardcarne, 306, 402.
Black Book of Caermarthen, 248.
Blind man, curing of the, 29.
Bollandists, opinion of the, 50; copy of Confession used by the, 69, 130, 221.
Book of Orders, St. Patrick's, 407.
Book of Rights, 123, 127, 253.
Boulogne, the saint's connection with the see of, 72.
Brehon Laws, St. Patrick's assistance in the compilation of, 581.
Brenainn, St., prophecy of, 472.
Brendan, St., visits Paul, 47.
Bresal, murder of, 307.
Brian Boru, visit to Armagh, 64; inscription of in Book of Armagh, 64; ancestors of, 332.
Brigid, St., the administration of the Holy Viaticum to, 47.
Britain, St. Patrick's arrival in, 75; St. Patrick accompanied St. Germanus to, 184; visit of St. Germanus to, 190.
Britannia, assertion that St. Patrick was born in, 85.
British Museum, documents in, 220, *n*.
Britons, the, plunder made on, 80; of Alcluaid, 85; of Letha, 87; an assembly held by, 374.
Brogan, St. Patrick's nephew, 251.
Brosna, St. Patrick blesses the Munstermen at, 338.
Buas, the river, now Bush, crossed by St. Patrick, 315.

Cadoc, the same as Mochatocc, 46; honored in Wales and Brittany, 47.
Cairbre opposes St. Patrick, 306.
Cairpre Niafer, Monarch of Ireland, 410, *n*.
Cairpre, son of Nial, desires the murder of Patrick, 300.
Caitchenn's son, cure of, 333.
Calphurn, [illegible]
Calpurn, St. Patrick's father, 70, 379; the murder of, 128.
Cambrensis Eversus, quotation from, 283.
Canon Phadraig, 63.
Canons, St. Patrick taught the, by Germanus, 159, 180 to 183.
Captivity, St. Patrick's, 91; the date of, 120; cause of, 375.
Carrickmacross, the saint's visit to, 340.
Cashel, vision on the walls of, 111; destruction of the idols at, 327.
Casula, St. Patrick's, cleansed by an angel, 299; of Bishop Mel's sister, 308.
Catan, St., 251.
Cathal Mac Fergus, death of, 80.
Cauldron, a, given by Daire to St. Patrick, 351.
Ceduit, Abbot of Mainister Buithe, county Louth, 248.
Cele De, disobedience of Malach, 407.
Celestine, Pope, St. Patrick sent by, 98; gave St. Patrick his name, 119; St. Patrick ordained by, 211, 378.
Cethiro, the bishop, 285.
Ciaran of Belach-Duin, the miracles of Patrick known to, 301.
Cill Garad founded by St. Patrick, 407.
Cinaeth, son of Irgalach, violates sanctuary, 280.
Cinel-Boghain, miracle performed for the ancestor of, 307.
Cinne, daughter of Echaidh, a virgin at Clogher, 317, 453.

Choirs, the three, at St. Patrick's ordination, 323.
Christopher Cruise, 301.
Clare, the O'Troighlighs of, 58.
Clebach, conversion of the princesses at the well of, 292.
Cloch Labhrais, a rock celebrated in pagan times, 288.
Clogher, idol stone preserved at, 288; see of, founded by St. Patrick, 316.
Clonard, county Meath, 117.
Clonshanville, the bishop of, 114.
Coemhan, St. Patrick's chamberlain, 249.
Colenso, Dr., theories on miracles, 80.
Coleraine, St. Patrick's visit to, 315, [illegible].
Colethe, St., miracle performed for, 307.
Colgan, his second Life of St. Patrick, 51; alters the narrative of St. Patrick's being carried to Rome miraculously, 358; remarks on his *Trias Th.* 370.
Colman, St., of Dromore, 280.
Columba, St., his birth predicted by St. Patrick, 306.
Columcille, the miracles of St. Patrick known to, 301; prophecy of his birth, 136.
Comitius, Bishop of Clonshanville, county Roscommon, 111.
Conall Sciath-bachall, 427.
Conall, son of Niall, 280; baptism of, 284; measures a church for Patrick, 306.
Conchas, sister of St. Martin of Tours, and St. Patrick's mother, 85, 579.
Conchessa, another form of her name, 86, 104; Ochmas, another form, 248.
Confession, St. Patrick's, four MSS. of, 60; ancient lives founded on, 70; important remarks on the parts not in the Book of Armagh, 286; original from the Book of Armagh, 580; version as given in the Book of Armagh, 580; collations of it with other versions, 581.
Conn, prophecy of, 95.
Connaught, visit of St. Finan to, 45; ancient palace of the kings of, 290; St. Patrick's visit to, 295; St. Patrick remained seven years in, 301; [illegible] in, 301.
Connell's bohereen, 335.
Conor Mac Nessa, the legend of, 93; death of, 94.
Consecration, St. Patrick's episcopal, 210.
Constantine, the life of St. Germanus written by, 180, *n.*
Controversy on miracles, 8.
Corca-Themne, St. Patrick's visit to, 301.
Cormac, King of Ireland, 458.
Cormac, the priest who baptized the saint, [illegible].
Cormac Mor, son of [illegible], 245.
Cornelius, vision of, 98.
Coroticus, statements in St. Patrick's letter to, 71; original and translation of letter to, 613.
Cothraige, a name for St. Patrick, 111.
Cows, miraculous cure of, 374.
Crimthann was King of Leinster, 403.
Crimthann, King of Hy Kinsellagh, [illegible].
Crom Cruach, the Irish idol, 287; destruction of, 300; probable site of, 300, *n.*
Cross, St. Patrick's reverence for, 309; miracle at, 420.
Crowe, translation of the *Lorica* by, 364.
Crozier, Aengus' foot pierced by, 397.
Cruachan, meeting of St. Patrick with the princesses at, 294.
Crucifixion, Irish legend of, 97.
[illegible] Patrick's miracles, 491.
Cullen, county Limerick, child restored to life at, 330.

Daire, St. Patrick's visit to, 345; he offers him a rath, 340; his illness and miraculous cure, 390, 401.
Dalaradia, St. Patrick's servitude in, 131, 164; visits to, 313, 431.
Dal-Riada, St. Patrick's visit to, 313, 314.
Dal-Runter, the people of, follow the saint, 343.
Danes, Armagh plundered by the, 63.
Daniel, Patrick's angel and dwarf, 314, [illegible].
Darerca, St. Patrick's sister, 247, 307.
Daughters, baptism of Laoghaire's, 296.
Deacons, the three, 312.
Deacon, Palladius, the; importance of the office in the Roman Church, 99.
Death, St. Patrick's, at Armagh, 493, 497.

Deisse mentioned, 248.
De Vere, Aubrey, his poems, 11.
Devil, power of the, 259.
Diarmaid Mac Cerbhaill, banishment of, 397; marks out the site of Clonmacnoise church, 398.
Diarmid, son of Restitutus, St. Patrick's nephew, 114, 280.
Diarmid left by St. Patrick at Domnach Fiacc, 46.
Dichu, the saint's first convert, 231, 382; St. Patrick's visit to, 235.
Domangart, St., blessed by St. Patrick before his birth, 346.
Donegal blessed by St. Patrick, 306.
Donegal, Martyrology of, 49.
Donough, son of Flann, 64; encasement of the Canon of Patrick by, 64.
Donnchadh, Monarch of Ireland, 402.
Downpatrick, Loarne Bishop of, 51.
Dr. O'Donovan, (opinion of the late), 253.
Dricriu, King, the saint's visit to, 323.
Dricriu, King of the Ui-Garchon, 459.
Drogheda, St. Patrick's arrival at, 244.
Drombo, building the rath at, 345.
Dromore, St. Colman of, 239.
Druids—Barach, 93; Lochra and Luchat Mael, 96; names of the king's, 252, 254; at Tara, 258, 379; burned in the fire at Tara, 390.
Drumconrath, county Meath, a church founded there, 280; visit to, 313, 314.
Dublin, Book of Lecain preserved in, 52.
Dubhtach Mac Lugair, the king's chief bard, 258.
Dubthach Mac Ui-Lugair, the poet, 45; he asks St. Patrick to tonsure Fiacc, 45.
Dun-da-leth-glaisse, county Down, St. Patrick buried at, 365.

Eadberth, an account of the army of, 83.
Easter, St. Patrick's visit to Tara at, 243, 385, 387.
Ecchu Baldearg cured at the well of Saugul, 333.
Ecclesiastical Record, valuable articles in, 45, 215.
Echtra, resuscitation of, 426; her grave still known at Kilmore Moy, 426, *n.*
Ecstacy, the, of Conn, 379.
Edward Lhuyd, Welsh philologist, 65.
Eileran the Wise, author of the *Vita Quarta*, 206; the miracles of Patrick known to, 391.
Eimhin, St., or Evin, Life of St. Patrick written by, 54, 56, 249.
Elias, St. Patrick invoking, 2, 148.
Elphin, in Connaught, plain near, visited by the saint, 290.
Elymas struck blind by St. Paul, 23.
Embroiderers, St. Patrick's, 260.
Emptur, St. Fiacc states St. Patrick's birthplace was at, 84.
Endeus, son of Amalgaid, 284; his visit to Tara, 285.
England, MacMoyer's visit to, 65; a theory that St. Patrick's birthplace might be in, 71; Roman legion in, 74; Roman camps in, 77; Reformation in, 141; strange misconception of Protestant clergymen in, 142, *n.*
Eochach, son of Muredach, cruelty of, 310.
Eochaidh, resuscitation of, 310, 453.
Eoghan, son of Nial, miracle performed for, 307, 436; blessing on the race of, 437.
Episcopal jurisdiction in the early Irish Church, 503.
Ephesians, St. Paul burning the books of the, 23.
Erc, daughter of Daire, 250.
Erc, marriage of, 404.
Erc, prophecies of, 251.
Erc, son of Dega, first Bishop of Slane, St. Patrick's judge, 249; his conversion and baptism at Tara, 283, 385.
Erc, twelve sons of, 313.
Erca, daughter of Loarn Mor, 306.
Erin, lives of the saints of, 44; the cause of Patrick's coming to, 112, 127, 376.
Es-Ruaidh, St. Patrick's visit to, 305.
Essays, Monsignor Moran's, great value of, 99; quotations from, 200; opinion about St. Patrick's consecration, 215.
Essays and Reviews, immense circulation of, 12; arguments against miracles in, 32.
Ethna the Fair, conversion of, 291, 404.
Etymologisch Forsch, 78.
Europe, a description of Christian life in, 145.

Failge, death of, 340.
Faith, on the necessity of, 84.
Faith of the Irish, 87, 200.
Fallon, proverb about his sleep at Naas, 390.
Farney, visit of St. Patrick to, 340.
Fast, St. Patrick's, on Croagh Patrick, 297.
Fasting, St. Patrick, on Tara, 341.
Fedelmid, left by St. Patrick at Domnach Pinne, 40.
Fedhlimidh, Ochmaelle son of, 391.
Fedhlimidh, the son of, at Trim, 304.
Fedhlimidh, son of Laeghaire, receives the Gospel, 248.
Feidelm, the consecration of, 200, 424.
Fellim, St. Columba's father, 300.
Ferdomnach, important inscription in Book of Armagh, 61.
Fergus, son of Conall Gulban, 312; promised donation of, 319.
Ferguson's, Mrs., Irish before the Conquest, 96.
Ferguson, Dr., quotations from his [illegible]
Fire, the, at Slane, 291; at Armagh, 393.
Fes, the, of Tara, 252, 259, 294.
Festology of Aengus, the Culdee, 87.
Fetil, the grandfather of St. Patrick, 70.
Fethlema the Ruddy, conversion of, 201, 404.
Fiacc, St., Life of St. Patrick by, 46; the baptism of, 46; interview between St. Patrick and, 46, n.; an angel appears to him, 47; retirement of, 48; death of, 48; St. Patrick sends him a chariot miraculously, 399, 400; translation of his hymn, 599.
Fiachra, ordination of, 48
Finn Faithleach, the sweet-sounding bell, 280.
Finnian, St., of Moville.
Finnine, the Munsterman blessed from the hill of, 392.
Fishes, St. Patrick's, 177.
Flowers strewn over St. Patrick by Benignus, 244, 391.
Fochlut, the saint's visit to, 299
Fortchern, 249
Four Masters, record the arrival of St. Patrick, 222; foundation of Trim recorded by, 247; quotations from, on Strangford Lough, 280, 381.

France, a suggestion of St. Patrick's birthplace being in the north of, 71, 75; Roman stations in, 77; intercourse with, 97; St. Patrick's return to, 184; St. Germanus' return to, 190.
Francesca, St., of Rome, 333.
Francis, St., of Assisi, similarity between, and St. Patrick, 194, 207.
Freamhain, the battle of, 340.
Frion, Bishop, 338.
Fursaeus, St., Life of, 78.

Gaedhil, St. Patrick loosens the bondage of the, 378.
Garment of invisibility, St. Patrick's, 397.
Gaul, journey of the leper from, 100; the monks of, 140.
Genealogy of Niall's sons, 273.
Gentiles, the saint's voyage with the, 134.
German, St. Patrick's tutor, 231.
Germanus, St., St. Patrick's study under, 79; mission of, 97; birth and education of, 150; return to Gaul of, 157; his teaching, 158; revelation of, 188; austerities practised by, 164; St. Patrick's intercourse with, 177; amiable qualities of, 188; the miracles of, 183; consecration as Bishop of Auxerre, 184; visits Britain, 190; great devotion to relics of, 190.
Gleaghmann, Ethni and Fedl daughters of, 281; meeting of St. Patrick with at Fochlut, 295.
Guasacht, ordination of, 288.
Goat, miracle of the, 455.
Gormias, the saint baptized by, 104.
Gospels, Lomman reading the, 304.
Grada (orders) read over Patrick, 378.
Graif, St. Patrick's fell from him when destroying the idols, 400.
Granard, Guasacht, Bishop of, 289.
Gratzacham when I give, 391.
Graves, Dr., identifications made by, 59; important discovery of, 60.
Gregraighe, stones flung at St. Patrick by, 490

Hand, St. Patrick's, shrine of, 528.
Hanna, Mr., identifications of sites and facts given by, 7; paper on St. Patrick's landing place by, 281.

Hennessy, W., an eminent Celtic scholar, 7; translation of the Tripartite L[illegible], 399.
Henry VIII., establishment of the Protestant religion by, 10.
H[illegible], St. Patrick receives staff at [illegible], 192; description of, 191; probable origin of name, 192.
Hibernia, [illegible] of Catholics to, 101.
Hilary, St., of Poictiers, the instructor of St. Martin, 149.
Historic tale of Conor Mac Nessa, 99.
History, details of miracles in Catholic, 10.
Homo, a mass of gold given to, 401.
Honorat, St., his power over animals, 161.
Horses, St. Patrick helps his charioteer to find, 409.
Household, St. Patrick's, 397.
Hungary, removal of St. Martin's parents from, 109.
Hymn, St. Patrick's *famous*, 264; preface to St. Secundinus', 300; original Latin and translation of St. Sechnall's, 303; St. Fiacc's, 300.
Hymns of the early Irish church, 316.
Hy-Nialls, prophecy of the, 311.

Iarlaith, son of Trian, blessing of, 479.
Ice changed into fire, 378.
Idols, the destruction of, 288.
Ignatius, St., similarity between his prayer [illegible], and St. Patrick's *Lorica*, 267.
Imagination, visions not always, 4.
Indies, the Apostle of the, 108.
Inis-an-ghaill, discovery of tombstone on the island of, 118.
Inishowen, county Donegal, blessed by St. Patrick, 517.
Innes, a description of Kilpatrick by, [illegible]
Innisfallen, the Annals of, 222.
Innocent, Pope, his letter to Decentius, 10.
Ireland, evangelization of, 10; poem written on the history of, 37; [illegible] from County Mayo, Milchu of, 69; [illegible] of, 61; [illegible] of the saint towards, 70; St. Patrick's escape from, 71; St. Patrick's return to, 70; St. Patrick carried off to, 60; visit of Albus to, 90; the advent of St. Patrick to, 90; evidence of Christians being in, 98;

Ireland, *continued.*
St. Patrick's altar stone brought to, 100; saints in, 112; Reformation in, 111; command given to St. Patrick to go to, 160; St. Patrick's journey to, 200; Palladius returning from, 207; date of St. Patrick's arrival in, 221; banishment of demons from, [illegible]; Patrick First Archbishop of, 271; faithfulness of, 297.
Irish Celts, form of oath by the ancients, 371.
Irish liturgy, treatise on, 170.
Irish, the faith of the, 37.
Isabella, Duchess of Albany, church founded by, 80.
Iserninus, St., Patrick's companion, 221; bishop in county Kildare, 400.
Isidore, St., College of, Rome, copy of St. Fiacc's hymn preserved at, 3[illegible].
Italy, ravaged by the Goths, [illegible]; Lombards of, 112; called Latium, 200.

Jarlath, St., third Bishop of Armagh, 399.
Jocelyn, his Life of St. Patrick, 10; details given by, 247; mystical interpretation of, 300.
John of the [illegible], 121.
John of Tinmouth, 518.
John, St., miracles performed by, 31, 32.
John the deacon, 101.
Johannes Campanus, character of, 190.
Joyce, Mr., his *Origin of Irish Names*, 193.

Kells, first public baptism in Ireland at, 278.
K[illegible], [illegible] of Chapter [illegible].
K[illegible], O'Connell of, [illegible]
K[illegible], St. Patrick baptized by, 100.
Kilcullen, Mac Tail patron of, 494.
Killala, episcopal see founded by St. Patrick, 494.
Kilmacthomas, pagan remains at, 303.
Kilmore, [illegible] venerated as patron of, 4.
Kilpatrick, description of, 59; termination of the Roman wall at, 60.
Kirby, Monsignor, account of St. Patrick's relics in Rome, 351.
Knock Cae, miracles performed on, 341.

Laeghaire, prophecy of Conn about, 95; King of Ireland, 221, 384; taken prisoner by the Leinstermon, 271; mode of burial, 272; conversion of the two daughters of, 292.
Lagenians (Leinstermen) 46, *n.* 5.
Landing place of St. Patrick, 230.
Languedoc, *Astruc's Hist. de*, 78.
Lanigan, Dr., on St. Patrick's birthplace, 71, *Ecclesiastical History* of, 88, *n.*, inclined to be sceptical, 293; unintentional mistakes of, 340.
Lazarus, raising from the dead of, 33.
Leabhar Breac, Life of St. Patrick in, 68, 104; on St. Patrick's obtaining relics miraculously from Rome, 359.
Leinster, Book of, 95.
Leinster, O'Devrans in, 55; Palladius' arrival at, 101; St. Patrick's labors in, 305; great number of churches erected in, 325; St. Patrick's arrival in, 377.
Lenihan, Mr., quotation from his *History of Limerick*, 334.
Lent, Lomman left at the Boyne during, 394.
Leper, legend of the, and the flag-stone, 108.
Lerins, St. Patrick's visit to, 187.
Lia Fail, the, or stone of destiny, 288.
Liber Hymnorum preserved in Rome, 41.
Limerick, identifications made by Dr. Graves of, 59; St. Patrick's arrival in, 329; piety of the people of, 332; History of, by Mr. Lenihan, 397.
Lives of St. Patrick, ancient, 50, 53.
Lives of the saints, miraculous occurrences in, 25.
Loarne, Bishop of Bright, now Downpatrick, 51.
Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, 71.
Lochru raised in the air and killed, 256.
Logha, St. Patrick's helmsman, 251.
Lomman left at the Boyne, 245, 394; found by Fortchern, 394.
Lonan's banquet on Cae, 330, 470.
Longobards, on the origin of the, 114, *n*,
Lorica, St. Patrick's, 264; St. Sechnall's, 362.
Luchat Mael and Lochra, 96.
Luchat Mael, proposal of, 259.
Lughaidh, the son of Laeghaire, 270, 309, *n.*; memoir of the exemption of, 270; assumed the sovereignty, 391.
Lugnath, discovery of the tombstone of, 115.
Lupita, St. Patrick's sister, 51; mother of the Ui Baird, 112; an error for Limania, 113; cure of, when a child, 374.
Lupus, St., of Troyes, 97; consecration of, as bishop, 197.
Luther, reference to the life and career of, 19; organization of the Protestant religion by, 19.

Mac Caerthinn, baptism of, 431.
Mac Carthainn consecrated Bishop of Clogher, 136.
Mac Carthend, Bishop of Clogher, 451.
MacCarthy, D. F., his poems, 11.
Mac Cuil, St., his character and attempt to impose on St. Patrick, 342; his conversion, 343, 479; death of, 345.
Mac Erca ordained bishop, 315.
Mac Fail, Bishop of Cill-Usaile, 324.
Machin baptized by St. Patrick, 251, *n.*
Mac Moyer visited England, 65; pledged the Book of Armagh, 65; betrayed Dr. Plunket, 65.
MacNessa, Conor, 93.
MacNessa, Fergus, 93.
Macraith, the wise, 251.
Mael, the druid, 291, 406.
Magh-Dala, the saint's visit to, 311.
Magh-Life, the river Liffey takes its name from, 323.
Magh-Slecht in Cavan, description of, 288; idols destroyed at, 399.
Magus, Simon, the conversion of, 22.
Maisach, the saint's wood supplier, 251
Malone, Rev. A., of Limerick, description of St. Patrick's well by, 337, *n.*
Manchen, St., left to govern the church at Aen-Adharrac, 297.
Mantan's disobedience, 331, 471.
Martin, St., mentioned as St. Patrick's mother's brother in the list of his household, 251.
Martin, St., of Tours, the Life of, 63, visit of St. Patrick to, 79; miracles performed by, 118, teaching of, 150; St. Patrick journeyed to Tour to visit, 173.
Martyrology of Tallaght, 49; of Donegal, 49, 233, 285.
Mathona, sister of St. Benignus, 403.
Matter, miracles not a violation of the laws of, 39.

Maximus, St., of Turin, probably St. Patrick's consecrator, 218.

Meath, St. Patrick in, 272, 394; St. Patrick leaves, after destroying the idols, 289; St. Patrick's return to, 304.

Mel, St., patron of diocese of Longford, 107; bishop, 398.

Merlin, a dialogue between Taliessen and, 248.

Moscan, St. Patrick's particular friend, 249.

Mexico visited by a Franciscan nun in ecstasy, 358, *n.*

Milcho purchases St. Patrick, 129, 131; vision of the servant in flames of fire by, 133; St. Patrick's escape from, 138; St. Patrick's visit to, 232; prediction on the family of, 233; remains of his rath, 234.

Miliuc, Patrick sold to, 376.

Miracles, St. Patrick's compared with those of Scripture, 13; performed by the saints in all ages, 19; by the Apostles, 21; performed by the use of relics, 21; Christ's miracles questioned by the Pharisees, 26; careful examination of all alleged miracles by the Church, 27; objections made by modern sceptics to, 35; occur at the present day, 124; peculiar fitness in St. Patrick's, 310.

Miracles of St. Patrick—ice changed to fire, 119; cure of his sister, 120; taming the mad ox, 123; changes snow into curds and butter for tribute, 123; tames a wolf, 125; restores the use of Rius' limbs, 237; destruction of the druids at Tara, 258; finding the horses, 303; known at the time of writing the Tripartite, 391; known by Columcille, &c., 392.

Mochae, St., description of the staff of, 239, 384.

Mochaembrog, St., of Cashel, 110.

Mochonnoc, the saint's hospitaller, 251.

Mochta, St., conversion of, 249, *n.*; left at Louth by the saint, 348.

Monasterevin founded by St. Evin.

Monastery, a description of St. Fiacc's, 49.

Monks of the West, quotations from, 154.

Montepulciano, St. Agnes of, her miracles, 177.

Moran, Very Rev. Monsignor, his important literary labors; assistance give by him to the author of this work, 7; his Essays, 99, 180, 279; on the history of St. Maccuil, 345.

Mount Hermon, our divine Lord appeared to St. Patrick on, 188.

Moville, St. Finnian of, 230.

Muchatocc, of Inisfail, 46.

Muirchu-Maccu-Machtheni, the writer of St. Patrick's Life in the Book of Armagh, 66, 138.

Mungret, county Limerick, foundation of the church of, 330.

Munis, brother of Lomman, 394.

Munster, Oilioll Olum, King of, 57; Flann, King of, 110; Aengus Mac Nadfraich, King of, 391; blessing of the people of, 475.

Munsterman, resuscitation of a, 338.

Munstermen, St. Patrick's blessing to the, 332, 338.

Naas, baptism at, 320; Fallon's sleep in the fort of, 320.

Nainnid left by St. Patrick at Domnach Fiacc, 46.

Nathi, St. Patrick repulsed by, 224.

Nemthur, opinions about the meaning of, 70; various readings of the name, 372.

Nessan instructed by the saint, 332.

Nevtur mentioned in the Black Book of Caermarthen, 248.

Niall, Cairpre son of, 396.

Nicholson's, Mr. Steele, Life of St. Patrick, 5, 6.

Ninian, St., of Scotland.

North of Ireland, the saint's residence in the, 240.

Nurse, St. Patrick's, 120, 373; St. Benedict's, similarity between, and St. Patrick's, 123.

O'Briens, their ancestor baptized by St. Patrick, 332.

Obsequies, St. Patrick's, 365.

O'Clerys, Calendar of the, 427.

O'Connor, Dr., opinion of, 252.

O'Curry, E., remarks on the hymn of St. Fiacc by, 44; *Manuscript Materials of Irish History* by, 52, *n.*; discovery of Tripartite by, 57; on the prophecy of Conn, 95.

O'Donovan, Dr., notes on the list of St. Patrick's household, 250.

Odran, St. Patrick's charioteer, 250, 339; his death, 340, 477.

O'Laverty, Rev. J., assistance given by, 7.

Olcan, St., baptism of, 313, 440.

Ordination of Aengus, 312; account of St. Patrick's, 378.

Origines Parochiales, 78.

O'Troighthighs, the, of Clare, 58.

Paisley, monks of, 80.

Palladius the Deacon, 97; sent by Celestine, 98, 377; failure of his mission, 99, 100.

Pallas-green, county Limerick, the women of, bewail St. Patrick's departure, 330.

Paris, journey of St. Patrick and St. Germanus to, 197.

Paschal fire lit by St. Patrick, 254.

Patricius, a name of power, 378.

Patrick, St., Nicholson's memoir of the mission and life of, 2; Elias invoked by, 2; the angel Victor appearing to, 3; an account of the visions of, 3; an account of the mission of, 16; the magician Lochru killed by, 23; hymn or poem on the life of, 43; St. Fiacc's life of, 43; St. Fiacc baptized by, 46; ordination of Fiachra by, 48; Jocelyn's life of, 53; observation on the acts of, 53; ancient lives of, 53; uncertainty about his birthplace, 69; the parents of, 70; baptism of, 81, 104; birthplace, disputes about, 85; capture of, 86, 126; the early life of, 90; druidical prophecies of the coming of, 95; mission of, 95; memoir of, 106 *n.*; relatives of, 113; miracles performed by, 119; the mad ox tamed by, 120; the restoration of animals to life by, 123; escape from servitude of, 133, 135; embarkation of, 137; Satan tempting, 143; visit to the monastery of Tours, 147; bell of, 166; Irish vision, 168; four years in Tours, 177; visit to Lerins, 187; his journey to Rome, 188, 203; receives the Staff of Jesus, 189; our divine Lord appears to, 191; the teaching of, 209; episcopal consecration of, 217; on the trials of, 219; date of his arrival in Ireland, 221; the landing place of, 229; his household, list of persons of, 249; poem on the friends of, 249; three artificers, 250; three embroiderers, 250; ancient lives of, 253; his companions from Rome, 252; his five sisters, 257; Mochin baptized by, 257; the king commands his people to seize, 257; Magus attempted to poison, 259; *Lorica*, 264; Cairbre's wish to kill, 273; visit to Cairbre and Conall 273; missionary labors of, 273 churches founded by, 283; Amalgadh baptized by, 285; visited Fochlut, 285; instructing the two virgins, 292; conversation between the angel and, 300; conversation between Fochain and, 307; journey to Aileach, 311; prophecy of, 311, angel of, 314; disobedience of his disciples 331; memoir of, 341 *n.*; charity of, 341; Dare presented a cauldron to, 351; Dr. Todd's memoir of, 354; Bera and Bright's visit to, 361; the death of, 363; offerings made by Fedhlimidh to, 395; journey to Tethbha, 399; Ona presented his house to, 402; alphabets written by, 412, 413; episcopal see founded by, 426; the Gregraighe flung stones at, 427; seven sons of Draighen baptized by, 431.

Patrick, St., junior, 51.

Patrick's, St., Confession, manuscripts of, 69 *n.*, 135; remarks on, 571; original and translation, 580.

Paul, St., miracles performed by touching his body, 21; Elymas struck blind by, 23.

Paul's retirement to a desert island, 47.

Pelagianism, Britain corrupted by, 97.

Peter, St., miracles performed by, 9; the angel releasing from prison, 22; his miracles, 35; authority of the see of, 98; the teaching at Rome of, 181.

Peter, St., of Alcantara, miracles performed by, 119 *n.*

Petrie, Dr., opinion of date of Book of Armagh, 61; opinion given by, 252, suggestion about Lorica, 269.

Pharisees, miracles denied by the, 26

Philip, St., conversion of Simon Magus by, 22; caught up by angel, 24.

Philological Transactions for 1855, 78.
P. J. Kennedy, author of *Legendary Fictions*, 246.
Plunket, Dr. Oliver, Mac Moyer's betrayal of, 65.
Poetry, proverbial quatrain on St. Patrick, 231; Hymn of St. Fiacc, 558; Hymn of St. Sechnall or Secundinus, 562; St. Patrick's blessing on Dichu, 320, 383; quotations from Aubrey de Vere's, 334.
Polycarp, St., the acts of the martyr, 142 *n.*
Potid, grandfather of St. Patrick, 173.
Prayer water, 104.
Probus, Life of St. Patrick by, 67, 188, 275.
Promises made to St. Patrick, 300.
Psalms, St. Patrick's devotion to the, 236.
Public penance performed by St. Patrick, 176.
Purgatory, St. Patrick's, history of, 621.

Quinta Vita, 58, 178, 257.

Rath, Milcho's, remains of, 235, 383.
Rechred burnt by fire from heaven, 428.
Record, the Irish Ecclesiastical, 45, *n.*
Reeves, Dr., his *Down and Connor*, 181, 238; *Adamnan*, 334; *Report of late Ec. Com.* 305.
Relatives, St. Patrick's, 305.
Relics, miracles performed with, 91; given to St. Patrick by Pope Celestine, 205; brought miraculously by St. Patrick from Rome, 357, 401; destruction of, 521; kept at present in Rome, 524; of St. Patrick's hand, 526.
Rius of Inis-bo-finde, St. Patrick's nephew and satchel-bearer, 307.
Rius cured by St. Patrick, 287.
Rodan, St. Patrick's shepherd, 250.
Roman mission, St. Patrick's, 223.
Rome, Liber Hymnorum preserved in, 44; we should be children of, 60; deacons of, 99; Palladius, Bishop of, 100; the empire of, 130; the saint's journey to, 140; Pelagius' visit to, 184; St. Patrick receives authority from, 203; his visit to, mentioned by Tirechan, 204; prayer of St. Patrick that he might be conducted thence to receive authority, 300; St. Patrick returning from, 332; the angel took St. Patrick to, 355; St. Patrick desiring to obtain relics from, 356; the saint's arrival in, 357; St. Sechnall's visit to, 360; St. Patrick sent Sechnall to, 360.
[illegible] visited by the saint, 400.
Ross, the men of, visited by St. Patrick, 340.
Russ, son of Trichim, 388.
Rothe, David, elucidations of, 58.

Sabhall, now Saul, St. Patrick meets Dichu at, 321; foundation of monastery at, 328; presented to him by Dichu, 321.
Sacraments administered to St. Patrick, 388.
Sadducees, disbelief in angels and demons, 18.
Saints, on the miracles of, 117.
Samhain, All Hallows' Eve, 387.
Sannan, St. Patrick's brother, 108.
Saingel, county Limerick, description of, [illegible]
Santaflora, St. Paul of the Cross preaching at, 550.
Scholiast on St. Fiacc's hymn, 55, 80.
Secundinus receives St. Patrick, 340, 361.
Scotland, St. Patrick's journey to, 147.
Scribes, indignation of the, 96.
Sebastian, Blessed, his miracles, 193.
Sechnall, St., hymn of, 65, 118, 405; St. Patrick's bishop, 340; his nephew, 340, *n.*; his visit to Rome, 360; preface to his alphabetical hymn in praise of the saint, 360; original Latin and translation of the hymn, 563.
Sectmaide, plunder made on the Britons by, 88, 197.
Segetius, sent with St. Patrick by Germanus, 170, 370.
Senan, St., of Iniscathach, prophecy of his birth, 381.
Senell, St. Patrick's bell-ringer, 340.
Shankill, church of, near Elphin, founded by St. Patrick, 403.
Shannon, Fedlimidh probably retired to a monastery on the banks of, 15; miraculously forded by St. Patrick, 400.

Shepherds, vision of angels to the, 4.
Sidhe, meaning of, 291.
Simon Magus, death of, 256.
Sinell, the first who believed in Erinn, 378.
Sisters, St. Patrick's, 128, 247, 251.
Skene, Mr., identifications of, 248.
Skerry, famous pilgrimage at, 132.
Sletty, St. Fiacc's monastery in, 47; St. Fiacc's relics preserved in, 49; meaning of, 49; bishop of, 66.
Sliabh-Hermoin, St. Patrick's visit to, 377.
Sligech river blessed by St. Patrick, 429.
Smiths, St. Patrick's three, Macecht, Laebham, and Fortchern, 250.
Soldier, the angel appearing to the, 23.
Sorcerers at Ephesus; their books burned by the apostles, 23.
Soul-friend, Irish name for confessor, 64.
Spain, the Arians traversing, 140.
Sparks of fire seen by Erc on St. Patrick's lips, 283.
Staff of Jesus given to St. Patrick, 178, 186, 190; destruction of the idols with, 288, 377.
Staff given to St. Mochae, 230.
Stone, St. Patrick's, in the Clyde, 81; flag-stone of the leper, 106, 108; predictions of, 108; of Lugnaed, 113; flight of an altar-stone, 280; left by St. Patrick at Cashel, 328; thrown behind him, 397.
Stones, St. Patrick writing names on, 408; cross on, 426.
Strabane, Aitchen patron saint of, 249, *n.*
Strokestown, plain near, visited by the saint, 290.
Strong man, St. Patrick's, 315.
Succat, a name for St. Patrick, 111.
Successors, list of St. Patrick's, in the see of Armagh, 535.
Sulpicius Severus, St. Martin's biographer, 150.
Superstition condemned by the Church, 177.
Swift, Edmund, his translation of Jocelyn, 53; remarks on the life and acts of St. Patrick by, 53.
Synod of clerics at Clebach, 291, 404.

Tabernæ, name of Roman stations in France, 77.
Tailcenn, prophecy of the, 95, 111, 379; meaning of doubtful, 96.
Taliessen, poems attributed to, 248.
Tallaght, Martyrology of, 49.
Tara, visit of St. Patrick to, 45; desertion of, 49; prophecy about, 50; St. Patrick preaching at, 201; reign of Laeghaire Mac Niall at, 223; Laeghaire's court at, 252; Laeghaire requested the saint to return to, 256; banquet hall of, 257; the chieftains of old Erinn at, 259; St. Patrick teaching at, 274; conclusion of St. Patrick's visit to, 278; St. Patrick blessing the plain of, 279, Erc baptized at, 283; Endeus' visit to, 285; the saint's departure from, 287; the men of Erin feasting at, 387.
Tassach, St. Patrick's artificer, 250 administered the last sacraments to the saint, 363.
Teach-na-Roman founded by Palladius, 100.
Tecan, St. Patrick's disciple, 40.
Telltown, St. Patrick at the fair of, 272, 396.
Temptation, St. Patrick's, 149.
Terryglass, public baptism at, 332, 471.
Theodosius, Emperor of Rome when St. Patrick landed in Ireland, 221.
Tiernmas, worship of idols introduced by, 287; death of, 287.
Tillemont, *Ec. Hist.*, quotations from, 159, 180, 200.
Tirawley, St. Patrick preaches to the people of, 296.
Tirechan, Annotations of, their antiquity, 67; mention of St. Patrick's visit to Rome, 204; quotations from, 283, 284; on St. Patrick's visit to Fochlut, 285; important quotation from, 286; on Laeghaire, 387 *n.*
Tobar-Finnmaighe, St. Patrick's visit to, 301.
Todd, Dr., Memoir of St. Patrick referred to, 1; his objections to the invocation of saints answered, 3 theory of imagination, 5; theory of St. Patrick's Roman mission, 205, *n.*, grave misstatements, 238; on St. Patrick's visit to Tara, 257; supposition that St. Patrick invoked the elements, 269.
Tooth, St. Patrick's, 428, 467.

Tours, life of St. Martin of, 63; St. Patrick's visit to the monastery of, 147; St. Patrick's visit to St. Martin at, 173; the austerity of the monks of, 174.
Tresi, sister of Aengus Mac Nadfraich, 285.
Trian's slaves, St. Patrick's charity to, 341, 478.
Trian, Bishop, 476.
Trias Thaumaturgas, 379.
Trim, ancient name of, 245; veneration of St. Patrick's disciple at, 250; *dun* at, 394; notices of by Dr. Butler, 395.
Tripartite, quotations from, 49; three ancient MSS. of, 55; discovered by O'Curry, 55; antiquity of, 56; translated by Mr. Hennessy for this work, 70; commencement of the translation, 372.
Tullyhaw, barony of, important events in, 287.
Tu es Petrus, 207.
Tuohy, Dr., grave of, 335.
Tyrone, flight of the Earl of, 311.
Tyrrhene Sea, St. Patrick's visit to the islands of, 195.

Ua Bairds, or Longobards, 114.
Ui-Ercan, a tribe in county Kildare, 462.
Ulidians taught by St. Patrick, 235.
Ulster, Annals of, 80, 222; St. Patrick's landing in, 229; St. Patrick in, 319.
Ultan, St., his charity to the poor, 68.
Usail, St., Irish name for Auxilius, 324.
Usher, opinion of St. Patrick's Confession, 69; ancient Life of St. Patrick mentioned by, 174; opinion about his consecration, 214.

Veagh, remarkable miracle at, 306.
Vedastus, St., the monastery of, 69.
Vetustiora Latinorum Scriptorum Chronica, 98.
Vico Varo, the monks of, 259.
Victor, the bishop, consecration of, 319, 456.
Victor, St. Patrick's angel, apparitions of, 134, 179, 299, 379.
Vincent, St., of Lerins, his Catholic teaching, 154.
Visions, St. Patrick's, 134, 170, 175, 192, 221.
Vita Quarta, quotations from, 102, 107, 188, 205, 344.
Vita Quinta, quotations from, 173, 178, 243.
Vita Secunda, quotations from, 101, 107, 212, 225; compared with Book of Armagh, 227; abrupt conclusion of, 278.
Vita Sexta, quotations from, 225, 244.
Vita Tertia, quotations from, 107, 144, 188.
Voice of the Irish calling St. Patrick, 170, 211.

Wales and Brittany, Mochatoco honored as an apostle in, 46.
Ware, Sir James, his works, 65; opinion of St. Patrick's Confession, 69, *n.* 9; opinion about his consecration, 215.
Water changed into honey, 375.
Wattle, house of, 80.
Well at Tobar-Finn-Maighe, 301, 418; at Aen-Adharrac, 297; at Maighe-Slecht, 400; at Uaran-Gar, 406; at Tara, 422.
Whitsuntide, St. Patrick spends, at Croagh Patrick, 414.
Wicklow, the leper's arrival at, 109; St. Patrick landed in, 226; visit of the saint to, 323.

Xavier, St. Francis, his mission in Japan, 19.

Young, Dr., tombstone of, 335.

Index to Localities.

Achadh-farcha, field of lightning, 391.
Achadh-Fobhair, well of, in county Mayo, 413.
Aen-Adharrac, the well of, 297.
Aileach, royal palace of, 306.
Airdne-Caemhan, in Connaught, 408.
Al-Cluaid, 372; the royal palace at, 375.
Aenach Macha, near Armagh, 357.
Ardd-Machæ, city of, 351.
Ard-Patrick, county Limerick, 334.
Ard-Phadraig, in Louth, 348.
Ard-senlis, county Roscommon, 406.
Ardsratha, a church in Tyrone, 403.
Ardstraw, in county Tyrone, 315.
Ath-carpait, a ford on the river Boyle, 430.
Ath-da-lorg, in Kells, 406.
Ath-O'Lilaigh, a ford bordering Monaghan, 457.
Ath-Trim, ancient name of Trim, 245.

Badhghna North, county Roscommon, 401.
Ballina, 296.
Ballintober, well of, 413.
Ballisakeery, parish of, 296.
Ballybrindar, holy well at, 230.
Bally Loughdalla, 425.
Ballymagauran, county Cavan, 399.
Ballytigpatrick, townland of, 133.
Bantry, ancient name of, 137.
Barrow, the river, celebrated monastery on, 46.
Baslick, church of, Roscommon, 407.
Bealach-Gabhran, ancient name of Gowran, 326.
Bertlacha, an island belonging to Sligo, 427.
Bile-Tortan, in Meath, 458.
Binbulbin, county Sligo, 417.
Blackwater in Meath, 396.
Bodoney, church of, 438.
Boulogne, 77.
Boyle, ancient name of, 430.
Boyne, ancient name of, 243; mouth of the, 394.
Braid, the river, 131.
Brig, in county Meath, 461.
Bright, ancient name for Downpatrick, 51, 385.
Bri-leith, in Longford, 399, *n.*
Britain, country of St. Patrick's parents, 71.

Caisel-Irra, Sligo, 428.
Callraighe, in Westmeath, 431.
Callraighe, in Sligo, 431.
Callraighe, in Mayo, 430.
Carlow, county, St. Fiacc's monastery in, 46, 49.
Cashel, the rock of, 110.
Castlerea, county Roscommon, 290, 304, *n.*
Cechtumbar, a church beside Clogher, 453.
Cenel-Enna, in county Donegal, 464.
Ciarraighe-Airne, in county Mayo, 411.
Ciarraighe, in Connaught, 304, *n.*
Cill-Alaidh, county Mayo, 296, 424.
Cill-Buaidh, 290.
Cill-Corcaraidhe, in county Westmeath, 428.
Cill-Garad, now Oran, county Roscommon, 407.
Cill-roe-mor, now Kilroe, in Mayo, 428.
Cill-Tog, in Mayo, 419.
Clebach, the well of, 291.
C-Locha-na-n-Airneadh, in Mayo, 394.
Clonard, county Meath, 417.
Clonbroney, nunnery of, 399.
Clonburren, 290.
Clonmacnoise ford, near where St. Patrick crossed the Shannon, 290.
Cluain-Bronaigh, county Longford, 399, *n.*
Cluain-Iraird, county Meath, 417.
Cnoc-a-tirrol, the hill of the meeting, 296.
Conaille-Muirthemne, county Louth, 128, 229, 376.
Corann, county Sligo, 423.

Corco-Themne, county Mayo, 418.
Corcu-Achland, east of Roscommon, 401.
Cushlea, county Limerick, 479.
Costello, county Mayo, 411.
Coyle river, ancient name of, 345.
Croch-Cuile-Conmaicne, in Connaught, 408.
Cross-Patrick, in Killala, 296, 423.
Cruachan, Cruachan-Aighle, a mountain in Mayo, now Croagh-Patrick, 207, 414.
Cruachan, palace of the kings of Connaught, 290.
Cuil-Tolaigh, in county Mayo, 412.
Cuircne, in Westmeath, 304, *n.*

Domhnach, in Killala, 424.
Domhnach-Patric, miraculous altar-stone at, 280.
Domnach-Bile, 312.
Domnach-Fiacc, 46.
Domnach-mor, barony of Clare in Galway, 402.
Domnach-mor, in Queen's county, 325, *n.*
Domnachs, the seven, 440.
Donagh-Patrick, county Meath, 396.
Domnum Patricii at Armagh, 340.
Drobhais, a river in Leitrim, 432.
Druim-Chorcorthri, in county Meath, 280.
Druim-lias, in county Leitrim, 431.
Druim-raithe, in Westmeath, 308.
Drumconrath, county Meath, 280.
Drumma, in Sligo, 408.
Drummacooha, in Killoe, 309, *n.*
Drumanna-bregh, in Meath, 417.
Drummana, county Sligo, 411, *n.*
Drumnut, county Roscommon, 411, *n.*
Drum-Urchaille, a church in Meath, 458.
Drynaghans, in Sligo, 428.
Dubh, river in Sligo, 432.
Dublin, Library of Trinity College, 66.
Dun-Sebuirgi, now Dunseverick, 315.
Duleek, Kieran's church at, 139.
Dumbarton, 83, 86, 372.
Dumha-graidh, in county Mayo, 409.
Dumha-Selca, in Roscommon, 407, *n.*
Dunlaing, King of Leinster, 458.
Dunseverick, Patrick's well at, 441.

Eborea, probably the same as Ivrea, where St. Patrick was consecrated, 218.

Emlagh, county Roscommon, 395.
Emptur, see *Nemtor.*
Erende, in county Monaghan, 455.
Es-Ruaidh, in Donegal, 305.

Feidelm, a church in county Dublin, 459.
Fenagh, county Leitrim, 399.
Fera-Ros, south of Monaghan, 456.
Fera-Cuile, in Kells, 457.
Ferta-fer-feic, ancient name of Slane, 257.
Fidharta, county Roscommon, 407.
Fidh-mor, 307.
Finnine, the hill of, 472.
Fochlut, the wood of, in Killala, 284, 295.
Forrach-Mac-Amalghaidh, near Killala, 296, 425.
Forrach-Patrick, a church in county Kildare, 461.
Ford of the two tribes, in Meath, 279.
Freamhain, now Frewin, a hill in Westmeath, 340.

Glenarm, church of, 442.
Glenavy, in Down, St. Patrick's church at, 314.
Glynn, church of, 442.
Gowran, ancient name of, 326.
Grean, county Limerick, 330, 469.
Gregraighe, in Sligo, 427.
Grenan Ely, anciently Ailech, 437.
Gulban-Guirt, a hill in county Mayo, 417.
Gullen, in King's county, 251.

Hy-Cremthand, in county Meath, 450, 463.
Hy-Failge, county Kildare, 250, 330.
Hy-Fiachrach, in Connaught, 427.
Hy-Figente, county Limerick, 331.
Hy-Garchon, 227, 323.
Hy-Kinsellagh, the, 47; Crimthann, King of, 48.

Inbher-Boinne, mouth of the Boyne, 304, *n.*
Inbher-Dea, mouth of a river near Wicklow, 224, 381.
Idrone, county Carlow, church at, 250.
Imgoe, in Castlereagh, county Roscommon, 407.
Inisfail, an island in Wexford harbor, 464.
Inishowen, St. Patrick's hermitage at, 311.

Inis-Patrick, 228, 381.
Inver-Brena, probable identification of, 230, 382.
Inver-Domnand, Malahide river, 381.
Inver-Nainge, Nanny river, near Duleek, 381.
Island, St., Patrick's, near Skerries, 227; of Maccuchor identification doubtful, 228.
Island-Magee, ancient name of, 232.
Ivrea, probably the same as Eboria, where St. Patrick was consecrated, 218.

Kerry, coast of, 339.
Kilfeacle, county Tipperary, 467.
Kilian, anciently Cill-Loebhain, 250.
Kilkenny, barony of, 304, *n.*
Kilkenny, 290.
Killala, church near, 251; 296.
Killaraght, county Sligo, 408.
Killemry, church founded by St. Patrick at, 290.
Killfhorclann, church of, 296.
Killossy, county Kildare, 324, *n.*
Kilpatrick, in Lennox, 78.
Kilteely, parish of, county Limerick, 330.
Kisse, a mountain in Donegal, 434.
Knock-Cae, 331.

Lathrach-Patraic, well at, 314.
Latteragh, county Tipperary, 337.
Leac Phatraic, the rock of Cashel, 110.
Lec-Patrick, 432, 433.
Lemhuin, a church in county Tyrone, 451.
Lerins, the monastery of, 151.
Letha, or Latium, Brittany so called by early Irish writers, 87.
Limerick, Aradha-Cliach in, 330; St. Patrick's Well near, 334; St. Patrick's church, 335.
Loch-Ri, expansion of the Shannon, 397.
Loch-Techet, in south of Sligo, 408.
Loigles, fountain of, at Tara, 283.

Mac-Ercae, plain in Roscommon, 421.
Magh-Ai, Connaught, 406.
Magh-Airtich, county Roscommon, 411.
Magh-Bregh, plain of, in Meath, 243.
Magh-Cera, now Carra, county Mayo, 412.
Magh-Dala, 311.
Magh-Eni, south of Donegal, 435.
Magh-Foimsen, in county Mayo, 413.
Magh-Glas north, county Roscommon, 401.
Magh-Life, a plain in Wicklow, 460.
Magh-Luirg, in Roscommon, 430.
Magh-Nai, a plain in Roscommon, 290, 400, *n.*
Magh-Slecht, county Leitrim, 287, 399, *n.*
Magh-Slecht, in county Cavan, 287.
Mantan, county Wicklow, 331, *n.*
Meath, Ford of the Two Tribes in, 279.
Mohan, a church in county Dublin, 459.
Moin-Choluim, church south of Kildare, 324, 461.
Morning Star, the river, 331.
Mount Hermon, 191.
Mourne mountains, the ancient name of, 231.
Moy-alvy, south of county Kildare, 390, *n.*
Moylogue, parish of, 280.
Mughorna, near Dublin, 456.
Muirisk, in county Sligo, 429.
Mulloch-Fharraidh, the Hill of Assembly, 296.
Mungret, county Limerick, 330.
Muscraidhe-Tire, in county Tipperary, 337.

Naas, county Kildare, 458.
Nemthur, the native town of St. Patrick, 248.
Nenagh, church near, 337.
Neustria, name of a province, 85.
Nevtur, 248.
Newry, county Down, commencement of the ancient district of Dalariada, 131.
Nodain, a lake in county Roscommon, 433.
Normandy called Neustria, 75.
Northern and Southern Letha, 87.

Oran, county Roscommon, 407.
Oxford, Bodleian Library at, 69.

Pallas-green, county Limerick, 330.
Pannonia, St. Martin's birth-place at, 103.
Partree, county Mayo, 418.

Rashee, church of, 442.
Rathcolpa, now Raholp, county Down, 250.

Rath-Cuile, in county Meath, 457.
Rath-Cunga in Seirthe, Donegal, 403.
Rath-Murbhuilg, now Maghera, in Down, 418.
Rath-Noi, in Wicklow, 460.
Rath-Righbhaird, in Sligo, 428.
Rock of Cashel, called also Patrick's Rock, 110.
Rosses, in Sligo, 432.

Sangul, well of, 333.
Sele, now the Blackwater in Meath, 273, 396.
Senchell-Dumaighe, church in county Roscommon, 403.
Senchill, county Roscommon, 412.
Senchua, in Ui-Ailella, now Shancoe, county Sligo, 401.
Sen-Domnach, a church in Roscommon, 406.
Singland, county Limerick, 334.
Slan, well of, 231.
Slane, ancient name of, 243; hill of, 254, 384.
Sletty, 44, 47, 49, 66.
Sliabh-Liag, in Tir-Boghaine, a mountain in county Donegal, 402.
Slieve-Mis (Slemish), place of St. Patrick's captivity, 129, 131.
Sliabh-Slainge, a mountain in Down, 418.
Slievemargy, Queen's county, 49.
Sligech, ancient name of the river that flows through Sligo, 429.
Snamh-da-en, ford on the Shannon, county Roscommon, 290, 400.
Srath-Patrick, in Leitrim, 432.
Strangford Lough, probable site of St. Patrick's landing, 230, 382.
Sugar-loaf Mountain, anciently called Sliabh-Cualann, 226.

Taltenam, county Meath, 396.
Tamhnagh, a church in Sligo, 404.
Telach-Maine in Londonderry, 450.
Telach-na-cloch, in Roscommon, 411, *n.*
Telltown, in Meath, 272, 396.
Tethbha, partly in Longford and Westmeath, 399, *n.*
Timolin, ancient name of, 324.
Tirawley, in county Mayo, 285, *n.*
Tir-Eoghan, hermitage at, 311.
Tirglass, now Terryglass, 332, 471.
Tobar-Finnmaighe, Mayo, 418.
Tobar-Mucno, county Mayo, 412.
Tobar-Patrick, a well at Tara, 422.
Tobar-Stringle, county Mayo, 413.
Traig-Eothaili, in county Sligo, 404.
Tubernacool holy well, 132.

Ui-Cremhthainne, in county Meath, 391.
Ui-Dorthain, in Meath, 395.
Ui-Meith-Tire, in Monaghan, 455.
Ui-Meith-Mara, bordering on Longford, 455.
Uisneach, hill of, in Westmeath, 253, 464.
Uladh, territory of, 235; the eastern part of Down, 383, *n.*
Umhall, county Mayo, 413.
Uran-Garad, well of, 407.
Usail, in county Kildare, 460.

Vartry River, ancient name of, 377.

Wexford Harbor, 408.
White Plain, the, 301.

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